

# HARRISAN

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**Abstract**

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## THE OLD GAME

**1. The U.S. Economy**

After my return from Delhi I have had a letter volunteered from New Delhi. It is from a valued co-worker I meet there with all concerned the most important manuscripts in it.

Everything that has happened during the last month or so makes me on the whole feel that there is not the slightest ground for hope that the British Government will accept our position. In fact many things have happened which demonstrate that they are following a very definite imperialist policy. You must have seen that the British Parliament has just passed a Bill amending the Government of India Act which leaves the powers of Provincial Governments as regards taxation. This was equally on view of the Provincial Tax in the U. P. which is thus reduced. Apart from the demand of work in a decision which reduces the powers of the Provincial Assembly, the time and the method chosen for it are eloquent of the imperialist methods of the British Government and indicate that the outlook here is not very cheerful.

It is not at all encouraging to find that you are going to New Delhi to interview the Wazir. The same old game is played again, the background is the same, the various objectives are the same, the actors are the same, and the results must be the same.

There are, however, some indications indeed visible also. An atmosphere of approaching catastrophe pervades the country when, in effect, there is no ground for it. It is increasing and deepening because it does not come out of strength but, in the case of many individuals, from the conscious desire to avoid conflict at all costs and to get back to the shade of power which we had previously. Conflict is undesirable, but obviously much cannot be avoided at all costs, for otherwise such avoidance itself is a more costly and harmful affair. For the moment, however, there is no immediate question of conflict. The question is of maintaining our position with dignity, and not welcoming it in any way. I fear that the newspapers, so widely prevalent in England as well as in India, that we are going to do even to have any conflict and therefore we are going to accept such terms as we can get. The kind of impotence is diminishing I have noticed during the last fortnight that even our Congress delegates' elections have been influenced by this. Many people who, the day of possible conflict, were keeping in the background, have now pushed themselves in front again when the possibility of accepting the plans of office and power seems to dimple again in front of them. The effect of several months

long unrevealed out of the Congress has partly failed because of the sudden change in the Indian atmosphere which led them to believe that the compromise was constant.

The British Government is also reacting in a very unfortunate manner to us, though it may not realize it. Of course, it wants to come to terms with us because it wants our support in the war. But it is much more certain that it does not wish to give up any share of real power or change its basic financial imperial policy in order to come to terms with us. It is carrying on and will carry on its old attitude on the commercial side, though occasionally it runs a few tactical wars against the British League in order to enable the Congress to let us it is concerned, it will try to win us over, keeping its present position intact. If this is possible, well and good for it. If this does not take place, it seems likely even if it, then to carry on from time to time conversations with Indian leaders, to justify the move, to make it appear that we are on the verge of a compromise, and then to make both world opinion and Indian opinion. The second policy has the additional advantage, from their point of view, of withdrawing our energy and being us down, so that, if ultimately a conflict does come, the entire atmosphere is leading to it. It is the general belief among official circles in England that this policy of policy and postponement has had the result and the attitude in India, which was threatening when the Congress movement emerged as such some time and on January 15th be "closed"

It seems to me that while we cannot and must not prosecute a conflict, and while we need not bring the door to a possible and honorable compromise, because your methods are never in losing the door, still we must make it crystal clear that there can be no will to an abrogation except on the conditions stated by us previously. As a matter of fact even these conditions have to be slightly amended from the point of view of developments in the war. We cannot now say, as we then said, that we want to know whether the war is imperialist or not. The British Government's answer is as well as clear consistent policy in the war and in foreign affairs has been one of full-blooded imperialism. We want, therefore, somewhat pressed on the subject but that it is an imperialist war, my preference to the contrary notwithstanding. The war and British policy grow more and more monstrous every day, and I would like to see India entangled in any way in the imperialist adventure from which India can only free, not only materially but spiritually. This must come to an end of all imperialist policy.

Thus it seems to me that the most important thing for us to do is to make our position perfectly clear to the world, to the British Government and to the British people. There is too much misunderstanding on the issue of compromise, and the misunderstanding is entirely to our disadvantage and to the advantage of British reactionists whose aim it is to exploit our weakness for the war and even proceeding to have a large amount of our product. Approach by us to the British Government as to the Yarnag agreement, their misunderstanding and lead the British Government even further away from a right compromise.

The warning is sound. Perhaps I did not need it. But such warnings are never superfluous. It is wise to be too sure of one's own wisdom. It is hardly to be wondered that the strongest English workers and the wisest might say: And then, so far as I am concerned, I am in agreement with all manner of things that I feel doubtful when co-workers keep me posted with things I ought to know.

But while I value the warning given and admit the force of the argument advanced, I do not expect of my having voted H. E. the Yarnag and having had the predicted talk. It has given me added strength. It is of great value to an army that its general gains added strength. I should therefore repeat the platform every time the Yarnag assumes me: as long as I have back to his strategy. And every time I shall come out with greater strength than I go with. The method of Singapore requires that the Yarnagists should never lose hope as long as there is the slightest ground left for a. For he never dreams of being able to evade the loss to his opponent, his success, being to convert the opponent, not boundaries or defeat him. He therefore even knows at his opponent's door is a business necessary, so I did often with General Smith. It so happened that the last evening, when even I had the least hope, proved the people to success.

There ought not to be demonstration among the ranks. It is up to the Government as to the constant touch with them and explain to them the reason for, and the bearing on the struggle of, such step. For whether there is equal battle or merely preparation the education of the masses continues without interruption. It is a great mistake to suppose that the revolutionary masses will die, if the powerful energies of the people have no outlet. That may be true of vulgar revolution, but it is entirely wrong of non-violent revolution. I am quite convinced that we would get nowhere in the wrong if we say opponents we prohibit the battle at, which is the more dead hand the door to negotiation. The battle will come at the right time when it is clear beyond doubt that there is no escape from it. Misunderstanding created in Britain as the world outside will not permit us much but, being demonstrated, it is sure to disappear as the fact of our truth.

Not need the prospect worry us, of the negotiations proving agreement in the name of their being used as a screen to cover Britain's plans to consolidate her strength by making world opinion and meeting and pre-empting demands coming to. What does matter in our own weakness for which we alone should be to blame.

Spring, 11-13-40

## OCCASIONAL NOTES

### Parliament on Trial

I gave the other day two rather aggressive of the Commonsense Objection Tribunal in England. Their working is not so simple as it looked then, and there is plenty of advice coming of many methods. The young men between 20 and 25 who come before these tribunals mostly come from working houses and most of them have had little more than elementary education. They are put through the task by highly educated men of legal and educational science, and it speaks volumes for the strength of both of their young men that stand their judge cross-examination. In many cases it becomes an extremely unjudicial game. What makes you think that Christ condemn you? He has never said so, has He? are the questions put to every one, and the answers give rise to numerous unusual questions and cross-questions. Whereas may be said of the treatment of men with human overtones, there is no doubt that the public movement must have brought plenty of popular education to its own. Besides, the effectiveness of parliament are being decreased throughout. Evidently the conviction that man might not be left brother man does demand a high price. The very few given to pay it so he treated like a prisoner in the dock and questioned and cross-examined as though one was an ordinary felon. And then there are tribunals and tribunals. The South Western Tribunal gave 41 per cent uncondemned compromise as against 1 per cent given by the London Tribunal!

To remedy these discrepancies an Appellate Tribunal has been appointed with Mr H. A. I. Faber, Warden of New College, Oxford, as Chairman, and Sir Arthur Pugh, a former Trade Union Chairman and Sir Leonard Carlisle, a former High Court Judge of Calcutta, as members. It is reported that Mr Faber will ask all kinds of questions to establish a man's position including what questions he has made for his position, and often asks a man whether he is a socialist! The relevance of this may not be understood in England, but it would be understood here where a man's position may well be challenged by asking him if he is a socialist. There is no doubt that position is on its trial and, whatever the consequences, all our parties must welcome the circumstance.

### Political Profits

The most surprising case that has come before the Appellate Tribunal is that of people who

are described as "political" pacifists, as distinguished from the type described as religious or ethical. There were two cases in which the Government were the appellant. Mr. Fisher the Chairman, explained the distinction between the two types. "The legal point," he said, "is that under the terms of this Act protesters are given to the pacifist, the honest conscientious person, that is to say, the man who objects to war as a thing evil in itself. That was the intention of the statute, not to protect every form of conscientious objection," of which last he gave as instances that of a farmer who may have "conscientious objection" to fighting for parliamentary governments, or of a woman who may have an objection to fighting for a capitalist State. "The issue," he added, "is not the quality of the conscience, but its character. Does a non-pacifist political objection come under this Act?" Mr. Fenner Brockway, who appeared for one of the objectors, contended that "the pacifist's supreme loyalty is to his conception of God or of the universe. The soldier's supreme loyalty is to the workers of all lands with whom he feels a unity equivalent to the unity which a patriot feels with his nation. To a political objector it would be morally wrong to kill his fellow-workers in the interests of the prevailing class. It is a matter of conscience to him no less than to the pacifist." Moreover he tried to show, by quoting from two Cabinet Ministers' speeches, that "it was the intention of those who drafted the Act to cover all classes of conscientious objectors." The former Cabinet Judge in his presumptuous manner said: "The Tribunal is not concerned with what some politicians have said. It is concerned only with the Act itself." The objection was ruled out, and both the objectors were ordered to be struck off the register of the exemption. Mr. Brockway has now pressed against the Tribunal's refusal to consider the Prime Minister's and Labour Minister's statements in the House of Commons, and asked if the statements they gave were scraps of paper. The Prime Minister had said that the Act was meant to exclude "only slackers" and the Labour Minister had said that "conscientious objection is not defined in the Act, and local tribunals have to use their own judgment in deciding whether an application, or whatever ground it is based, is or is not of a conscientious nature," in reply to a question. "Can the Minister say that he agrees that the House, in giving the right to conscientious objectors, meant to do so on all these grounds—ethical and political?" he said "That is still the idea."

If "conscientious objection" is not defined in the Act, the two appellants ought to have been exempted. But taking a detached view, it would appear that a pacifist is only he who objects to all war as an evil in itself, whether it is brought by a Government that has or has not his allegiance.

### A Satyagrahi

There will always be a difference between Indian and European Satyagrahis and pacifists. An instance which will surprise the West may be cited. Even Gandhi's fast at Rajkot against what he knew to be a grave breach of a solemn pledge by the ruler of Rajkot was little understood, and when he announced the Gwyer Award many people, especially in the West, failed to understand the reason and believed that the Award was rescinded because Gandhi had realized that his fast was otherwise or immoral. But Gandhi had never doubted the purity of the fast, only he rejected the Award because he felt that his conduct of the Viceroy's intervention had violated the law. Shri Shambhushankar, a humble worker of Palnassa State, is now on a similar fast. He underwent a fast of 15 days some months ago against what he felt was a breach of promise by the Thakore Sahib of Palnassa. The Dewan then persuaded him to break the fast on certain conditions. There was no allegation of coercion in the Satyagrahi was on the best possible terms with the Thakore Sahib and the Dewan. Then he was in jail. Now he has begun a fast unto death for breach of the assurances given to him by the State. Today—11th—is the 12th day of his fast. He is perfectly happy and cheerful, his expressions are free from the slightest expression of anger against the State, and his motive is only to secure the compliance of the Thakore Sahib and the Dewan. In a letter I have received from him today he writes:

"After the harvesting I returned last year at Panchkroon and the harvestings involved before at Dharama and Rajkot, my body is too weak being what it used to be. Last time I lasted in the Palnassa jail I started as early as the third day. This time the beautiful spiritual atmosphere about me has sustained me, and even on the toughest day though I am weak I have enough energy in me. Yesterday, for instance, I span two thousand yards, and I mean to keep this up as long as God vouchsafes the strength to me. Frequently as it is, it gives me joy. For while this has become a kind of ritual—sweeping and devotional songs—in which young and old, men, women and children join, daily I should be content if, by the time I breathe my last, the whole village without a single exception pledges itself to spinning and khadi-wearing. It would be one humble contribution to Raj's great task. Please let me hear every day about me. His saint messages are enough to lead me on."

My heart goes to silent prayer to the unrepentant sinner of Shambhushankar. Whether he lives or dies, he will win, and the victory will have blessed a trail that will help the path of many a Satyagrahi and so come.

Sagron, 11-2-40

M. D.

Mahatma Gandhi

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## NOTICE

The issue of Volume VII, number 12, closes, it being given time of change, to a supplement to this issue.

Issues of Vol. VII will now be available at three annas per copy, including postage. MADRAS

*Harijan*

Vol. 12

1940

## IS IT WART?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Builders of the British Indian Empire have patently built on four pillars—the European Empress, the Army, the Police and the Commercial Directorate. The last three were no more even the first. It is clear to the reader that the Builders have to remove the four pillars hence they can claim to have given up the Empire or the Empire system. But they say to the assailants of the despotism of the Empire system, "You have to deal with all the four pillars yourselves, today we can treat India as an Independent. Hence instead of being our Dependence." They say in other words, "Guarantee the European empires, make your own army, treat with the Police and with the commercial authorities known as administrators." The Despotism moans, "You imposed the European empires on us, for their defence you built an army and kept it a class garrison, you say that you could see the then existing Police for your own purposes, you made them and made them, you created new ones, you armed them with powder they could use only before with safety, so that you partitioned India so that it could never rise against you in one mass. You are again that we were cursed with the same again, you took advantage of our weakness and refused it till at last claims are made which, if they were accepted, there would be no single Indian nation and no independence. Add to all this the fact that by your policy of disarmament you have annihilated a whole nation. But we do not blame you for the past. On the contrary we salute your bravery, skill and spirit of adventure. You have spared other Empire Builders who persecuted you. You have improved upon them in a variety of ways. But if you permit, as you have protested, that you have decided to give India her due, then you have to remove from our way the obstacles you have created. You are entitled to ask us to recognise the difficulties in the way of your making delivery and even to help you. If you are honest, you will have us to do the best. You must even our mass of poison, not your second arm, to make us do what is right and proper. Otherwise you have deceived our fate for us. Now if you are earnest, you will not only let us

determine the method and nature of governing ourselves but even help us to do so, if we want your help."

Lord Zetland has given the answer to the Despotism which I paraphrase as follows: "We mean to hold on to what we have. Whether that will let you have such freedom as we think is good for you. That was that we are fighting it to prevent the despotism of our Empire. We want your help, if you will give it on these terms. It is good for you and us. But we will do without your help if you will not give it. You are not the only party we have to deal with. There are many in India who recognise the benefits of British Rule and your Despotism. We propose to win the war with the help we can command from India through the local agencies. Their services we shall recognise by the grant of further reforms when the time comes. That is what we mean when we say we shall make the world safe for despotism. For we are the most despotic power in the world. Therefore, if we are safe, so are those who are with us. Those like India who are under our rule will be sustained and the art of despotism is graded stages so that their progress may be unimpeded and they might not have to go through the travail we had to go through." I hope the paraphrase does no injustice to Lord Zetland. If it is fairly correct, the matter is quite clear. Between the two—the Mandarins and the Imperial—there is no meeting ground. If, therefore, Lord Zetland represents the British Government's considered view, it is a declaration of war against national India. For all the four pillars stand firm, rock-like. The more the assailants try to deal with them as if they were problems for which they were responsible, the firmer they were become. I cannot conscientiously pay for the success of British arms if it means a further loss of life to India's subjugation to foreign domination. I want this last sentence with a heavy heart.

Sagay, D-2-40

## HANGING THE DOOR

Gandhiji has used the following statement to the press—

Lord Zetland's recent pronouncement, if reported correctly, was a real all appreciation regarding the Government's attitude towards the national demand. I have been taught to believe that Dominion Status after the Statute of Westminster passes a claim to Independence and includes the right to secede. Therefore I had thought there would be no difficulty about Britain allowing India to determine her own course. But Lord Zetland makes it clear that Britain, not India, has to determine it. In other words, the British hold on India more firmly. He also puts the burden upon the assailants of removing the massive question and the like. I have shown how responsible this is without previous recogni-



ness of India's independence, no doubt subject to safeguards. His Lordship thinks that, because some Indians have entered the ranks of English education and have learnt ideas of freedom from British writers, they will want always to be under British rule, and, diplomatically called partnership. This is what I call hanging the door upon the aristocratic parties. Does it mean a post deadline that was suggested at the last Round Table Conference? If it does, it is a declaration of war against nationalists who are out to destroy the empire apart. I submit that it is wrong to discuss the Indian claim by account the aristocrats of being evidence of slavery. I suggest that it is he who refuses to face realities and is wandering in a forest of uncertainty. I submit against him of slavery. I assure him that Nationalist India is definitely at variance.

Sagaya, 14-2-40

## Notes

### India without the British

A noted English collector then cables from England.

"Please consider that India without British troops and the sea shield of the British navy would be at the mercy of Pathans, Afghans and Japs. The Congress Assembly would at best be a concentration camp very quickly or killed. Sagayadas only works with civilized people who are gentlemen."

There are honest fears of an honest Englishman, but the fears are only imaginary. The English should give India credit to Indian nationalists when he thinks that they assume place a Congress Assembly as a vacuum which can be blown in pieces by any power. If there is an honorable settlement, the Congress Assembly will meet in the presence of the British but without any interference from them. If there is no settlement, it will meet after a successful rebellion, in which case India will have made herself ready to face any emergency. There is no other emergency possible in which a Congress Assembly can meet. There have never so much as the British regard to India. Whose fault is it that India has no army and navy of her own? But the absence of army and navy will not deter an awakened people from throwing over democracy, foreign or indigenous. My friend's ignorance of the working of Sagayadas is quite excusable. I have no finished example of a nation having modelled her life on the basis of Sagayadas. I can only assure him that it is not the soft-stuff he believes it to be. It is of India too if it can work only among the so-called civilized people. The partition separating the civilized from the uncivilized is very thin. Both are always side when their passions are roused.

Sagaya, 12-2-40

### A Congress Statement

The Secretary of the Valmiki Mandal, Luckhara, says in a letter.

"Under the Poona Pact, eight seats were allotted to the Punjab Hindu Depressed Classes in the Punjab Legislative Assembly. These seats were deflected from Hindu seats. Sikh and other Depressed Class people were contented amongst their own co-religionists. The Sikh Harjans are fighting with their own high caste Sikh leaders for separate seats and we work them full success. But we also wish that they should not recroach upon what has been allotted to us."

Consequently the Mandal has sent a petition to the Punjab Government, from which I take the relevant sentences.

"It has been pointed out in the papers that certain have been asked to Deputy Commissioners for the preparation of the voter's lists for the coming elections of the Punjab Legislative Assembly. In that very connection, we beg to approach you with the following—

1. That, according to the Poona Pact, seats between the High Caste Hindus and Depressed Class Hindus, united by the Government, eight seats were allotted in the Punjab Legislative Assembly to Hindu Depressed Classes or Hindu Scheduled Castes as they are called.

2. That these seats were deflected from the total number of Hindu seats.

3. That the Sikh and Muslim Depressed Classes or Scheduled Caste people, for instance Sikh Chamaras or Sikh Valmikas, having been granted amongst their own co-religionists, could not become voters or members in the above-named eight constituencies.

4. That great confusion is prevalent regarding the third point.

5. That to secure the right interpretation, and to avoid objective petitions on a large scale, instructions may very kindly be issued, not to admit Sikhs as voters in the above-named constituencies, or a column of names may also be added."

The petitioners' objection is quite sound. But why should there be Sikh, Muslim or Christian untouchables? Has the lack of power made the converts repents of their conversion? If the problem is not carefully and partly handled, with allowed growing consciousness it may give rise to embarrassing complications. There need be no surprise if to be classed among the above Scheduled Classes becomes a coveted privilege instead of being a sign of approach. Thus we, who these who were regarded by the Government or society as untouchables received the appreciation and were trying to avoid it. Now the emphasis is the other way. Let it be remembered in the connection that it is only Hindustani that has the distinction of having untouchables legally known as Scheduled Classes.

Sagaya, 12-2-40

### Addressation of Ghas

Dr. Kadar Nath Kanya writes

"I have read with great interest in Harijan of 22nd January your note on addressation of Ghas."

It may interest you to know that before we returned office in the U. P. the problem had engaged our closest consideration. Adulteration is rampant and must be stopped. The adulteration is that it is not only the glaucolides and the sulfites but also the salts taken to adulterate, but even the glaucolides in the villages are running in adulteration in their own houses before they bring them to the market. The cheap vegetable and other vegetable glaucolides are called under adulteration such as my process. We considered the question of new policy adulteration of vegetable oils with some white color or flavor, but the difficulty is to discover some such harmless color or flavor in the hot climate of India, there is a danger of injury to health by the use of such hot color.

We had drafted and introduced in the U. P. Legislature a comprehensive bill to stop the adulteration. It was at the committee stage when we returned. The bill confers power on the Provincial Government to prohibit adulteration in harvesting of artificial glaucolides or vegetable oils. But I think the more useful and really important provision is the bill for the purpose is based on that which sends the Provincial Government with the power to prohibit sale of artificial or vegetable glaucolides or glaucolides adulterated. I have known of rural areas where glaucolides are produced as a large scale and where previously we saw common vegetable glaucolides, yet vegetable glaucolides are sold in large quantities and purchased by people for purposes of adulteration. We thought that in such areas where vegetable glaucolides are really sold for these artificial purposes the only proper method is to prohibit its sale altogether, and thus protect and foster the genuine glaucolides industry.

I hope this measure will meet with your approval. Agriculture without dairy industry cannot flourish in the U. P. we also encouraged the formation of large numbers of glaucolides co-operatives societies, and I wanted that the by-laws of such societies must have strictest regulations to stop and check adulteration by its members. That was also proving efficacious.

I am writing this to you so the hope that it may interest the readers of *Harjan*.

The suggestion made by Dr. Kripa about specially dealing with glaucolides adulteration is worthy of consideration. Indeed the question of adulteration of this important article of national diet is so important that it requires all-India treatment. It could not wait for the disposal of the so-called higher politics.

On the way to Delhi 5-3-49 M. K. G.

#### The Correspondents and Message-men

In spite of my notice in *Harjan* of December 26th those who can spare the minutes to write and ask for messages. I would refer them to the notes for fuller explanation. I know several message friends have not received acknowledgments or messages. They will forgive me. I have to burden my heart if I am to cope with the responsibility I am carrying. And what can be better than that I should converse with known friends?

Begin, 15-1-49

M. K. G.

## REDISCOVERING RELIGION

### II

#### "One Fraternity"

But when really shall we rediscover? To rediscover Christianity is to rediscover Religion. When Gandhi asks the Hindus to originate from Hinduism the idea of unorthodoxy he appeals to them apparently to rediscover Hinduism but really to rediscover Religion. It was an agreeable surprise to me to find a lay poet like John Drinkwater quoted in a Christian manifesto the other day.

"We know the paths whence our feet should pass,  
Across our hearts are written. They demand—  
Yet now, O Lord, be merciful to bless

With more than these.

Grant us the will to follow as we lead,  
Grant us the strength to labour as we know,  
Grant us the power, O Lord, and shield with steel,

To strike the blow

Knowledge we ask not—knowledge Thou hast lent,  
But, Lord, the will—then has our better quest,  
Give us to hold above the deep abyss

The dead, the dead!"

That power of Drinkwater can be adopted by people of all creeds. The poem is there and the author's stance expresses the feelings of us all. Man is not so much in need of "a closer vision", or of "a fuller knowledge of the end", or of "the high perception" of "when to begin and when to end", or of "the understanding to set the good from ill". All these, were learned in religious lore—Christian lore, Hindu lore, Islamic lore, Jewish lore—have to be simple manhood. What more of us lack, however, is the will "to follow as we lead", the "strength to labour as we know", what more of us lack is really a "the dead, the dead".

And here I am reminded of the story of Rabbi Cohen, whose window Wilson called the first window of Texas told us an anecdote of the American Reader's Digest. At the age of 79 he spends his time strolling through the streets of Galveston (most on streets of poverty), "precisely as he has been from morning to night for more than 75 years". His hobby is to help people, no matter what their race or creed. He makes one man released from prison, he makes one uneducated people, poverty in hospital, and helps them. He makes one of his officers meeting the weak and errors. He has got three names scribbled on the wall of his store which he calls his note-book, and never returns to bed until the last name is crossed off. "The Rabbi," his messenger said "there didn't seem to be any more to that lot". The Rabbi looks at him and says "Why, no. There wasn't any. What difference does that make? In the town there is no such thing as Methodist savings, Baptist domestic societies, Presbyterian poverty or Catholic brain laps. If he was in India, he wouldn't have added 'Hindu plague, Muslim poverty, Jain diabetes and so on'."

A Russian revolutionary, who had escaped from Russia as a stowaway and was now in a Galveston prison, sent a message to Rabbi Cohen to say that he had learned that his family was arriving and that he was to be deported on the next ship, and that in Russia he would have to face a firing squad. The immigration officer in Galveston could do nothing. Washington could do nothing, and yet something had to be done. Rabbi Cohen takes to the jail to see him, takes back, stops at a hotel, borrows a hundred dollars and catches a train for Washington. He juddes down to the Department of Labour, where the Secretary politely says nothing could be done. He then rushes to President Taft who says to him: "No exceptions. You Jews are wonderful. I don't know of any people who will do so much for their own race and creed as you do." "My own creed!" exclaims Rabbi Cohen. "What do you mean, Mr. President? That man is not a Jew! He is a Greek Catholic!" President Taft jumps. "A Greek Catholic! You came all the way from Texas to intercede for a Greek Catholic?" "Certainly," says the Rabbi. "He is a human being, isn't he?" Taft is moved, he immediately gives orders for the Russian revolutionary's release and for his being put in the custody of Rabbi Cohen. The Rabbi gets him a job in a boiler factory, and he eventually gets his family out of Russia.

The humanitarian work to which the Rabbi devotes a share of his time has prompted the citizens of Galveston to build him the Cohen Community House as a cost of 100,000 dollars. Not that he has neglected his own community. He has worked for Jewish refugees as none else has done, and "his refugee work was so successful that during the trouble with Mexico in 1913, Congress, on the recommendation of the American Red Cross, voted 7500 dollars to the care for refugees from Mexico, to be administered by Rabbi Cohen entirely at his discretion."

He has revolutionized the prison conditions in Texas and has even helped in setting aside wrong convictions. He investigated the case of a man called Salome Porter, appeared to the Governor, and months afterwards a man appeared at Cohen's door saying "I am Salome Porter. I can't do anything now to pay you for what you have done for me. But I am a writer. I will write things to help poor people." He was the distinguished story-writer O'Henry!

Rabbi Cohen goes to his congregation and preaches too. But any great one is good enough for him. "Look at the golden rule in Catholicism," he says, "I would as soon preach on a text from Confucius as the Talmud or the Torah is there." And so he is asked to speak at the Protestant churches of Galveston, and "many Protestant ministers, and Catholic priests, too, have spoken to the synagogue and the Henry Cohen Community House." And he himself, has been referred to (The Jews are less than two

per cent in Galveston, and yet hundreds of Catholics voted for a Jewish mayor. The Catholic priest said to the warden of the church of Rabbi Cohen: "Why is it we judge a man in this town not for his race or his creed, but for what he is himself? The answer is Rabbi Cohen."

That called a redempting Religion. When we have rediscovered Religion by the grace of God, then indeed will J. A. Sproule's dream be fulfilled. Then shall arise a better race of men who

"Shall be gentle, brave and strong  
To spill no drop of blood, but dare  
All that every planet wants; herding's law  
On earth and fire and sea, and air.  
Shame with action, love with land  
Unarmed shall live as comrades free,  
In every heart and brain shall dwell  
The pulse of one fraternity.  
New arts shall bloom of better world  
And mightier manhood find the shore  
And every life shall be a song  
When all the earth is paradise."

Gooding did not coach this expert of the rediscovery of Christianity when talking with Mr. Smith, but when he asked him and his co-workers to help in reconstructing future civilization on newer foundations he meant all this.

New Delhi, 3-2-40

M. D.

## THE QUESTION BOX

(By M. E. Gooding)

### Unusual in Law Courts

Q. I have followed with interest the controversy that has grown round your article in *Harper's* "The Foxfield Ram". Whatever one may say about the arguments used on either side in this controversy, one thing I am in a position to assert without fear of contradiction, from my experience as a judicial officer of the present system of our law. Courts and the construction of lawyers are mainly responsible for the moral and spiritual degeneration of our village peasantry in particular and the public in general. Even "respectable" people, whose one has learnt to regard as the seal of honesty in their ordinary every-day life, will tell themselves that a trifles in a law court and think nothing of it. The maker is swept into the vortex of our village life. Would you suggest as to what a person in my position (i.e., a judge), who has no record evidence and given judicial decisions, can do to check this evil?

A. What you say is too true. The atmosphere round law courts is depressing as any visitor passing through them can see. I hold radical views about the administration of justice but since I know, as a voice in the wilderness, Vested interests will not allow radical reform unless India comes into her own through peaceful and non-violent means. If that situation ever happens, the administration of law and medicine will be as cheap and healthy as it is today dear and unhealthy. The best solution will be for

and to descend from the back embrace poverty and serve the poor. The present will be for you to do the best you can in the very difficult circumstances in which you find yourself reduce life to its simplest terms and devote your energies for the service of the poor.

#### Altruism & Self-respect

Q. I am a university student. Tomorrow evening some of us were in a cinema show. During the performance two of us went outside leaving our handkerchiefs behind on our seats. On our return we found that two British soldiers had taken possession of these seats unconsciously at some of the clearest warning and warning by our friends. When requested to vacate the seats they not only refused but showed an inclination to fight. They knew that the cinema manager who, being Indian, was easily cowed down. In the end the police officer was called and they vacated their seats. If he had not appeared, they would have been only two alternatives before us, either to resort to violence and sacrifice our self-respect, or to allow ourselves to be humiliated and quietly occupy some other seat. The latter would have been too humiliating. How would you apply the principle of non-violence under such circumstances?

A. I must admit the difficulty of solving the riddle. Two ways occur to me of dealing with the situation non-violently. First, kindly to send the ground all the seats are vacated, secondly, deliberately so to send us to obstruct the view of the weapons. In each case you run the risk of being beaten by the weapons. I am not satisfied with my answers. But they meet the special circumstances in which we are placed. The ideal answer to doubt is not to believe about the omnipotence of the personal right but to reason with the weapons and, if they do not listen, to report such cases to the authorities concerned and, in case of failure, take them to the higher tribunal. This is the conventional method which is not taken as a non-violent conception of safety. Not to take the law into one's own hands is essentially a non-violent method but the ideal has no relation to safety in this country because the value of repression of justice for Indians is cases where where men and especially where children are concerned is almost zero. More it is necessary to report something like what I have suggested. But I know that when we have real non-violence as a non-violent way out is found, without effort to prove to us when we find ourselves in a difficult situation.

#### Students and the Coming Fight

Q. Although a college student I am a full-time member of the Congress. For any I may not take any active part in the coming struggle while I am studying. What part do you expect the students would or take in the freedom movement?

A. There is a confusion of thought in the question. The fight is going on now and it will continue till the nation has come to her birth-right. Civil disobedience is one of the many methods of fighting. So far as I can judge today, I have no intention of calling our students. Millions will not take part in civil disobedience but millions will help in a variety of ways.

1. Students can, by learning the art of voluntary discipline, fit themselves for leadership in the various branches of the nation's work.

2. They can save our ailing finances by abstaining from all becoming material luxuries after completing their studies.

3. They can act as agents for the national culture in a certain area from their classrooms.

4. They can promote international, inter-provincial and inter-caste harmony among themselves and fraternize with Harjans by absorbing the last trace of caste-discrimination from their lives.

5. They can work regularly and use varied kinds to the exclusion of all other kinds as well as hard work.

6. They can act as agents of culture from every walk, if not every day, for service in a village or village cannot to their maintenance and during the vacation, devote a certain time daily for national service.

The time may of course come when it may be necessary to call out the students as I did before. Though the conspiracy is remote it will never come, if I have any say in the matter, unless the students have qualified themselves previously in the manner above described.

Session 12-3-40

#### TO AGENTS

Agents at towns ask for in good books, papers, etc., in both new packets or railway parcels are being supplied of Harjan. This is not possible in view of the fact that these packets and parcels, being sent under government rules, are subject to being lost or of a reported shortage. Agents will, therefore, please not report the report or report as to send these individual copies to the effect.

Manager

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# HARIJAN

Editor: HANSHY DEHA

Vol. VII No. 2

POONA — SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1940

[ ONE ANNA ]

## COMMUNAL DECISION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

During my brief stay in Bengal I have been overwhelmed with questions as to the Communal Decision. I have been told that neither the Working Committee nor I have pronounced definite opinion as to the Working Committee's decision as written or as amended and has been published. It has neither accepted nor rejected the Decision. There can be neither acceptance nor rejection of an accepted thing. A printer is not required to accept the sentence pronounced against him. His reputation would be unimpaired. For he would not feel himself underserved. The Communal Decision has been imposed upon India not for her own good, but for strengthening the British Imperial hold on India. The Working Committee has, therefore, as much accepted and as much rejected the Decision as Bengal has. There is the difference, however, that the Working Committee has not opposed against it like Bengal.

For me, I dissent the Decision. It has benefited no single party in India but the British. If the Muslims flatter themselves with the belief that they have profited by it, they will soon find that they were silly mistakes. If I could stop the Decision and make it what it should be, I should do so this very moment. But I have no such power. The power can only come if there is unity. Bengal is the most glaring instance of disunity. I am conscious of no real reason for putting the wedge of the tremendous European vote between the two great communities. Their number is unchangeable. Their interest is protected by the British Empire. Why should that interest have added strength given to it by its membership in the legislature? I can understand its representation without vote or as to enable it to put its case before the legislature. So long as it has the possession of the British Empire, its overrepresentation on the legislature is a wholly unimportant. The whole fate of the Bengal legislature would be changed if the European vote was withdrawn. Tolerate that legislature is not wholly responsible to the people, the real voters. The European vote gives power neither to the Muslims nor the Hindus. Muslim members may flatter themselves with the belief that they are safe with the European vote. They may be safe as individuals, but the national interest cannot be safe if a body of persons who are numerically con-

siderable are given no adequately decent voice or strength in a democratic assembly. It deprives the latter of its democratic character.

Thus the end contained in the Decision I know. But I do not know how to deal with it except by patient endeavour. That I do know that there can be no real unity so long as that Decision stands. Bengal is a glaring instance of the tragedy. Assam is another. A critical examination of the Decision would show that it has very little to recommend itself from the national standpoint. It can be altered either by the British Government relieving the mind or by successful rebellion. I was going to add by mutual agreement. But that seems an impossibility even if Hindus and Muslims agreed. Europeans have also to agree and they have to agree by self-suggestion—an event unknown in politics. If there was self-suggestion, there would be European interest in India which is hostile to the national interest. He will be a bold man who will assert and hope to prove that there was no harm to European interest made to the nation.

On the road to Calcutta, 12-2-40

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Uday v. Justice

Q In your article 'Uday v. Justice' you say that, if you give more than his due to your brother, you neither help him nor do you do an injustice. You say: "I can discern weakness only by being generous. Justice without generosity is done at the expense of the very cause for which it is sought to be done." I submit that justice and generosity cannot go hand in hand. As Dryden has aptly observed, "Justice is blind, it knows nobody." Besides you can be generous to the weak, mark and the humble, not to one who is the possessor of his strength with which to convert you into submission. To give more than his due to such a person is not generosity but cowardly surrender. Though Muslims are numerically stronger, their majority, as you yourself have pointed out, is only nominal and actually they are the weaker party. Besides, if generosity is to be shown to the Muslims, the only organization that is competent to offer it is the Hindu Mahasabha. What right has a third party to be generous to one of the two parties to a dispute or the other party's expense?

A In my article referred to by you I have dealt with general principles, not with particular instances. Even as justice to be justice has to

be generous, generosity in order to justify itself has got to be strictly just. Therefore it should not be at the expense of any single interest. Hence there cannot be any question of sacrificing some minority or minorities, for the benefit of any minority. You are right again in contending that generosity has to be shown to the weak and the humble, and not to the bully. Nevertheless I would say, on behalf of the bully, that even he is entitled to justice. For immediately you break into the bully and be unjust to him you justify the bullying. Thus the only safe — not to put it higher — rule of conduct is to do generous justice, irrespective of the character of the minority. I am quite sure that where there is strict justice the question of majority and minority would not arise. The bully is a portrait and is an answer to some existing circumstances, as for instance treachery. It is often forgotten that generosity can be unjust. The fact is that cowards have no sense of justice. They yield only to threats, or sword and, of force. I do not know that there is any question of choice between a coward and a bully. The one is as bad as the other, with this difference that the bully always follows the coward in point of time.

In a previous issue I have admitted that the proper organisation to steer our settlement is the Hindu Mahasabha, or far as Hindus are concerned, is any such organisation. The Congress endeavours to represent all communities. It is not by design, but by the accident of Hindus being politically more conscious than the others, that the Congress contains a majority of Hindus. As history proves the Congress is a just creature of Hindus, Christians, Parsis, Muslims, led by Tagore, to be a nod to the needs of the hour. And the Congress, in spite of all that may be said to the contrary, retains this character. At the present moment a Muslim drive is the unopposed leader of the Congress and for the second time becomes its prodder. The constant endeavour of Congressmen has been to have as many members as possible drawn from the various communities, and therefore the Congress has entered into pacts for the purpose of securing national solidarity. It cannot, therefore, drive itself of that faction, and therefore, although I have made the admission that the Hindu Mahasabha or a similar Hindu organisation can properly have communal settlements, the Congress cannot and must not plead necessity for entering into political pacts so long as it maintains general confidence.

On the train to Calcutta 15-2-40

#### To Correspondents and Newspapermen

In spite of my sorrow to *Myopia* of Deoria, for I did those who can write me, compare to write and ask for messages. I would refer them to the source for fuller explanation. I know several intimate friends have not received answers, judgments or attacks. They will forgive me. I have to burden my heart if I am to cope with the responsibility I am carrying. And what can be better than that I should converse with known friends? *Deoria*, 15-2-40 M. K. G.

#### OCCASIONAL NOTES

##### All for the Empire

In his recent Munich House speech the British Prime Minister said

"It is becoming increasingly clear that the German Government has first planned the necessary stages of a programme of conquest, and that its appetite grows by what it feeds upon. Today the members of that Government do not hesitate in any that they desire to achieve the ruin of the British Empire, and we doubt they would pause if they could stand on as they are leading the nation slowly within their grip. We, on our side, have no such vindictive designs. To put it bluntly that the Allies desire the annihilation of the German people is a fantastic and madman's invention which could only be put forward for home consumption. But, on the other hand, the German people must realise that the responsibility for the prolongation of this war and all the suffering that it may bring in the coming year is theirs as well as that of the tyrants who stand over them. They must realise that the desire of the Allies for a moral, human, just, Christian settlement cannot be satisfied by agreement which experience has proved to be worthless."

Apart from what "the vile" German Government have done, is it not clear from this statement that the war is being fought for the preservation of the Empire? Germany has devastated Poland and Russia, Poland, but neither has yet declared that her intention is to annihilate Britain or the British people. The British Empire is a different proposition altogether. Is 'a social, human, just Christian settlement' compatible with the existence and defence of the Empire and the experience that it necessarily means? Also a war — a social, human, just, Christian settlement? Possibly while Britain remains has Empire and imperialism? Evidently according to Lord Delford it is possible. So long as imperialism, it must cross the midway of the other power. If imperialism was really given up, there would be no motive to war on either side. As things are, both the sides are equally to blame for the prolongation of the war. For there must be Christian conduct before a Christian settlement becomes a possibility.

##### "Was Gandhi or Hitler like Hitler?"

This was the heading of an "official note" passed for publication by the Information Officers.

"In a recent issue the *Stuttgart-Wochenblatt* (a paper of Bonn (Germany) wrote

"Poor England! They tell her in the *Parade* that they can save their Empire. But the Empire is crumbling to pieces."

"India will soon be free from the yoke of the white man. Nelson, the famous Gandhi, who went to school in Munich, has said that England will shortly see it. The fate of India, the fate of the British Empire, will, however, not be decided in the far back western, but in Europe — when Germany has won the war."

It is rather difficult to see the point of this note. We know that the British Government do

can want Hitler to decide the fate of India or of the British Empire. But do they not, or must they not, want India to decide it? If they will permit India to decide her fate, a. a. of the Empire, Hitler may be successfully prevented from inflicting the task upon himself that if they will not permit India to do so—Lord Duffield has declared that he will not—the war is automatically prolonged, and God alone knows who will decide the fate of India and the Empire. British arms have not availed to prevent the destruction of Poland or of Finland. Is there any certainty that they will prevail against further ruin? On the other hand, is not the certainty greater of war ending soon if and when Britain has made a voluntary sacrifice of the Empire?

#### "An Imperial Misadventure"

But there are all kinds of arguments advanced India's defence, her minority problem, her Government, etc., are all obstacles to her being given a free hand to determine her cooperation. There were the same problems with respect to the Dominions which now enjoy varied independence, but they were solved by people who had the eyes colour of blue as the Norwegians and so the problems seemed to be regarded as obstacles. What they will not voluntarily yield to a non-white India, they had to yield to the white men in the Dominions. But evidently the conscience of the British people has been aroused, and they are the price of India's case. For Mr. Winston Churchill wrote in *The Morning Chronicle* breaking under all the pleas that are trotted out:

"But the Indian problem is as simple as an apple-pie as you like to make it. There is no part of the globe where the religious, racial and economic difficulties grow more acute to the destruction. As against that, few facts are clearer to reflection than that the effort by a few determined white men to keep under control some three hundred and fifty million brown men is a heavy and dangerous cross of travail."

How would you feel about it if you were to learn from the newspapers that your Government had not dared involved you in a war at the request of some people on the other side of the globe, from whom you differed in race, language, religion and even the colour of your skin?

There are millions of Indians ready to fight for India, but why should we expect them all to be ready to fight for British rule over India?

Decisions to many of these fought in the last war! But their effort then has not brought them self-government, although, while that war was still in progress, the white Dominions achieved Home Rule.

We have—and let us admit it frankly—very little more right to demand that the Indians should fight for us than Hitler has to demand the self-sacrifice of the Czechs.

And yet we very much need Indian help, for, apart from sugar, India is among the world's largest producers of a whole range of important supplies—cotton, wheat, jute, rubber, rice, tea, etc. are only some of them.

Almost more important in the effect of Indian help on the neutrals. The largest meeting I ever attended in New York was one to protest against British rule in India.

It may be asked, too, it is undeniable that numerous loans would be done not only to our military strength, but also in our hope of winning over-whelming moral support in this war if the Chamberlain Government were to get into execution these dreams of loans at which Sir Samuel Hoare so indignantly bristled in his speech from the Treasury Bench.

That Indian help can be obtained. Now, it is not for me to suggest to doubt that we start off with a valuable fact in our favour: The leaders of Congress. Partly their independence for India on the principle of democratic self-determination—that means that they are, after all, allied to us against Hitlerism.

Or they will be as soon as they have any say, since from the Viceroy's treatment of them we can see that the British Government itself believes in this principle. There is nothing like a common foreign policy for smoothing out domestic differences.

Congress does not represent all India! There are millions that must be persuaded. But what party represents a whole population? What are there to maintain? The Hindu-Muslim dispute undoubtedly makes the problem much more difficult, but the difficulty will never be increased if we in Great Britain make Home Rule of India dependent upon their amputations.

The obvious truth about India is that she will be an advanced nation and she has self-government. She is growing up to a political unity in the eastern world. She has reached that stage when she would rather make a mass of things by governing herself than be better governed by others. Any people passing through that stage needs sympathy, and is grateful for it.

If our Government would shorten the period of war, that Great Britain would be a million Indians anxious to help the British Empire in its greatest struggle.

#### Why Not Dominion Status?

No one will accuse Sir Ramsay MacDonald, the famous journalist, of extreme views. This is what he says on the issue of Dominion Status in *The Modern Review* for February:

"If any peace were to end the present war, 'Would you be inclined to grant Dominion Status?' he would be constrained to answer 'No'. For a large and ancient country like India with a population of no less than 300 millions, the Dominion of another country, although by a different people with a different civilization, culture, traditions and history, cannot be admitted to a natural or right development. The white people of Australia or New Zealand may agree to their countries being Dominions of their Mother country. The people of Canada or British India may have similar feelings. As people of European extraction the French Canadians may not be dissatisfied with being the citizens of a British Dominion. . . . We who are neither of British nor of any other European extraction cannot be secured of any emotional attachment if we be not sure

And with the goal of Dominion Status as our least of aims. ... But our dislike of Dominion Status is not merely concerned Dominion Status of the Westminster variety or a replica of the British Commonwealth and the British Parliament, and its domination and constitution may be altered or changed according to British and British Dominion conventions. The changes or alterations may be such as would not go against the interests or affect the freedom of the greatest British Dominions which are ruled by people of European stock, but they may be made such as would extend our liberties and leave the door open for India's independence by Britain and her Dominion."

Shri Karamdas Chaudhary's argument is conclusive. Everything now happening under Dominion Status of whatever variety is repulsive of acceptance. What is wanted is self-determination.

On the way to Amsterdam, 17-2-40

M B



## WHAT IS WOMAN'S ROLE?

[ By M K Gandhi ]

With certain exceptions I quote below the following from a highly educated man:

"You have shown the world, through cinema and newspaper, the dignity of the soul. These two words are the only solution to the problem of how to overcome man's lower nature."

Education through cinema is not only a great idea, but the only right way of teaching, if we want our children to have self-reliance. It is you, who have said it, and solved in one sentence the whole vast educational problem. The details could be worked out according to circumstances and experience.

I beg you to solve the problem of us, the women. Kropotkin says that there is no woman's problem. Perhaps not in the political sense. Perhaps it could be made by legislation and it matter in the professional sense, that is, all professions could be made equally open to men and women. But these things would not alter the fact that we are women and, as such, of a different quality from men. We need an additional set of principles besides those and outside, to overcome our lower qualities. A woman's spirit has a more stress to attain better things. But just as there is need for games and handicrafts for a man to get rid of his aggressive spirit, but, through outburst of unbecoming passion, as there is for women need of certain principles that would enable her to get rid of her lower qualities, which are different from men and commonly end in being by nature by her. The sexual qualities of her sex, the upbringing mental and in her because of her sex, and her surroundings which is created because of her sex, all are against her. And in her work these things, namely her

nature, upbringing and surroundings always get in the way and hinder her and give occasion for the lowermost passions. 'She is only a woman, after all.' This is what I mean by her having used one's neck. And I think that, if we only possess the correct solution, the correct method of improving ourselves, we could make our natural qualities, such as sympathy and tenderness, a help instead of a hindrance. The improvement, put in your solution is the case of men and children, must come from within us.

I and nature, upbringing and environment. I will give an example to make myself clearer.

Women by nature are intended to be soft, tender-hearted, sympathetic, to mother children. These things influence her to a great extent unconsciously. So when it comes to doing things, she becomes too emotional. When moving with men, she becomes blundering. She is not taught what she should not be so she is compensated, nearly gone vain and generally ends in a silly way.

When I came to see you, although I had cleared the morning very work and spent the previous night sleepless thinking over it, when in your presence I was asked to sit down, I went and sat behind the lowest back of Mrs. Desai. I could not bear and I presumed myself have missed you! What a silly thing to do! Further, I feared I could not explain myself, could not articulate. This I attribute to my being misled with an emotional nature which gets out of control easily. Of course suitable training might have cured this particular fault, but I dare say I would commit some other equally silly act.

A friend of mine showed me the answers she has written to a questionnaire sent by the National Planning Commission for women's role. The questions, as you are doubtless, are numbered, and are something like this. To what extent, is your part of the country, a woman entitled to hold, acquire, inherit, sell or dispose of property in her own right? What provision has been made, or facilities available for the appropriate education and training of women for the several kinds of work and employment that women of different capacities may need to engage in? She has not replied to the questions, but has written "We cannot say with accuracy of truth that women were not getting any education as such in the good old ancient days," and "in the Vedic period the wife, on her marriage, was at once placed on a homestead position in the house and she was free to run in her husband's house," etc., and has quoted Manu I asked her what currently there was to work about ancient customs when the questionnaire was about present-day ones. She mentioned some thing about thinking that a reply in the form of an essay would be nice, and brightened up seeing Mrs. Desai-who's reply was worse than mine. I think the mistake of my friend is due to lack of proper training which was denied to her because she is a woman. Even a clerk would know that when one is asked a question one should not write an essay on a different matter or reply.

I do not think I need go on quoting examples and explaining myself. You, with your vast experience of women of all kinds, would have whether



I am right in saying that women lack the vital principle that would set them right.

Your advice to me was to read Haynes. I do so eagerly. But so far I have not come across, well, the advice for the most part. Spinning and fighting for the universal freedom are only some aspects of the teaching. They do not seem to concern the whole solution. For I have seen women who do agree and do try to work out the Congress which is still against. Murders which are glorified on the fact of their being women.

I do not want women to become like men. But just as you have taught men about the dark lower nature, do teach us the things that would rescue our entire qualities. Tell us, please, how to make the best use of our qualities, how to turn out the advantages with advantage.

Then, the brother of my sex, as with me always. Every time I have someone say, "like a woman, that all," as a meaning way, my soul weeps, I, that is a soul is capable of weeping. A man is whom I remind of those things laughed at me and said, "That you are that child in our dreamy house? He was playing at house, and disappointed along with he came against a pillar. Instead of going round it he just tried to push it aside with his shoulders, thinking, in his childish mind, that he could move it. You remind me of him. When you say it is a philosophical thing. You make me laugh as you attempt to understand and solve it."

I had fantasized myself that my contribution to the woman's cause definitely began with the discovery of Sigmund. But the woman of the letter is of opinion that the fair sex requires treatment different from men. If it is so, I do not think any man will find the correct solution. No matter how much he tries. He must fail because nature has made him different from women. Only the word under the narrow house where it pushes him. Therefore ultimately women will have to discover with authority what she needs. My own opinion is that, just as fundamentally men and women are one, their problem must be one in essence. The end is both is the same. The two live the same life, have the same feelings. Each is a complement of the other. The one cannot live without the other's active help.

But somehow or other man has dominated women from ages past, and so woman has developed an inferiority complex. She has believed in the myth of man's superior teaching that she is inferior to him. But the men among men have recognized her equal status.

Nevertheless there is no doubt that at some point there is a difference. What is it? Fundamentally one, it is also really true that in the form there is a vital difference between the two. Hence the treatment of the two must also be different. The duty of motherhood, which the vast majority of women will always undertake, requires qualities which men need not possess. She is parent, he is active, she is essentially

matron of the house. He is the bread-winner, she is the keeper and distributor of the bread. She is the care-taker in every sense of the word. The art of keeping up the affairs of the rest is her special and sole prerogative. Without her care the rest must become chaotic.

In my opinion it is depending both for men and women that woman should be called upon as inclined to handle the heart and shoulder the risk for the protection of their hearts. It is a weakness to hesitancy and the beginning of the end, in trying to rule the house that man rides, she brings herself and him down. The man will be on man's head for hesitating or compelling his companion to desert his special calling. There is so much bravery in keeping one's home in good order and conditions as there is in defending it against attack from without.

As I have watched millions of peasants in their natural surroundings and as I watch them daily in India, Japan, the natural division of spheres of work has forced itself on my attention. There are no women blacksmiths and carpenters. For men and women work in the fields, the heaviest work being done by the males. The women keep and manage the house. They supplement the meagre resources of the family, but men maintain the main bread-winner.

The division of the spheres of work being recognized, the general qualities and culture required are precisely the same for both the sexes.

My contribution to the great problem lies in my presenting the acceptance work and choice in every walk of life, whether the individuals be women. I have hoped the hope that in the woman will be the unpermeated leader and, having thus found her place in human evolution, will shed her inferiority complex. If she is able to do this successfully, she must radically refuse to believe in the modern teaching that everything is determined and regulated by the sex impulse. I fear I have put the proposition rather clumsily. But I hope my meaning is clear. I do not know that the millions of men who are taking an active part in the war are obsessed by the sex impulse. Nor are the peasants working together in their fields worried or dominated by it. This is not to say or suggest that they are free from the instinct explained in men and women, but a man seriously does not discriminate their lives as it seems to dominate the lives of those who are obsessed with the modern sex impulse. Neither man nor woman has time for such things when he or she is faced with the hard fact of living life in its grim reality.

I have mentioned in these columns that woman is the incarnation of charity. Altruism means infinite love, which again means infinite capacity for suffering. Who but woman, the mother of man, shows this capacity in the largest measure? She shows it in the career she takes and finds a deepest new meaning and devotion for in the suffering involved. What can but the suffering

counted by the pain of labour? But she forgets them in the joy of motherhood. Who again suffers daily so that her babe may grow from day to day? Let her transfer that love to the whole of humanity but her fingers she uses on or can be the object of man's lust. And she will ensure her great pleasure by the rule of man as her master, ruler; and when leader. It is given to her to teach the art of peace to the warring world thinking that that better. She can become the leader in Sarvagraha which does not require the learning that books give but does require the sweet heart that comes from suffering and faith.

My good nurse in the Sanson Hospital Prison, as I was living in a sick bed years ago, told me the story of a woman who refused to take chloroform because she would not risk the life of the babe she was carrying. She had to undergo a painful operation. The only anaesthetic the hospital was her love for the babe, so sure whom no suffering was too great. Let not women who can create such beauty among them ever despair that sex or desire that they were not made men. The consummation of that beauty often makes us very women the same that is here of the only kind. There is as much reason for man to wish that he was born a woman as for woman to do otherwise. But she was a freeman. Let us be happy in the state in which we are born and do the duty for which nature has destined us.

Sagon, B.S.-4

### A DOUGHTY DEWAN

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, the Jaigaply Dewan of Travancore, has added another feather to his cap by his recent press interview in reply to Gandhiji's statement on the result of his talks with the Viceroy. He has taken strong exception to Gandhiji's remark that the Princes being vassals of the British Crown could not claim a status superior to the Crown itself, and that when the Crown parted with the power it enjoys today over the whole of India, they must look to its successors, i.e. the people of India, for the preservation of their status. "It is not correct to say," declared the Travancore Dewan, "that the States have no status apart from the Crown. Many States have maintained an independent existence for hundreds of years, and were States including Hyderabad and Travancore and many of the Rajput and other States, have never been annexed.... It cannot be asserted that, if the Crown parts with power today, the Princes also have to do so. Nor can there be an automatic transference of allegiance or obligation or tribute to some other political entity excepting on the basis of fresh understandings and new treaties. On the other hand, if the Crown withdraws from India, the Indian States presumably will maintain the position they occupied in India before the treaties were entered into." Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer is a keen conservative.

usual lawyer and is reported to be careful about his facts. One can, therefore, only wish that in his eagerness to contradict Gandhiji and maintain an admirable position he has permitted wishful thinking to act the better of his historical sense.

Let us recapitulate the facts, not as Sir C. P. would have like us to believe but as they are recorded in history. Travancore entered the treaty with the year 1793, when it agreed to maintain a subsidiary force within its territory. Additions were made to the 1793 treaty in 1805 as "the intentions of the original treaty were not fulfilled." Article 9 of the treaty of 1805 ran thus:

"The Highness hereby promises to pay at all times the amount stipulated in such advice as the Highness Government shall occasionally judge it necessary to after as view of the economy of finance, better collection of his revenues, the administration of justice, the extension of commerce, the encouragement of trade, agriculture and industry or any other objects connected with the advancement of the Highness' subjects and the happiness of his people." (Emphasis mine.)

The treaty also stipulated for the Crown securing the government of the country "if the subsidy should not be regularly paid." The British control was resisted by the State, and in 1809 the Dewan of Travancore and Cochin combined to offer armed resistance to the British. "A military force was dispatched by the Madras Government and the rising was quelled with excessive severity. The Dewan fled when beaten, and killed himself. His body was affixed at Tripunithura."

It is difficult to pretend in the face of this that the treaty relations of Travancore with the Crown are of a contractual nature as between equal sovereigns that cannot be set aside or altered by unilateral action on the part of the Crown. Nor has there been the least hint that irrespective of the original terms of the contract, half a century of subservience and political pressure has reduced all States, big and small, to a position of 'unconscious co-operation' in relation to the British Crown. As Lord Reading remarked the Marquis in his celebrated letter to the latter, "No order of an Indian State can possibly claim to supersede with the British Government on an equal footing. Its supremacy is not based only upon custom and usage, but some independence of them." Thus the theory of unrequited independence, and the claim that Sir C. P. has based upon it for the State to supersede, fall to the ground.

Equally untenable is the contention that the alliance of the Princes is to the British Crown as person and cannot be transferred to the would-be Dominion Government of India without the Princes' consent. As has very pertinently been pointed out, although in law the relations of the Indian States are with the Crown, the British Government will as Indian authority are as best:

"Where *India's History of India*, p. 126-127

that the story of Crown sovereignty has no other way of exposing itself than in the practice of Government-of-India relations. From the early days of the Company it has been the Government of India, and the Government of India alone, which has dealt with Indian Princes and Indian States. The British Government has claimed as one of its functions exclusively the unfettered right to interpret Sovereignty and determine the scope of its exercise. It has never held itself as being under any obligation to consult the States about any arrangements concerning their future. It did not consult them when it made an first declaration of Paramountcy in 1859 on taking over the government of India from the hands of the Company. It did not consult them when, by the Royal Titles Act of 1876, His Britannic Majesty was declared the Emperor of India, nor again when the Interpretation Act of 1889 was passed providing a statutory basis for Sovereignty. May one ask, so what contrivance of law, when a "contract" may be performed by an agent, can the choice of the agent be made to rest not with the principal but with the other party to the "contract"? In the natural course of events it is the would-be Common Government of India that will select and exercise all the prerogatives and functions that the Government of India today exercises either as its own right or under delegated authority of the Crown, just as the Government of India exercised all the Company's powers when it succeeded the latter in 1858. Moreover, it must be remembered that in constitutional parlance the Crown is only a conventional expression for the King-in-Parliament. The British Constitution does not recognize any limitation upon the sovereignty of the Parliament. A statute of Parliament is a statute like the peasant can, and would necessarily have to, take the opinion of Parliament to interpret responsibility in an Indian legislature. As Professor Keith has pointed out:

"It is impossible for the Crown to advance to me and that the people of India shall be denied the right of Indians in the provinces, and it is their clear duty to advise the King/Emperor to use this authority to secure that Princes shall enter upon constitutional relations which will result in no distant date in uniting Responsible Government thereto. No Paramountcy can be devised in the interest of India, if it is a representation of the people of the provinces are compelled to act with the conscience of responsible Indians. There is, in fact, no answer to Mr. Cecil's claim that the Princes are bound to follow the Crown in its transfer of authority to the people."

The choice before the Princes, as Sir Samuel Hoare declared in the course of the Government of India Act debate in the House of Commons, is that they must either continue as a state of vassalage under the Paramountcy of the Crown which refuses to be defined and whose scope is therefore indefinite, or they may show the honour and pride with their consciousness of shaping India's destiny, on a basis of perfect equality and concordance by coming into the national assembly as their people's representatives. There

is no other way of escape from the conscious operation of Paramountcy. The more they have of Federalism and representative government in the States, the less will they come under Paramountcy. To contend that the past and present Governments of India were accountable to the Princes because they were essentially foreign in their composition and not responsible to the Indian electorates, and that the future Government of India would not be acceptable because it will be responsible to their own constituents, is neither dignified nor patriotic. It smacks of a wallflower which, one hopes, the Princes will let their own good sense quickly dispel.

But the very idea of the States passing under the paramountcy of the Indian people is to Sir C. P. like red rag to the bull. He seeks refuge from it in the sacred past of his own upbringing, and early recalls that, in the event of the Crown withdrawing from India, the States will presumably resume their independent existence which they enjoyed before the treaties were entered into. The statement is understandable only as an outcropping of typical conservatism. It is wrong both in fact and in inference. In the first place, the 'independent existence' of the States, so which Sir C. P. holds back, is apocryphal, existing only in his imagination. As the Butler Committee candidly pointed out in its Report, "It is not in accordance with historical fact that when the Indian States came into contact with the British Power they were independent.... In fact none of the States ever held international status. Nearly all of them were subordinate or tributary to the Moghul Empire, the Maratha Supremacy or the Sikh Kingdom, and dependent on them. Some were seized, others were created by the British." In the second place, with all deference to Sir C. P.'s claims to a practical 'realism', one may venture to point out that you cannot wipe out a whole crowded era of political development and hence lock the course of history over a century and a half as Sir C. P. seems to be intent upon doing. It is no more possible to revert to the status that the States held before they entered the treaty map than, for instance, it would be to resurrect the Sultan of Mysore from whose 'clutches' the Raps of Travancore were 'rescued' by its entry into the tributary system. Much water has flown under the bridge since those begonia times, and whole populations peopling the States are no longer to be treated or disposed of like mere pawns in the political game, without any regard to their wishes or political aspirations. To think of doing so only betrays a medieval outlook, utterly out of keeping with the spirit and temper of the present age of democratic ideals and self-determination. It is the will of the people alone that must prevail in deciding their future.

Septem. 12-2-40

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## A BENGAL GRIEVANCE

Trade follows the flag, they say, but unfortunately for subject races, not only trade but drink also follows the flag. Thus Sir R. A. Hume, addressing the Fifth Session of the Congress in Bombay in 1889, quoted the following from a memorial presented by his father a year before 1838 to the Governor of Bombay on behalf of the citizens of Bombay:

"It is a lamentable fact in the history of British India that the traffic of any new territory to the English Government has generally been followed by a speedy and marked increase in the number of liquor shops and a consequent extension on the spread of intemperance among the people. If we consider, not the extent here, the source and the prevalence of intemperance have generally at once increased manifold, and it can hardly be doubted that in this respect the territory will under native rule would increase still fearfully with the English territories."

He then proceeded:

"This is as true today as it was 40 years ago. Take the case of Burma. We understand the fact to be that the liquor revenue has more than doubled since we occupied Upper Burma."

Now Thomas Ervin also spoke to the Congress on the same subject and observed—

"When the King of Oude was Lord and Master in the country, there was no grog shop in Lucknow within ten miles of the city, but now we have over 150 grog shops in Lucknow under British rule. When that wicked man—I suppose I should not call him by a better name—God have mercy on his soul, King Theodore of Burma was sitting upon his throne, there was not a grog shop in Upper Burma, but the English have taken possession of the country, and had put the worst revenue in Upper Burma was over 2 lakhs. When the East India Company came to us and in 1862, the revenue from the same of India was 50 lakhs of rupees, today it is nearly 200 lakhs of rupees."

These speeches were made just a little over 50 years ago, and the revenue from opium was, before prohibition came, about 400 lakhs in a single province like Bombay or Madras.

The cost of drink in terms of poverty, epidemic, disease, insanity, vice and crime is difficult to exaggerate. The Congress therefore made prohibition a plank in its fourfold programme of 1930, and when Congress ministers were formed on the pretence they had to abstain drink as best they could. And although the Congress is no longer in power, the article it took has not been mutually renounced.

Such being the present position, we were not prepared for the following item of news in *The Hindustan Standard* of January 11, 1940 (Vol. II, No. 182):

"While the Government of Bombay are scrupulously pursuing the policy of Prohibition advocated by their predecessors in office, the Lieutenant Governor of the Municipality of Calcutta and Garden Reach, of which the Collector of Revenue is the Secretary, are anxious to do away with the unpopular provision that was established as a result of work done by the late Sir David Fraser Bartholomew in close

co-operation with a band of intemperate workers, by permitting the establishment of opium shops in what is termed as the 'Dry Area' of Calcutta, specially selected by students."

The 'Dry Area' formerly was bounded in the north by Macmillan Street, in the west by Circular Road, in the south by Northstar Street and in the east by Clarendon Road. As this area contains most of the schools and colleges of the city, Sir David Fraser led a campaign, with the result that opium shops within the area were either abolished or removed beyond the boundary of the area.

The Licensing Board, however, it is understood, have previously sanctioned the opening of a new shop of grog, spirit and wine in Macmillan Street, the place being situated between a mosque and a school.

The Board have also sanctioned work elsewhere about the opening of a 'grog' shop in Nabam Road in Lane, Calcutta. The question of the continuance of the shop at the rate will come up for consideration at the next meeting of the Board.

The number of opium shops at present existing in the city are as follows:

Country Road 41, Canal 21, Bhagy 13, Opium 12, Chandra 5, Pongra Lagoon Public 'off' (Combined with trade) 20, Pongra Lagoon Public 'off' (Single) 22, Hotel 12, Muzumdar 24. Bars attached to Hotels and Restaurants (including additional bars in Chatterjee) 21, Pongra Lagoon 'on' 4, Railway Station Road 1, and bars attached to six Cinema Houses 15.

In addition to these the Licensing Board have previously sanctioned the following new licenses:

One shop of Pongra Lagoon Public 'off' in Barabazar, Trunk Road, one shop of Pongra Lagoon Public 'off' in Bhagwati Kish Bhagya Road, one Indian bar (without bar) in Chandra Road, one Cinema and Opium shop in Duttar Lane, one shop of Cinema (making lounge shop) in Rajabazar Main Road, one shop of Cinema in Radhama Road, another shop of Cinema in Waddar Street, and one Cinema, Opium and Bhagy shop at Macmillan Street."

Let us hope that the news is not true. If the unfortunately Madras Government of Bengal actually do this way to close all liquor and drug shops as they ought to, let them cost, at any rate, opium shops which have been closed by previous Governments or open new shops of their own.

Signers, 18-1-40

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# HARIJAN

New Mahadev Press

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POONA — SATURDAY, MARCH 2 1930

[ ONE ANNA

## NOTICE

The next issue, to be published on the 9th March, will contain various pages and will be priced at two annas per copy. Agents will please notify changes to their correspondents, if any, by Thursday next.

We should like to draw the attention of the agents to one of our agency terms, viz. that there should always be a balance to their credit sufficient to cover the full cost of the supply of copies for that week, and that failure to comply with this requirement will result in their supply being stopped at once.

Manager

## GANDHI KEVA BANGSI

I

### The Atmosphere

When last year Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh invited the meeting of the Gandhi Sewa Sangh in Bengal, he had not perhaps bargained for the trouble he was inviting upon himself. As a devoted and energetic worker his main object was, through having the annual meeting of the Sangh in the centre of the Bengal villages, to kindle a wave of enthusiasm for constructive work. In this object I am sure he has succeeded, but he had a fair amount of pain to pay.

The Sangh met in a little surroundings on the bank of the Padma which has a river-bed of several miles and water-bed of nothing less than two miles. Two barabans from the bank and a crowd's show from where the conference met in the village of Malkanda but in a thick grove of trees, where Dr. Prafulla Ghosh was here. He has now his Ashram there, and the Sangh meeting was held on the very mud bank which can be then used and utilised in the dry season but which helps in making the river an endless sheet of water during the rains. There was little heat during the day and the nights were delightfully cool, even cold.

But the beauty was marred by a noisy demonstration made by a few persons. We had this at all stations on our way to Sandeshkhora and from Calcutta to Malkanda. At Malkanda however, there was a group shouting hostile slogans at all hours of the day, not stopping even the proper hour. The slogans included "Don't want Gandhi", "Down with Gandhism", "Don't want Ashram Communes". I made a point of witnessing one of these demonstrations. In the centre was a small crowd shouting the slogans, but surrounding them was a crowd of villagers who looked on, wondering what the

show meant. And a few yards from them walked in groups thousands of men and women in their houses during the day after the Gandhian's death.

The shouts would not have mattered, had they not been accompanied by hostile acts. On the eve of our arrival here four persons were arrested for attempts to set fire to the ashram building, and on the next day four people—two of them having been responsible for placing at Prafulla Ghosh's disposal their lands for the Sangh meeting—were arrested and kept.

What these methods of aggression were aimed at it was not easy to see. The Gandhi Sewa Sangh is not a political organisation. It is any political speech of a propaganda nature during the last few years has been made there. Dr. Prafulla Ghosh had given no permission to any party by inviting the meeting in the name of everyone's opposition, in fact he had been pressing his invitation for the last two years. But, whether right or not, we might say, they could not have been so hostile, unless they and those whom they represented had a grievance, imaginary or real. Whatever that may be, the demonstration served to provide the use for almost all of Gandhiji's speeches at Malkanda, the address to the workers being devoted mostly to them. Whilst most of the people are wondering and bewildered, Gandhiji was busy all the time directing the marchers towards and making a call to the members for increasing self-satisfaction. The whole thing was an enormous—the inspiring beauty of the spot and the young shouts, the wonderful number of the workers who have given their all to the motherland and the hundreds towards them, the devoted way in which so many women laboured in the kitchen day and night and the volunteers did the cleaning and sweeping and the peaceful way in which they were kept on the marchers and some of them had to keep all-night vigils for fear of any attack. And yet while this imaginary discontent and disturbed and arrested state of us, it gave Gandhiji an opportunity for carrying his chosen a very farther.

### The Creation, Not the Cause

But let no one think that the address Gandhiji gave to and was accepted by the members of the Sangh was due only to the atmosphere created by these hostile elements. That we had been unaccountably worked towards the conference will be evident from a study of the Gandhi Sewa Sangh reports for the past two years. At



During its 1938 Conclave, asked the members to give a tangible proof of their solemnity by helping concretely to cement Hindu-Muslim unity with the blood of their willing sacrifices. At Providence in 1939 Gandhi defined shama as more vivid stated: "Shama delights in splendid burning; was the mark of honor, shama denotes all that comes to pass. There is no escape for the masses of shama as between two believers in shama, there is escape only when shama is less in face with honor." With this he went even deeper into the cause of his apparent failure in Rajkot, advocated his coming decision to renounce the Gopur Award, and said: "Your shama is being put to a severe test. I would ask you to give up the name 'Gandhian' and Gandhism. You may call yourselves shamas if you like, but 'Gandhian' is meaningless. Gandhi is an angry mortal, a mixture of good and evil, so you cannot go by the name 'Gandhi-ism'. Shama is a rock substantiated by it is pure gold. And if you will examine yourselves, you will see that much of the hypocrisy in the Congress is due to your failure to live up to your shama in thought, word and deed. We have had become in our own minds, and the defects of the Congress have been reflected on a small scale in us. Why should we not then examine ourselves and leave the Shakti of us alone live up to our creed, no matter whether the Shakti is as a result related to the membership of primary or secondary?" Then he referred to the new technique he had discovered in the Rajkot laboratory and said that the members should work their hands clean of all politics, if they could not practice their shama in all their dealings. That shama was to be the shama of the brave and not of the weak. If they were not prepared for it, it was better to renounce their belief and stand up the Shakti. From Providence he went straight back to Rajkot, and the decision that was coming in his brain for some days was finally upon them: "to renounce the Gopur Award. The decision to advise the members of the Gandhi Seva Shakti to stand up the Shakti as to continue it steadily to constructive activity came as a natural outgrowth to the Rajkot decision. The Hindu democrats perhaps confirmed the decision, but were in no way the cause of it.

#### How He Arrived at the Decision

When he promised to place his decision before the members of the Shakti on the morning of the 22nd, he must have not been fully made up. He had discovered it with Sir Eshwarji Maharaja whose presidential address with simplicity, however, had discussed the social question and thrown out certain fundamental suggestions. To summarize his speech in a few sentences is a difficult task, but I shall make an attempt: "The Shakti," he said, "was originally started with a view to carrying on the constructive work of the Congress. There are so many organizations now specially functioning

to carry on the different departments of constructive work, e.g. the A. I. E. A., the A. I. V. I. A., etc. What work then remains for the Shakti? The War put us all on our minds, but an responsible member had just suggested that the Shakti had no special non-violent contribution to make on the question. The Shakti can be useful only for those who are prepared on the path of non-violence and truth, but only in the sense that there is life and usefulness in it. That condition can be satisfied only if the conduct of the members daily strengthens the Shakti. The question remains an open report, the moment the members begin to invest themselves in matters touching money and the State. The Shakti can be useful and grow from strength to strength only if it resolves firmly to have nothing to do with money or resources which involve a breach of truth or shama, and therefore no member can have anything to do with an organization of which the working involves the breach."

This made it all the more necessary for Gandhi to deal with the question, and he discussed it out in the very first speech. He began in a hesitant tone, but as he went on against his promise he came gradually to the conclusion that there was no escape from the decision to advise the members to stand up the Shakti in its present form. This is what he said in effect:

"I finished (he has laughed every word that he has said in beginning the proceedings of the session) I mean say that he has simply voiced my feelings. I hope he did weigh every word and what he said represents his faith for a while some courage to say that, if the Shakti was to continue itself exclusively as constructive society, principally speaking, we can save Shakti. He has expressed broadly what I have hesitated to say, and that is why he wants every one of the workers to sign at least a hundred thousand yards every year. He went further and said that he was convinced that the Shakti was the symbol of non-violence. The Shakti is the one of the system round which all the other fundamental revolve, and since it takes form now, like the oak it is capable of supporting a multitude of other activities. But above all it is the symbol of non-violence, and wherever there is a up must only it up in that belief."

That brings me to the question whether we should continue the Shakti in its present form or whether we shall start in its present form. I know that we are going to live nothing if we stand it up, and if we start it we have to do so radically. But I am not yet quite definite on the point. I shall explain how we have nothing to stand up the Shakti. The Shakti 'Down with Gandhism' is not without meaning. For if Gandhism means simply mechanically running the Shakti it deserves to be discarded. Millions of women used in the past to spin regularly, but they were enslaved in slavery.



# *Harijan*

Mar. 3

1940

## THE RIGHT STEP

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It was not without a pang that I allowed the important step taken by the Gandhi Seva Sangh. The harbinger was performed when the Sangh was in full bloom of life. Kishorelal Mathurwala is one of our rare workers. He is indefatigable. He is conscientious to a fault. He does not escape his victim's eye. He is a philosopher and popular voice in Gujarat. He is as good a Marvell scholar as he is a Gujarati scholar. He is singularly free from race, caste, or provincial pride, or prejudice. He is an independent thinker. He is no politician. He is a born reformer. He is a student of all religions. There is no trace of bigotry in him. He needs responsibility and publicity. And yet there is no man who having undertaken responsibility would discharge it with greater thoroughness than he. It was with great difficulty that I succeeded in persuading him to become President of the Gandhi Seva Sangh. His industry and single-minded devotion brought the Sangh the importance and usefulness it has shown. In never desisted of his labours. (I cannot that on merit but a demand as a public worker), he made himself available to all sections at all times. He wishes to become indispensable to the Sangh. With infinite care he produced a constitution for the Sangh which can be used as a model by any such organisation.

I mention these details not to glorify Kishorelal. He needs no glorifying. I mention them for my own satisfaction and to show the reader and especially the running members and the numerous sympathisers of the Sangh that the step was not taken without the wisest deliberation. For the past two years we, its builders, have been groping. We have been feeling that it was not performing the famous worship of its deity. It has ever remained surrounded by party or power politics. It was born to support and popularise the constructive part of the Congress programme. Kishorelal was working himself out to make it effective. But we were not satisfied with the result. With our constant loss that as workers of the Congress we were not concerned with results, there should have been an natural dissatisfaction. But it was there. The cause, as it has turned out, was not poverty of results but poverty of the means. We were, at least I was, groping for the exact reason of the Sangh apart from its function of being a distributing agency for funds donated or collected by leadership for the support of constructive Congress workers. It was

in Mathurwala that I discovered the central disease and the remedy. The Sangh was a superfluity so far as the mass carried out of the constructive programme was concerned. For the necessary had brought into being the A. I. S. A., the Harjan Sevak Sangh, the A. I. W., I. A., and the Taluk Sangh. Was there nothing else for the Sangh to do which would be worthy of the ability and sacrifice of workers like Kishorelal?

Perhaps the answer came in Mathurwala. The Sangh has to explore the possibilities of showing to all walks of life. It has to find out whether in reality the activities known as constructive have vital constructive work, or are inevitable consequences of the application of science to material life. Alas! in theory no one knows. It is as unobtainable as God. But in its working we get glimpses of it as we have glimpses of the Almighty in His working amongst and through us. It is the function of the Sangh to apply their mind as resources to this laborious task. The constructive activities of the different organisations furnish the Sangh with ample data for its investigations. When the season was discovered we found that we were paid an unnecessary for shouldering the tremendous responsibility. It is good that the discovery has been made. Without the past five years' incessant labour it might not have been made. The Sangh has been kept alive in the hope that the rich men, master workers, would be forthcoming to approach the masses that which no nobler is to be found. Let the running workers know that for them, too, the work has only now begun. Let them become workers and stand workers at the research laboratory and send their results to the Sangh. Their legal connection with Kishorelal is finished. The prior and unbreakable connection has only now begun. In the new president the Sangh has an equally well tried and equally conscientious worker. Jijup is no philosopher, he is no writer. But he is more practical. He has been in charge of the Maharashtra branch of the A. I. S. A. His labours have made of it the success it is.

The reconstruction is a right step. It must have the right form.

Calcutta, 26.2.40

### To Correspondents and Message-bearers

In spite of my anxiety as Harjan of December 2nd those who can spare me minutes to write and ask for messages. I would refer them to the poster for fuller explanation. I know several intimate friends have not received acknowledgments or messages. They will forgive me. I have no broken my heart if I am to cope with the responsibility I am accorded. And what can be better than that I should commence with known friends?

Guzerat, 15-3-40

M. K. G.

Mahatma Gandhi

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## WHAT I SAW IN SANTINIKETAN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The visit to Santiniketan was a pilgrimage for me. I had long wanted to go there, but the opportunity offered itself only on my way to Mahatma Gandhi's house in Calcutta. I was first there in 1915 when it was yet without shape, — not that it is not doing so even now. Gandhi is himself growing. Old age has made no difference to the clarity of his mind. Santiniketan will therefore never cease to draw so long as Gandhi's spirit broods over it. He is in evidence and everything in Santiniketan. The sanitation in which he is held by everyone is evident because it is spontaneous. It certainly edified me. The tale the grateful students and staff gave him accurately describes the picture he commands in Santiniketan. He does so because he has lost himself in the place and the congregation. I saw that he was living for his distant creature, Vinobabhai. He wants it to prosper and to feel sure of its future. He had a long talk about it with me but that was not enough for him, and so as we parted he put into my hands the following precious letter:—

"Dear Mahatma,

You have just had a bird's-eye view this morning of our Vinobabhai's course of activities. I do not know what estimate you have formed of its merit. You know that though the movement is national in its immediate aspect it is international in its spirit, offering according to the best of its means India's hospitality of culture to the rest of the world.

At one of its crucial moments you have saved it from an other landowner and helped it to do its duty. We are ever thankful to you for this act of kindness.

And, now, before you take your leave of Santiniketan I make my fervent appeal to you. Accept this invitation under your protection, giving it an assurance of permanence if you consider it to be a national asset. Vinobabhai is like a vessel which is carrying the cargo of my life's last treasure, and I hope it may claim special care from my countrymen for its preservation.

With love

RAMESHRAM TAGOR

Who am I to take the invitation under my protection? It carries God's protection because it is the creation of an honest soul. It is not a show thing. Gandhi himself is international because he is truly national. Therefore all his efforts are international and Vinobabhai is the best of all. I have no doubt whatsoever that Gandhi deserves to be relieved of all anxiety about its future so far as the financial part is concerned. In my reply to his touching appeal I have promised all the assistance I am capable of rendering. This note is the beginning of the effort.

Calcutta, 26-2-1940

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## MY ADVICE TO NOAKHALI

HINDUS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Manojkumar Taluk and other friends from Noakhali came to see me during my stay in Mahabub about the defenders of the Hindus in their locality. Manojkumar Taluk has been in correspondence with me as the matter for some time. I have not answered the previous. I had written the time and the work to do so. That is the special province of the Provincial Congress Committee and finally the central body. But I had no difficulty in giving general advice. Their case is more or less like the latter case. There is a great difference in degree. But I feel sure that so popularly elected Government can successfully cope with unbridled goondas as it is obliged to be in Noakhali. It is essentially a case of self-defence. Self-respect and honour cannot be protected by others. They are for each individual himself or herself to guard. Government can at best punish offenders after the offence has been committed. They cannot secure prevention except in so far as punishment acts as a deterrent. Self-defence can be violent or non-violent. I have always advised and insisted on non-violent defence. But I recognise that at last to be better like violent defence. It requires a different training from that which is required for violent defence. Therefore, if the capacity for non-violent self-defence is lacking, there need be no hesitation in using violent means. But Manojkumar Taluk being an old Congressman said, "You say I cannot resist even in self-defence?" "That is certainly my view," I replied. "There are, however, a resolution passed by the Gaya Congress that the use of force in self-defence was permissible to Congressmen. I have never pointed this resolution. Non-violence becomes meaningless if violence is permitted for self-defence. What is it but self-defence in national conscience against an aggressive wrong? I would therefore advise Congressmen from the Congress, if you contemplate the use of force in defending yourselves in the circumstances described by you."

"But, said Manojkumar Taluk, 'supposing I adopt the Gaya resolution, would I be accused of communalism if I defended the aggrieved Hindus?'" "Certainly not," I replied. "In the first place, you do not cease to be Hindu because you are a Congressman. You will, however, be guilty of communalism, if you sided with Hindus right or wrong. In the case in point you will defend Hindus not because they are Hindus but because they are aggrieved. I would expect you to defend Muslims if you found them molested by Hindus. A Congressman recognises or should recognise communalism."

The Congressmen then discussed the Congress programme and told me that many Hindus despoiling of Congress had had joined the Hindu Mahasabha, and asked whether they could do likewise. I told them that in theory I could

me no objection. Whether the legal consequences justified the step or not I could not judge. But if I was a Congressman and found that in such I could not act effectively, I should not hesitate to put an impression which could render effective assistance I added, however, that no responsible Congressman could hold office as a Congress representative and yet be a member of the Hindu Mahasabha which is frankly a communal organisation. The whole question bristles with difficulties. The Congress demands calmness, truthfulness, and boldness. Communism is based on war, if the Congress cannot become effectively non-violent. It will itself become communal in action if it plays with non-violence. For the majority of Congressmen who are Hindus are bound to duck into violence, if they do not know the effective use of non-violence. I am quite clear in my mind that the Congress can remain non-communal only if it becomes truly non-violent in all matters. It cannot be non-violent only towards the calm and violent towards others. That way be danger and disaster.

Calcutta, 26-2-40

### GANDHI SEVA SANGH

(Continued from p. 79)

Seva Sangh, why not carry torch and shawl in every home and be individual representatives of them wherever you are?"

#### Discussion

There was plenty of discussion on Gandhi's proposition. I shall take up just one or two questions and answers.

Q "Does it mean that all politics are taboo? Does it mean that we are unfit to take part in politics? Because there has been some goodism, does it mean that we should refuse to it? Why should we then put a premium on goodness?"

A. "I have not suggested that anyone should withdraw from politics. I have simply said that as members of the Sangh we should not hold our executive offices, so that we give rise to no harassment. The Sardar takes leave from the Sangh or is member of the Working Committee. Politics as such is no taboo. All constructive activity is in a wide part and parcel of the politics of the country. But here we are referring to power politics. Ahimsa has nothing to do with power. Mine is a great experiment, and shared women needs shared water. I am a worker, and I have personally to work out the science of Satyagraha.

"And why should there be embargo for politics? Have we ever discussed politics so called here? Have you asked me what happened between the Viceroy and me? Do you ever ask the Sardar to tell you what he has to do as Chairman of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee? We are a body of workers. We come here for inspiration, for correcting our errors, and if

our march divides the way I am enjoined, why stick at the fear of being misunderstood?"

"There is confusion everywhere. What is our duty? We have to fight human with ahimsa. How do we need a Sangh to fight the problems that we are witnessing? It will be sheer folly to do so. Supposing someone showers abuse on us, what shall we do? We will not ask him to be quiet, but we will show our two eyes. Supposing someone calls me names, shall I go to his house and receive more abuse? I wonder if you know the nature of the three monkeys in Kabe. It represents three monkeys with closed ears, closed mouth, and closed eyes, eloquently teaching the world to have no evil, to speak no evil, and to see no evil. That is the secret of non-cooperation. Shall we direct student-leaders to the people outside the gate? Of course we will not leave the place if they should come and invade our camp. But why should we go and feed their provocation?"

"The Sardar's membership adds to the prestige of the Sangh, not so he. He need not depend on the Sangh for his political work. He is a born politician. That kind of work is in his bones, whereas constructive work is so much. Of course he has taken up constructive work, but that is not his passion. I was born for it, it is part and parcel of myself. I would dance with joy if I had to give up politics; not so perhaps the Sardar. That is the difference between us. For those who derive pleasure from the Sangh is a hope that they bring that borrowed glory, it is that way that we give it the colour of a real experience which it was never intended to be.

"And let us not feel that the Sangh is a matter shall to be kept away. I have never said so. What I do say is that it has not found its mission. I have got nothing from it. It remains so ground for the exercise of my ahimsa. For you will hear with me on matters what I say. But the Congress does give me that exercise. For I can be opposed and criticised there. That becomes the test of my ahimsa. I can always replace my heavy shoes, 'What can the Sangh give me then?'"

#### Endow Power Politics

This question he answered on the third day. He gave an exhaustive explanation of the change he wanted to bring about, and of the task he wanted the reorganised Sangh to fulfil. He said:

"The resolution adopted at Hadd as my motto was, I now see, an error. If we really wanted to enter politics, we should have changed the complexion of the Sangh. We have no political books even I have read little on socialism beyond the books that Jayaprakash and Muzum gave me. Politics as called is, I see, neither in my hat nor in most of you, your president the least. He is a philosopher, moralist and writer.

"Yet by the Hadd resolution we allowed the world to think that we were entering politics

and that we had had enough experience. Unconsciously I cried. It is best to own the score. It is wise to add to our strength. We have discovered our shortcomings and we have become wiser by experience. Error comes to be error when it is corrected. There is no sin in the Sangh as power politics. It is such a dangerous game that even individuals may have to get out of it, for their chance will be put in the nearest box.

#### "Down with Gandhism"

"I told you on the first day the circumstances in which Gandhism deserved to be destroyed. Now I go further and say that for Gandhism to be destroyed it is enough for error. Truth and ahimsa will never be destroyed, but if Gandhism is another name for non-violence, it deserves to be destroyed. If I were to know, after my death, that what I stood for had degenerated into terrorism, I should be deeply pained. We have to walk away slowly. Let me say that he is a follower of Gandhi. It is enough that I should be my own follower. I know what an adequate follower I am of myself, for I cannot live up to the conventions I stand for. You are no followers but fellow workers, fellow pilgrims, fellow workers, fellow workers."

"Once you have realised this, you will see that we must make power politics, i.e. the holding of considerable positions in the Congress, municipal and local bodies."

#### A Research Organisation

"When we have done this, our Sangh is to be useful should become a post-graduate school or a research organisation. For constructive work there are already other institutions—the Charkha Sangh, the Village Industries Association, the Basic Education Scheme, the Haryana Sewak Sangh, all of which I am directing or guiding. There are the Hind Franch and the Ahmedabad Labour organisations also which are under my guidance. Now, if the Sangh converted itself into a post-graduate or research organisation for all these bodies, it would fulfil its true function. These organisations cannot carry on the research work. For instance, the Charkha Sangh was created specially to give partial employment to the half-caste weavers who have more idle hours during an month in the year. I cannot expect Bhambhani to find and explain to his sponsors the non-violence aspect of the charkha or its many implications. That will be your function. You have to study all the implications and place the results of your research before the public. Socially with the other organisations. The Sangh's work should continue when there ends. Then there can be no fear of over-lapping or a clash. How can there be a clash where all are ruled by ahimsa? The sponsors will see, but you will try to realise God as I am trying to do through the charkha. Work is very in that you will perfect yourself in it. You will not ever content with long distances

apart. Every break of the thread should be considerable for you, you will study every hole about the charkha, as Vinoba has done. He has reduced the whole thing, or is trying to reduce it, to scientific precision. He has put over me a piece of cloth woven out of the silk you spun by a Muslim pupil of his. It is a very fine piece of workmanship."

"Then you will ask yourselves whether the charkha takes you daily nearer to the clearance of your eleven vows, whether it is going to add to the people's strength or will reduce them to weakness, whether it will make of them non-violent workers and soldiers for a new order, or whether it will reduce them to slavery."

"You must know that even a society organised on the basis of violence is run by experts. We have to be experts for the establishment of a society on the basis of truth and non-violence."

"We have to make truth and non-violence not merely for more individual progress but for progress by groups and communities and nations. That is my race is my dream. I shall live and die in trying to realise it. My faith helps me to discover new truths every day. Ahimsa is the substance of the soul, and therefore is to be practised by everybody in all the affairs of life. If it cannot be practised in all departments, it has no practical value."

"Are we capable of the task I have chalked out here? It is clear that this difficult but most important work cannot be done by all of you. Under my plan most of you will come to be members. The few who remain will address themselves to the task. If you think this too difficult a task, it is best to wind up the Sangh. That does not mean that you will not individually work for that great task which will call forth all the faculties of your mind and body and soul and dedicate themselves to it. Whatever is the case, the Sangh as it stands order has to go. It has no moral credit. Today it simply denies away the message of a God-fearing, persevering, able worker like Embodiment who has simply worn himself out. Let us free him from task and set about our task."

#### "I Change, I Do Not Die"

The Committee to which the task was entrusted of doing whatever was needed, i.e. of working up or supporting a vital modification, drafted, after a few hours' labour, the following resolution which was finally adopted by the Sangh:

"Whereas our experience has shown that holding of responsible positions by members of the Gandhi Sewa Sangh in political organisations is undesirable, the method of the Sangh involves that such members of the Sangh as are on any election bodies in such organisations and intend to serve on them should not continue as members of the Sangh. This does not by any means mean any reflection on such members or on political work. The resolution has to be taken because of the fact that the active participation of the members of the Sangh in politics has enough

interests which is proof of the fact that their presence of them has been adequate. Their chance must by its very nature conclude a season in time.

"It has always been the first belief of the League that the amelioration of the conditions of labor is impossible without constructive work in which alone the masses can directly participate. The League's activity will, therefore, be confined to things in constructive work, and it will address itself to that part of the constructive program which at present does not come within the province of the A. L. S. A., A. L. V. I., and so on, and the observation, study and research in the subject of the relation of constructive work to science and of the masses of such work on individuals and society. And whereas there are not enough workers today capable of this social work, and men are available for the purpose of the study and research advanced, the activities of the League will be supported more for the advancement and development of the League's funds among paid workers and otherwise and the publication of the monthly *Saraghat*.

"The membership of the League will be limited to the following who will also constitute the Executive Committee of the League.

- "*Sir*, Kristianen Berg—President and Treasurer
- " E. S. Datta—Secretary and Treasurer
- " Eshwari Mathew—Member and Treasurer
- " Gajendran Chatterjee—Member
- " Akshayji—Member
- " Sureshchandra Durling—Member
- " Dilipkumar Dey—Member
- " Suresh P. Parashar—Member
- " Krishnan Gaudin—Member

"And all the other members will be limited to have assigned. It is also resolved that the Executive Committee will have all powers to amend or alter the constitution of the League and will exercise all the other powers of the League.

In the speech on the resolution Gaudin explained how, though the League was radically altering its character, it looked forward to a past and noble reconstruction. "We discovered our bankruptcy," he said, "as we proceeded to find the body of workers who have no work as experts in place of the existing body, and so we have had to find a kind of interim solution. There was no other alternative. The fact is that the League, which you thought was giving rise to confusion and strength, had really no done so. Its president did, not because he was president, but because he is Krishnan Mathew. Though if you cease to be members of the League, every one of you will represent in yourselves the ideal that the League stood for. When I addressed the Saraghatists at Saraghat I told the members to become each of them a moving Ashoka. In the same way you have each one to become a moving Gaudin Saraghat. Every member will now do more self-education, and prepare himself for the task in those

of him. Each one will go determined to fulfill in his life the ideal he is vowed to, ready, if need be, to face death with a will and a cheer. If you do so, you will go to your houses light heartedly and not in sorrow or depression. There is really no occasion for sorrow or depression. It is said that he is truly wise who knows that he does not know. Well we know that we have not lived up to our ideal, and we are casting off the burden of self-righteousness that has us down. That knowledge should give you added strength, and in course of time you will tell him, the new president, that you would like to be credited as a research member. The new constitution is a portion of the body of experts that we hope will come into being some day. Even our research scholar who has tackled the task with a will, will have continued the work of the League. The step taken today should not only liberate us but add to our strength. The League constitution was drafted in consultation with us by Krishnan with infinite care and patience. It may be that I am wrong in verbally denouncing it. But it may also be that I am right. If I am—and I think I am—let me assure you we are going a step further forward in our search after truth."

Calcutta, 26-2-40

M. D.

# QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gaudin)

## Constructive Organization

Q. Some you have excluded persons from the Gaudin Saraghat, what do you say of the Habitan Saraghat? Should they be the second day on their various meetings?

A. I have no hesitation in saying that all the constructive organizations should achieve policies as we at present have it. It may sound strange but it is true that the more these organizations devote themselves exclusively to their own particular mission, the more they will flourish and the more they will serve the national cause. It should be enough that these organizations are mostly named by Congressmen or Congress-minded men. But they are and should be approached by party politics. They would and ought to welcome the co-operation of all parties. They provide a non-political meeting ground for persons representing diverse schools of political opinion. When party politics separates us from one another even in non-prejudicial matters, it is a sure sign that something is wrong in the State of Denmark. It is a sign of corruption. It follows from what I have said that these constructive organizations ought not to try the national flag, especially so when it has become a cause of quarrel between Muslims and Hindus. Calcutta, 26-2-40

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# HARTIAN

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[ TWO ANNAS

## OUR BOMBAY BRANCH

It gives me pleasure to announce that a branch of our office has been opened this week at Bombay, at 10 Queen's Road, opposite to the Marine Lines Railway Station. The postal address is: *Martian Office, Bombay Branch, 10 Queen's Road, Bombay 2*. The business hours are 9 A. M. to 12 Noon, and 4 P. M. to 5 P. M. Copies of *Martian* and *Martianbharati*, handmade paper and stationery, and books sold by us will be available, and subscriptions for *Martian* and *Martianbharati* will also be received here.

The paper comes from almost all the producing centres in India, and is sold in various forms such as whole sheets, letter paper, envelopes, cards, tint rule paper, offset blue, pocket books, tag labels, etc. Copies of the weeklies and handmade paper will continue to be sold at the Narayana Karyalaya, 1120 Francis Street, Bombay, as before.

MARTIAN, Bombay.

## GANDHI SEVA SANGH

### II

#### Organisation of the Conference

I must pay a tribute of praise to those who organised the conference in the midst of hostile propaganda and difficulties created thereby. Prof. Lalbaba collected thirty thousand rupees aid from the various districts of Bengal, secured five of charge from the other members — one of them a Mussalman — several acres of their land for the use, and had plenty of vegetables grown in the neighbourhood so that they might be available at the time of the conference. Thousands of mosquitoes cost him an extra thousand rupees, for he had to carry and feed for over two weeks 150 more volunteers than would ordinarily have been necessary. But I was glad to be assured that one one of these was paid any remuneration or even the usual fee.

Some of us from Dacca and other districts led by Shriamati Laxmipalika Sen, Principal of a girls' school in Calcutta, offered their services, and their willing labour made kitchen and serving arrangements as clean and perfect as could be desired. In a cool cool shed which could accommodate nearly five hundred persons, Hazrat — the president, Bhabani and the humble Munimuddin — and Mussalman sat side by side and were served by these hospitable sisters with an affection that could not easily be broken or forgotten. The foodstuffs were unexceptionably clean, pure, thanks to the favourable conditions of the place being made both under careful supervision from day to day. Though the conference looks up

two days earlier than anticipated, there was that little surplus given to be disposed of.

The total expenditure was Rs. 12,000 odd, so that Prof. Lalbaba was able to hand over to Gandhi a cheque for Rs. 18,000 for use in Bengal according to his direction. The previous year's conference having cost the equivalent Rs. 16,000, Prof. Lalbaba was able proudly to say that he had succeeded in exceeding Rs. 6,000 but I shall not compare and contrast the conference at Bhabani and Mathabani, but will allow Prof. Lalbaba and his colleagues to take all the credit they deserve. The sum of Rs. 18,000 will be used as follows:

1. Rs. 9,500 earmarked for workers.
2. Rs. 6,000 to be spent for the organisation of "self-sufficiency" training.
3. Rs. 2,000 to be spent for A. I. V. I. A. work.
4. Rs. 1,000 for training workers in Hindustan.

The money will be deposited in a bank in the Gandhi Puja Fund account. Prof. Lalbaba, Anandababu and Panchananababu among jointly and severally as trustees. Accounts will be submitted to the Gandhi Seva Sangh from time to time.

#### The Workers

Who does not know the sacrifice of Bengal? As Prof. Lalbaba (mathabani) has written on workers to Gandhi I now how the trail blazed by Dinkarababu Das had been followed by numerous small or workers. Prof. Lalbaba has been so long before the public eye that the younger people now do not even remember the sacrifice he has made. He is a D. Sc. of the Calcutta University with a brilliant academic career. Having served as professor he was Asst. Master of His Majesty's Mint drawing Rs. 500 per month, when he gave up the post in response to the Congress call for non-cooperation. Even when he earned Rs. 500 he did not spend more than Rs. 50 upon himself, and distributed the rest among a number of students who were then educating themselves. Among his co-workers there are Doctors Nripan Bose and Anand Das with a lucrative practice who set the bells of the savings for public work. There are several others M. S. S. and B. S. S. There is then Shri Satishchandra Dasgupta. He and Prof. Lalbaba are former pupils of Sir P. C. Ray Satishbaba, from whom they derived the inspiration for service, was the life and soul of the Bengal Chemical works, and it did not take him much thought to decide to throw up a position that brought him nearly Rs. 2,000 a month. Today his personal needs do not exceed Rs. 20, if that. In spite of such education and

self-sacrificing men and women, who then is their objective in Bengal? Is it a puzzle of which the solution is as difficult as it is obvious. Therefore Gandhiji said to the workers, "All incompatible matters are bound to explode. You must resolve to sit on the square, and while you should be prepared to compromise, on non-negotiables you should never be in the wretchedness of having to compromise with. You should come from all such positions. That is the essence of compromise. Let service without fear or dissent shine as your motto. You are surrounded by poverty on all sides. Serve those that are afflicted whether they are Muslims, Mahomedans or others, Saragadas thousands of parties, and dividers of class and creed. It should permeate the whole of our being and society. There is no question before you of enlisting members for the Congress. Give up all thought of joining members for the sake of swelling your ranks. That is power politics. I would rather have no register than bludgeon it with bogus members. If you will that become about workers, even one of you will lead the Congress in the province without being in it."

"I hope you will not now say, 'What will happen if the Congress is captured by the opposition?' You know the Upside-down proverb: 'The whole lot—Eager by means of wantonness. Give up the Congress in order to 'anger' or have it. The moment I set my heart on some kind of capturing I am done for. No manoeuvring to keep you hold on the Congress, no descending from the right path, and you will destroy all opposition. A bogus Congress register can never lead you to Swami any more than a paper loan can help you to sail across the Pader."

### The Gandhi

What he said immediately thereafter at the larger meeting of workers was a kind of commentary on the principle enunciated in the foregoing. If I mistake not, about a furling away was being heard the slogan, "Down with Gandhism," "Let us understand," he said, "that there is a kind of poison in the atmosphere. How are we to fight it? Whether the number of those who shout these slogans is 30 or 300, we may not ignore them. We must try to discover their grievance. We may not treat them with contempt, if we are believers in ahimsa. No organisation of humans will do. It is no answer to say that they are misanthropes, for you may be sure that not one and every one who is offered a train fare and a wage would consent to come here. They must be an entire belief in their mission. And at the back of their mind is the feeling that 'Gandhism' is not to destroy what they hold dear. If that is the case, they may well desire the destruction of Gandhism. When we are the thing to shun, how can we afford to keep our tongue. We will then try to meet and plead with them and accept them that we do not desire to

obstruct their work. I do not say that you will immediately win them over, but you will certainly check the spread of the poison. Gandhism is a cancer poison, and poison breeds more poison. The cancer of love alone can destroy the poison of hate."

"Therefore let me give you a hint. Let none of you think of drawing those cries in the cry of 'Mahatma Gandhi is in!'. You have done well in not showing counter slogans. You have thought carefully about, and very little mischief has been done. If the forbearance is based on ahimsa, I am sure they will ultimately be still."

"It is a delusion to think that it is necessary to be members of the Congress in order to serve it. There are numerous people outside the Congress who are serving it better than those who are in it. Therefore I have told you that he who takes up the challenge with a knowledge of its implications serves the Congress more better than Congressmen. I was glad to be told that all of you have pledged yourselves to spin at least 60,000 yards a year. If, however, there is the slightest hesitance on your part, I would ask you not to take the pledge but try to do your quota without taking it."

"There is, however, a flaw in self-spinning in which I should like to draw your attention. You will of course spin to make your own cloth, but you will in that extent deprive the poor weavers. The wheel is meant for them. Not enough there is this flaw in it. I am asking you all to spin in order to universal spinning. Those of you who are too poor to purchase khadi will of course card and spin for yourselves. But each of you as can afford to buy your khadi will send the 60,000 yards to the Spinning Association, which will then be able to reduce the price of khadi in its stock by adding to it the gift of your yarn. That will enable poor people, who can neither spin for themselves nor purchase khadi today, to buy the khadi thus made cheaper for them. That is what I call a voluntary labour tax. In Europe there is compulsory military service. Let us have compulsory non-military service here. All that you do, you will do intelligently, of your free will, and out of a spirit of service."

"Along with khadi are the other cottage industries, Haryas service, and other forms of constructive work, which, if solidly done, will create the strength that physical work, as called, cannot. That may preclude the necessity for civil disobedience and will automatically end the Hindu-Muslim tension, abolish untouchability, abolish the inequalities between the 'hithers' and the 'righters', and break the chains of slavery. This to my mind is a rather glorious yet unobtainable."

### Women's Work

I have already mentioned the women workers. Those from Dacca Jangas presented to Gandhiji 120,000 yards of yarn, those from Scotland 12,000, from Silesia 12,000, and from Moha 1,000. Notable among these were Sharmila Laxmidevi Sen

and Arshana Sen who have been workers in the cause for years. Shrimati Debnandini Sen, aged 24, wears clothes of her own yarn and gave to Kamruti a suit woven out of her own yarn. One of the women presented to Gandhi as a image of the Motherland carved in a block of wood. She is the daughter of a Vishwakarma and inherits the art from her father. Another sister, whose name too I forget, presented to Gandhi a beautiful leather case with the picture of Mahatma brought out in relief on it. She is a student of Sri Mandalal Bose. With workers such as these, work in Bengal should be easier than in any other province. Gandhi asked them to take up what was specially women's work.

"Needle have taken to spinning, but let me confess that the art seems more naturally to you than to them. One of the reasons is that men have many other avenues of employment. And if Swamy has to come through the clerkship, you share in the fight for freedom as going to be greater. Again if Swamy has to come through non-violence, then too your place in the fight will be in the forefront, for Nature has given you a greater capacity for suffering than she has to men. In order also to wipe out the reproach of inferiority and subjection that men has imposed on women, you will take your prolonged part in the fight and prove to the world that you are braver fighters for freedom than men."

There were thousands of women in the mammoth meeting held on the 24th for the presentation of the paper. Gandhi repeated the same arguments before them.

#### The Sangh Uproar

As I said in my last article the Sangh has changed, but the Sangh cannot do, and as Gandhi has effectively shown in his article on the Sangh, it has to live more purely and nobly than ever before. It was about to be the victim of the furies and flows that overtake all organizations when they grow unwieldy, especially those with a spiritual object. There of us was the Sangh, especially its autonomous members, is free from the responsibility of watching the conduct of an unwieldy of members. Each of these as have accepted its ideals will continue to do so even now, and thus spiritual bond, as between one another and with Kshatriyashatras, can never be broken. They will not seek and get his advice, and they will without calling themselves members of the Sangh spread the fragrance of their gospel in an unobtrusive way. The committee will address itself to the special work of research with more freedom from administrative burden. The work of research has both in thinking and working out the potency of the wheel as a symbol of non-violence and as an instrument of progress in the country a hundred centuries on fire and solid foundations, and is getting in touch with workers along this line. They will examine all the criticism that is levelled against the role of the clerkship with a detachment

and, set in touch with the critics, and try to handle by whatever may be true is what they see.

As for the concrete activity of the Sangh, it will continue as before. Thus the Ashram at Tiruchengode, with its black depot and several thousand spinners, its free dispensary, hospital, English school and book-depot, the Udal centre with its work in the villages, the Coovera Chaulmala (non-violent factory) at Malwade (which turned last year nearly 4,000 shoes of dead animals, sold for 14,000 worth of tanned leather, and for 14,000 worth of manufactured goods) — all these activities will go on without being affected by the altered form of the Sangh.

#### An Appeal

Friends have drawn my attention to the fact that, while I mentioned the acts of goodness at Malwade and the hostile slogans, I had said nothing about the students on two students of Ripon College on the evening of our departure for Malwade. Sri Minorsapabala of Northbali visited the young men and found that they had received injuries, they also said that they had been assaulted by a vagabond in khadi who was shouting 'Sardar Thak ki Jai'. When I wrote my article for the last week's *Pravasi* I knew nothing about these cases. I am pained, as I know Gandhi and the Sardar would be both deeply grieved, for those who with their names on their lips assaulted anyone, no matter who he was, whether he carried a black flag or showed hostile or insulting degree. If Gandhi's words could reach all the people who take part in demonstrations of this character, he would ask them not to go to markets or similar places and, if they go there, to observe absolute quiet and discipline, no matter how much the provocations by word or deed. The cry 'Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai' when it is without restraint is positively unpleasant and harmful and often so unbearable as to make him stiff he can, and when combined with an unbecoming deed, it is an insult to him.

Having said this, may I say that those who are responsible for leading the youths of Bengal are doing an service to them if they encourage degree and undisciplined? May I mention the fact that Gandhi and the Sardar are the recipients of letters written in unbecomable language, from those who sign themselves "youths of Bengal". Daughters which were unworthy of anyone who professes to serve and love the motherland were distributed, and a well-known lady worker showed me a letter addressed to her which contained threats to her and abuse of the leaders in unbecomable language, for no other fault than that she attended the Gandhi Seva Sangh. I would like to know whom these youths served by their slogans. They certainly did not serve themselves nor did they serve the thousands of villagers who stood near the fence at Malwade in exemplary silence every day the Gandhi's darkness. There are still uncontrolled by violence. Do we want them to reach the infection?

## Notes

### Sepang Becomes Serapang

There is Sepang near Wandu where I am trying to be a village. And there is Sepang, a station on the main line about 132 miles west of Wandu. The point was that many letters and wires meant for Sepang Wandu, went to Sepang station. In order to avoid this confusion an application was sent to the authorities on behalf of the villagers to change the name of Sepang to Serapang. It is a name with a meaning. It means a village dedicated to service. The villagers who signed the application did so fully knowing what they were doing. Let us hope they will live up to the meaning of the name they have chosen to give to their village. Correspondents will please bear the change in mind.

Serapang, 5-3-48

### When The British Withdraw

"Unless you adopt an all-party form of government, you are paving the way towards moving Hindu-Muslim conflict after the British presence is withdrawn. It was an non-violence but your trustees drive minorities into the hands of British bayonets that kept the Congress in power. Try non-violence without the honor for two or three months and the work of the slaves will be reduced."

That was an excellent correspondent. I have no difficulty in believing the result that it was the British bayonets that kept the Congress minorities in power. Mr "nonviolence" may have had something to do with the victory at the polls. But it proved utterly useless to keep the minorities in power. The outstanding issue was the British bayonet. This only shows that the people at large have not yet realized the lesson of non-violence.

The remedy is not an all-party government. Such will be no government of the people for the people. It will be the government of a master for its own ends. The master will have no recorder unless than the Congress minorities had. It will also have to rely upon the British bayonet. There can be no unity except to the land unless the British bayonet is withdrawn. The task of man has to be met. Non-violence will be born out of each crisis if at all it is to be part of national life. It is daily becoming crystal clear that real unity will not come so long as the British bayonet strangles the free spirit of the people. The peace it imposes is the peace of the grave. I feel that unity will be a welcome relief, if that is the peace we have to pay for freedom. For out of them I can conserve the possibility of peace content, not out of the present security. The way out of now on the one hand and British bayonets on the other is frank acceptance of non-violence. To this our life is dedicated, and my faith in its possibility and efficacy will survive the darkness top of my body.

On the topic to Wandu, 3-3-48

### Clear Ignorance

The secretary of the Sang Kham Fong Morning School, Hsinchuan, Shelling has sent a regular letter to those who are interested in matters educational, and has borrowed me also with a copy. I submit the following from it.

"The Danish Government gave education grants to the Chinese missionaries for spreading schools among the people of the Kham and Jiamia Hsiao District. The missionaries played the text books as schools according to their liking and choice, we history of Jesus, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and so on and so forth. They translated the Bible into Kham language and made it a text-book for schools. The will find the negative staff for the schools of the District against study of Christianity. Fortunately for the Khamas, some pure Kham professors of higher ed. secretly took the initiative of providing national education for the Kham children, and started the Sang Kham Fong Morning School in early in 1941, with a view to preserving Kham national culture. They wrote books concerning ethics and study of ancient Kham culture and religion. Ever since its opening the school has been doing its juvenile services in the line of national education. It is a free school and welcomes children of all the races, classes. The Deputy Inspector of Schools, Kham and Jiamia Hsiao, desired us to follow the curriculum prescribed by his department. I agreed to accept the curriculum provided that these books written or compiled by the missionaries should not be included in the curriculum of the Sang Kham School. The Deputy Inspector of Schools did not recommend the school as a grant from the Government on the plea that the curriculum was not followed in the school. The books written by the late Father John Roy, Fr. Peter Augustin, Correspondent, late U. S. Marine Staff Navy and U. S. Air Command. They are being taught in the Sang Kham School. It is a matter of great regret that the Deputy Inspector of Schools exclude the school in these missionary books and therefore the very object with which it was established."

If what is stated here is true, it reinforces the argument often advanced by me that Christian missionary effort has been forwarded by the native power. But I advance the circular not for the sake of emphasizing my argument. I do so in order to reinforce the goodness of the secretary of the school. Surely he has every right to object to teaching proselytizing literature prepared by the missionaries. It should be remembered that the school has been in receipt of a grant from Government. It is not clear why the goodness of the missionary books has now dropped up. It is to be hoped that the school will not be deprived of the grant because of the secretary's very reasonable objection.

### Shinnel Milk

Prof. Warner of Allegheny Agricultural Institute wants me a copy of a note submitted by him to a Minnesota Board in U. S. The Board has passed a bye-law requiring that "all classroom milk sold in the city should be colored in order that it may be easily identified as classroom milk, thereby preventing its use in drinking or substituting whole milk. Prof. Warner is of opinion that this is a dangerous bye-law whose effect would be total destruction of a valuable product. He has shown in the note, I think conclusively,



that stamped milk is an article of food is not to be disputed, the only difference between whole milk and stamped milk being that a large percentage of fat is removed from stamped milk for preparing butter, but the milk retains all the solids and all the proteins. Advertisers, therefore, of whole milk with stamped milk, produce very little effect upon its nutritive value. Only the percentage of fat is reduced somewhat. He gives figures in support of his argument which I need not reproduce. He does not mind lay-laws preventing adulteration even with stamped milk. But he strongly objects, and I think rightly, to denaturing stamped milk by colouring it, and he shows that not only is a valuable article of diet taken away from the mouths of poor people, but the danger of adulteration of milk with wear poisons. And the danger is very real, because the process the percentage of water the lower is the nutritive value of milk. And add to this the fact that the water milk may be scarce, Prof. Warner draws a distinction between, regarding the colouring of vegetable glass for preserving adulteration of milk glass, and the colouring of stamped milk. It is wholly necessary that vegetable glass should be coloured with some innocuous dye. Coloured vegetable glass will be used by the people for its cheapness. But as there is already prejudice against stamped milk people will refuse to take coloured stamped milk, even though the colouring matter may be utterly innocuous. I would on my own behalf endorse Prof. Warner's argument by suggesting that manufacturers will do well to popularize the use of stamped milk. It can be sold very cheap and it is a perfectly wholesome thing both for the rich and the poor, and is a good safe man's diet, when whole milk is rejected by the digestive apparatus.

On the issue to Calcutta 26-4-46 M K G

### QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Ganda)

#### Is It Voluntary?

Q. The local officials have been extracting money from the people in aid of the war fund. But the way in which they have been raising money, though it is supposed to be voluntary giving, seems to be general coercion. They extracted for a dinner, for water commensals from the officials the village panchayat (some of whom get about 15 or 25 rupees per month), the village Munsif, house-keepers, all had to buy tickets varying in price from one to fifteen rupees each. A carp shop-keeper whose income is only about Rs 15 had to pay Rs. 5 for a ticket though the man never attended the dinner. He told me he paid the money because the local Sahasrabandhu, Tahsildar, Circle Inspector of Police were all there in person to collect the money. I am told Rs. 1,500 were raised in one night in my village. Will you advise what to do?

A. If what you say is true, it is a naked coercion. There is nothing voluntary in the people's action. I can only hope that the higher

authorities do not know anything about such high-handed procedure. Your day is clear. You must tell the people that they ought not to submit to coercion. They are as free to refuse to buy tickets as they are free to buy them. You and they should run the risk involved, you in instructing the people and they in refusing to pay.

#### A Young Man's Dilemma

Q. I am a young man of 22 years. Is it legitimate for me to refuse to oblige my father in the matter of marriage if I do not wish to marry?

A. According to the customs and the reason, children when they reach the age of discretion, which the former prescribes as 14, become their parents' friends, i. e. are free from parental dictation. They are still bound to consult their parents and defer to their wishes whenever they can. You are full-grown, and it is a matter to wait as marriage you should respectfully refuse to every if the match is not to your liking or for any other valid reason.

#### A Domestic Difficulty

Q. I am a young man of 22 years. For the last two years I have been using pure khadi only. For the last 25 days I have been appearing regularly in my khadi suit. But my wife refuses to wear khadi. She says it is too coarse. Should I compel her to wear khadi? I may also mention that I find our temperaments are incompatible.

A. This is the common lot of life in India. I have often read that the husband, being the stronger and more educated party, has to act as tutor to his wife and put up with her delusions, if any. In your case you have to bear the incompatibility and conquer your wife to love, even by compulsion. It follows that you cannot compel your wife to wear khadi. But you should trust your love and attempt to make her do the right thing. Remember, your wife is not your property any more than you are hers. She is your better half. Treat her as such. You will not regret the experiment.

#### Another Domestic Difficulty

Q. I am married. My wife is a good woman. We have children. We have lived together in sweet harmony. Unfortunately she came across someone whom she has adopted as her guru. She has received persuasions from her, and her life has become a show back for me. This has given me no comfort between us. I do not know what I should do. Rana, as portrayed by Tolstoy is my ideal hero. Should I not do what Rana did, and cut off all connection with my wife?

A. Tolstoy has taught us that we may not independently choose the good. What they may do with impunity we may not. Think of Rana's love for Sita. Tolstoy tells us that before the appearance of the golden deer she and Sita in the forest of Rana disappeared to the woods and the men thereafter remained. This fact was a close secret even from Lakshmana.

The poet further tells us that Rama had a purpose which was divine. It was with this shadow of Bra that Rama dealt after the appearance of the golden deer on the scene. Even so Bra never received any single act of Rama. All such data would be lacking in any genuine case, as they are lacking in yours. Therefore my advice to you would be to bear with your wife and not interfere with her so long as you have no cause of complaint against her conduct. If you adopted someone as your guru and had your purpose and if you did not impart the secret to your wife I am sure you would not rebuke her pursuing your refusal to disclose the secret. I admit that between husband and wife there should be no secrets from one another. I have a very high opinion of the marriage tie. I hold that husband and wife merge in each other. They are not in two or two in one. But these things cannot be explained mechanically. All things considered, therefore, since you are a liberal-minded husband, you should have no difficulty in respecting your wife's reluctance to share the secret with you.

#### Muslim Women and Moll Yarn

Q. By contrast on the one of certified black only, you have delivered a very serious lecture to the Muslim women on the one hand who are mostly using mall yarn, and on the other to the quansams who is thus induced to purchase certified black which is notoriously dear. I am a Muslim working for the uplift of the weaver class. I appeal to you to remove this double hardship by maintaining the use of hand-woven mall yarn black.

A. There is no commendation in black. The A. I. S. A. has thousands of Muslim spinners and hundreds of Muslim weavers on its books. Black has to be made little impression upon mall yarn weavers. What it has done is to provide occupation to those Hindu and Muslim weavers who were thrown out of employment by mall competition. Those weavers who do not take to wearing headgear are cutting their own throats because the natural consequence of the spread of mills will be the destruction of weavers as it has been that of hand-spinners. The handloom weavers who have held their own are patient weavers. If black became universal, Muslim and other weavers who use today weaving mall yarn would, as a matter of course, take to wearing headgear. Thus there is no case of black ever having a single weaver in fact. It is his sole protection.

#### A Trilok Question

Q. I am a Hindu student. I have been great friends with a Muslim, but we have fallen out over the question of idol worship. I find where is idol worship, but I cannot give an answer to my Muslim friend in terms of what may be called convincing. Will you say something on idol worship in Haripur?

A. My sympathies are back with you and your Muslim friend. I suggest your reading my

writings on the question in Young India and, if you find as I suspected, let your Muslim friend read them too. If your friend has real love for you, he will conquer his prejudice against idol worship. A friendship which causes enemies of opinion and conduct is my worst wish. Hindus have no tolerance one another's ways of life and thought even though they may be different, except where the difference is fundamental. Maybe your friend has come to think that it is useful to associate with you as you are an idolater. Misgiving is bad, not so idol worship. An idolater makes a fetish of his idol. An idol worshippers sees God even in a stone and therefore takes the help of an idol to establish his union with God. Every Hindu child knows that the stone in the famous temple in Benares is not Kabhi Vishwanath. But he believes that the Lord of the Universe does reside specially in that stone. This play of the imagination is permissible and healthy. Every citizen of the Gita on a bookshelf has not that security which I seek to my own cry. Lotis tells me there is no more security in my cry than in any another. The security is in my imagination. But that imagination brings about marvelous concrete results. It changes men's lives. I am of opinion that, whether we admit it or not, we are all idol worshippers or idolaters, if the distinction I have drawn is not allowed. A book, a building, a picture, a carving are surely all images in which God does reside, but they are not God. He who says they are not.

#### Educated Unemployment

Q. The problem of unemployment among the educated is becoming alarming proportions. You of course condemn higher education, but those of us who have been to the University realize that we do develop mentally there. Who should you discourage anyone from learning? Would not a better scheme be for unemployed graduates to go in for mass education and let the villages give them food in return? And could not Provincial Governments come to their aid and help them with some money and clothing?

A. I am not against higher education. But I am against only a few likes of boys and girls receiving it at the expense of the poor two-payer. Moreover I am against the type of higher education that is given. It is much cry and little wool. The whole system of higher education and for that matter all education needs radical overhauling. But your difficulty is about unemployment. In this you have my sympathy and co-operation. On the principle that every laborer is worthy of his hire, every graduate who goes to a village to serve is entitled to be housed, fed and clothed by the villagers. And they do it too. But they will not when the graduate lives like Salubity and costs them ten times as much as they can afford. His life must accord as nearly as possible with that of the villagers and his mission must find appreciation among them.

## AN INTERLUDE AT SANTINIKETAN

"Love never fails." (1 Cor. 13-2)

Prof. L. P. Jacks has somewhere publicly observed that there is nothing like "safe conduct" in morality. Preventive morality is a contradiction in terms. Morality begins only where decency ends, and a person who holds back action until he has a cert per cent guarantee that his line of conduct is correct, will ever remain a stranger to moral action in the true sense. For there is no virtue in a morality that has no element of risk or adventure in it.

When it came of preventive morality is near end of non-violence. The practice of non-violence presents its various baffling circumstances at every step. But if a person makes of it a doctrine of evasion and shies at its duties he spends all his time as he to make him a helpless witness of wrong, he stifles himself spiritually and puts non-violence to shame. This was the thrust of Gandhi's remarks before a small group of students, who led by Dr. Anupa Chakravarti took the opportunity to exchange ideas with him on the subject of non-violence during his brief two days' stay at Santiniketan. The group included a couple of Quaker friends and Sir Gurbal Mehta, who asked the delicate and difficult part of Gandhi's policy and execution under Gandhi's roof. Dr. Chakravarti is himself a vocal student of non-violence, and the group he has captured is particularly interested in studying its techniques in action.

"Supposing," asked one of them, "in the presence of superior brute force one feels helpless, would he be justified in using just enough force to prevent the perpetration of wrong?" "Yes," replied Gandhi, "but there need not be that feeling of helplessness if there is real non-violence in you. To feel helpless in the presence of violence is not non-violence but cowardice. Non-violence should not be mixed up with cowardice."

The friend adduced a specific instance. "Suppose someone came and brutalized you, should you allow yourself to be thus humiliated?"

"If you feel humiliated," replied Gandhi, "you will be justified in slapping the bully in the face or taking whatever action you might deem necessary to vindicate your self-respect. The use of force, under the circumstances, would be the natural consequence if you are not a coward. But there should be no feeling of humiliation in you if you have assimilated the non-violent spirit. Your non-violent behavior would then either make the bully feel ashamed of himself and prevent the insult, or make you immune against it so that the insult would remain only in the bully's mouth and not reach you at all."

The friend varied the argument. "Suppose there is a person with a dashed sword—a human run sword, bent upon murder, or you arrive on the scene of trouble when the situation has already advanced too far. An unbalanced mob has got you all round, and you feel helpless, would

you justify the use of physical force to restrain the human in the first case, or allow the mob, say, of your son in the latter?" he asked.

"I will answer in the affirmative," replied Gandhi. "But I would not say it is justified from the non-violent standpoint. I would say that there was not that degree of non-violence in you to give you confidence in purely non-violent treatment. If you had, your simple presence would be sufficient to pacify the human. Non-violence carries within it its own sanction. It is not a mechanical thing. You do not become non-violent by merely saying, 'I shall not use force.' It must be life in the heart. There must be within you an upwelling of love and pity towards the wrong-doer. When there is that feeling it will express itself through some action. It may be a cry, a glance, even silence. But such is it as it will reach the heart of the wrong-doer and check the wrong."

"The use of tear gas is not justified in terms of the non-violent ideal. But I would defend its use against the whole world if I found myself in a corner where I could not save a helpless girl from violence or prevent an unbalanced crowd from exhibiting its madness, except by its use. God would not excuse me if, on the highway, say, I were to plead before Him that I could not prevent these things from happening because I was held back by my creed of non-violence. Non-violence is self-sufficing. A fully non-violent person is by nature incapable of using violence or rather has no use for it. He non-violence is self-sufficing under all circumstances."

"Therefore, when I see that the use of force is wrong and whatever degree and under whatever circumstances, I mean it is a relative term. It is much better for me to say I have not sufficient confidence in me, than to admit exceptions to an eternal principle. Moreover my refusal to admit exceptions opens me to perfect myself in the technique of non-violence. I literally believe in Patanjali's aphorism that violence comes to the possession of non-violence."

"Can a State carry on steadily according to the principle of non-violence?" put in another friend.

"A Government cannot succeed," replied Gandhi, "in becoming entirely non-violent, because it represents all the people. I do not today conceive of such a golden age. But I do believe in the possibility of a permanently non-violent society. And I am working for it. A Government representing such society will use the least amount of force, but no Government worth its name can suffer society to pervert. Hence I have said that even under a Government based primarily on non-violence a small police force will be necessary."

On March 12-14-1940

Pyralis

Mahatma Gandhi By B. Mahabirdeva, No. 2-13-2  
Parag 7 An. Available at Saraya Office-Poon 4  
and at Queen's Road, Bombay 2

# *Harijan*

Vol. 9

1940

## WHISK?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Everybody is asking me now whether or when I am to call the country to civil disobedience. Some of my questioners are the most sober among ourselves. To them the Purna resolution has no other meaning than that the struggle's coming is a question of days. It is proof that the country, or that part of it that has hitherto taken part in the struggle for freedom, is tired of waiting and suspense. It is heartening to think that there are in the country so many persons who count no sacrifice too dear for gaining independence.

While, therefore, I stress the need of my questioners, I must warn them against being impatient. There is nothing in the resolution to warrant the belief that the atmosphere is suitable for declaring civil disobedience. It will be suicidal to declare it when there is so much indiscipline and violence within the Congress itself. Congressmen will make a serious mistake if they do not give full weight to my words. I cannot, will not, start mass civil disobedience so long as I am not convinced that there is enough discipline and enough non-violence in Congress ranks. The speeches about the constitutional programme, the spinning and sale of khadi, I wish to be positive signs of unshaken faith through such measures as freedomised as before. Such persons should know that I am not their man. If there is no hope of attaining the necessary measure of discipline and non-violence, it would be better to let me come from leadership.

Let it be clearly understood that I cannot be hurried into precipitating the struggle. They are generally who think that I am over-zealous and disobedience, having been driven there by the so-called leaders. I make no such distinction between rightists and leftists. Both are my co-workers and friends. He will be a bold man who can with any measure of certainty draw the line of demarcation between leftists and rightists. Congressmen and non-Congressmen should also know that, even if the whole country were to turn against me, I must, when the time comes, fight single-handed. The others here or may have weapons besides non-violence, I have no choice. Even the author of non-violent technique in the political field, I am bound to fight when I feel the cry from within.

It is inherent in the technique that I never know the time while to advance. The call may come at any time. It need not be described to me by God. The main sign is a certain phase easily understood. Everybody sometimes goes upon

the main sign. Such signs need not always be right. But there is no other explanation possible for certain actions.

The thought often comes to me that it would be a good thing if the Congress could begin me. I do sometimes feel that with my escape waves of life I am a mark in the Congress. Whatever special qualifications I may possess and for which the Congress and the country may have use, may perhaps be better utilised if I were wholly cut off from the Congress. But I know that this sacrifice cannot be brought about without sacrifice or violence. It will come in its own time, if it has to come. Only Congressmen should know my limitations and should not be surprised or grieved if they find me stiff and unyielding. I ask them to believe me when I say that I am incapable of acting without the fullness of the conditions laid down for declaring mass civil disobedience.

Savagan, 9-3-40

## INDIA AND THE WAR

In view of the critical situation which the country has to face, the Working Committee has decided at its meeting held at Poona last week, to recommend to the Congress, Sub-Committee only the following resolution:

This Congress, having considered the grave and critical situation resulting from the War in Europe and British policy in regard to it, approves of and endorses the resolutions passed and the action taken on the War situation by the A. I. C. C. and the Working Committee. The Congress considers the declaration by the British Government of India as a belligerent country, without any reference to the people of India, and the exploitation of India's resources in this War, as an offence to them, which no self-respecting and freedom-loving people can accept or tolerate. The recent pronouncements made on behalf of the British Government in regard to India demonstrate that Great Britain is carrying on the War fundamentally for imperial ends and for the preservation and strengthening of her Empire, which is based on the exploitation of the people of India, as well as of other Asian and African countries. Under these circumstances, it is clear that the Congress cannot in any way, directly or indirectly, be party to the War, which means continuance and perpetration of the exploitation. The Congress, therefore, strongly disapproves of Indian troops being made to fight for Great Britain and of the draft from India of men and material for the progress of the War. Neither the recruiting nor the money raised in India can be considered to be voluntary contributions from India. Congressmen, and those under the Congress influence, cannot help in the prosecution of the War with men, money or material.

The Congress hereby declares upon that making short of Complete Independence can be accepted by the people of India. Indian freedom

cannot even within the limits of independence and Dominion Status or any other status within the imperial structure a wholly impossible to India, is not in keeping with the dignity of a great nation, and would lead India to ever greater British political and economic stranglehold. The people of India alone can properly shape their own constitution and determine their relations to the other countries of the world, through a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage.

The Congress is further of opinion that while it will always be ready, as it ever has been, to make every effort to secure communal harmony, no permanent solution is possible except through a Constituent Assembly, where the rights of all recognised minorities will be fully protected by agreement, as far as possible, between the elected representatives of various majority and minority groups, or by achievement of agreement is not reached on any point. Any alternative will lack finality, India's constitution must be based on independence, democracy and national unity, and the Congress repudiates attempts to divide India or to split up her territory. The Congress has always stood as a movement where the fullest freedom and opportunities of development are guaranteed to the group and the individual, and social justice finds place in a juster social order.

The Congress cannot admit the right of the Rulers of Indian States, or of foreign vested interests, to come in the way of Indian freedom. Sovereignty in India must rest with the people, whether in the States or the Provinces, and all other interests must be subordinated to this vital interest. The Congress holds that the difficulty caused in regard to the States is of British creation, and it will not be satisfactorily solved unless the declaration of the freedom of India from foreign rule is unequivocally made. Foreign interests, if they are not in conflict with the interests of the Indian people, will be protected.

The Congress withdrew the Ministers from the Provinces where the Congress had a majority in order to disassociate India from the War and to enforce the Congress determination to free India from foreign domination. The preliminary step must inevitably be followed by civil disobedience, to which the Congress will unhesitatingly resort as soon as the Congress organisations are considered fit enough for the purpose, or as one organisation to shape themselves as to precipitate a crisis. The Congress desires to draw the attention of Congressmen to Gandhiji's declaration that he can only undertake the responsibility of declaring civil disobedience when he is satisfied that they are strictly observing discipline and are carrying out the constructive programme prescribed in the Independence Pledge.

The Congress seeks to represent and serve all classes and communities without distinction of race or religion, and the strength for Indian independence is for the freedom of the whole

nation. Hence the Congress cherishes the hope that all classes and communities will take part in it. The purpose of civil disobedience is to evoke the spirit of sacrifice in the whole nation.

The Congress hereby authorises the All India Congress Committee and in the event of their being necessary, the Working Committee to take all steps to implement the foregoing resolution, as the Committee concerned may deem necessary.

### WHAT RESOLUTION MEANS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The question has come from London whether the Congress has closed the door to negotiation and compromise. My interpretation of the resolution is that the Congress has not closed the door. It has been closed by Lord Halifax. There can be no negotiation on his terms so far as the Congress is concerned. India will not be a helpless partner in her own enslavement and foreign domination. The Congress will not sell India as a free country to Britain or. And if India accepts non-violence as her settled policy, she will be freer than Britain. Britain, which has ruled the world, is in danger of losing her liberty. I have prescribed a remedy which is fool-proof. Whether the Congress will be instrumental in giving India's freedom or not is a different question. The resolution states in unequivocal terms that the Congress will enter into no compromise that gives India less. The other thing that the Congress has made clear is that the British are being known to be no slier than the consolidation of the British Empire, the India that is subjugated by the Congress can be no party to the war. In other words, the Congress cannot give licence to moral support. The chief thing the resolution makes clear is that the fight, wherever it comes, will be evenly non-violent and, therefore, under severe discipline. The choice will be between, say that of the Congress, whether India is ever more to be a prison house for those who will rather be present and even go through greater suffering than be helpless witnesses of their country's continuous subjugation to Great Britain or any other Power. (Gandhi 2-3-40)

### Handbook Paper

The following are the figures of our purchases and sales of paper from January 1st to February 28th, 1940

|          | Purchase  | Sale      |
|----------|-----------|-----------|
| January  | 1294-12-3 | 1761-12-3 |
| February | 1915-0-0  | 1201-04-4 |
|          | 4509-12-3 | 2962-0-0  |

However, Rs-245-0-0 have been given as COLLECT and overage-making charges.

During these two months we have sold 64,316 whole sheets, 62,515 letter paper, 181,227 envelopes, 104 card sheets, 11,174 cards, 1,170 whole binding sheets, 187 binding pieces, 360 binding cards, 41 pocket books, 1,122 lay labels, and 706 office files.

Manager, Harijan Press, 4, and 21 Queen's Road, Bombay 2

## THE SANTINIKETAN PILGRIMAGE

In the course of a letter which he wrote on the eve of his visit to Santiniketan Gandhi described it as a 'pilgrimage'. As an institution that pending his arrival, invited and gave shelter, under an hospitable roof, to members of his 'family' on their return to India from South Africa, it has always claimed a soft corner in his heart. And the sweet memories of Gandhi and Bhabada, the late Mr Ponnai and Desbandha Andrews have only heightened this feeling. To expose himself to this feeling, or perhaps under the stress of that feeling, Gandhi before entering made a devout confession to his conscience, putting it down to the lowest minimum measure of every other consideration, and though many at that time failed to attach an import, it gave Gandhi, in the retrospect, a supreme satisfaction, to have taken this unobscured moral stand as the only course before the solemnity of the occasion.

This was to be his third visit to Santiniketan, the last one being fourteen years ago—in 1929. He knew it was overdue. Every report about Gandhi's failing health accompanied by a 'love message' from the Post that Desbandha sent to Gandhi from time to time, reminded him of it. It was Desbandha who had acted as the 'go-between' on the present occasion, when he conveyed to Gandhi the Post's pressing invitation to visit Santiniketan. But by a cruel irony when this long looked for visit actually came he was not there to witness it. He had been suddenly taken ill a few days before and recovered in the Presidency Hospital, Calcutta, in a precarious condition. He was more than a member of the 'joint family' of Gandhi and Gandhi, and the shadow of this domestic illness overhung and nipped the whole of Gandhi's Santiniketan visit.

### A Sacred Remembrance

A small reception had been arranged for Gandhi on the afternoon of the day of his arrival. It was held in the Anandabhai a room windowed round by an association with the late Mahatma Debandhaiah Tager, Gandhi's father. It was here, windowed away, that he used to sit and sometimes remain absorbed in meditation from eve until till dusk, for he will be converted in time a place of universal worship of one Krishna, the Formless and Immortal, and a sanctuary for all wild animal life.

The function commenced with a chanting of the Poet's favourite Upanishadic text, with the burning incense.

"Those who come to know Him,  
They come to immortality."

— *ṣaṁkṣapāṇi* —

The address of welcome was read by Gandhi himself. It was short and impressive. But Gandhi's thoughts were far away with Chandra Andrews in Calcutta. On a previous occasion Desbandha had read:

"And I will see, My love —  
how men and women  
The moment was given

And I can wait the dawning of the day,  
The dawning on my night slowly dawning—  
The shadow and the veil shall pass away,  
Death shall make true my dreamings"

And now he lay hovering between life and death. Gandhi made a feeling reference to him in his style.

"My appearance feelings on arriving here are about Desbandha," he began. "Perhaps you do not know that the last thing I did yesterday morning on slipping from the train at Calcutta was to pay him a visit in the hospital. Gandhi is a world poet, but Desbandha was his spirit and temperament of a poet in him. He had long yearned to be present on the present occasion, to drink in and store up the memory of every word, movement and gesture relating to the meeting with Gandhi. But God had willed a otherwise and he now lies in Calcutta, broken down and unable even to make full use of his speech. I would like you all to join me in the prayer that God may restore him to us soon and, in any case, may grant his spirit peace."

### Sweet Old Memories

"I have not come here as a stranger or a guest. Santiniketan has been more than a home to me. It was here that the members of my South African family found warm hospitality in 1934, pending we sailed from England, and I too found shelter here for nearly a month. The memories of those days crowd in upon me as I see you all here assembled before me. It gives me that I cannot prolong my stay here as I would have loved to. It is a question of days. In a letter to a friend, the other day, I described my present trip to Santiniketan and Mahatma as a pilgrimage. Santiniketan has truly, that time, proved for me a 'abode' of 'Jnan'—an abode of peace. I have come here leaving behind me all the cares and business of politics, simply to have Gandhi's darshan and bhakti. I seek often closed myself to be an accomplished beggar. But a more precious gift has never dropped into my beggar's bowl than Gandhi's blessings today. I know his blessings are with me always, but I had been my pilgrimage today to secure the same from him in person, and that life me with joy."

### Vaidikbhawan

The next day the whole morning was devoted to making a round of all the various departments of Santiniketan, followed by a visit to Santiniketan. Khandakshi, "the sole survivor" of the older group of teachers whom Gandhi had associated during his last visit in and stay at Santiniketan, stood as the guide. It was a pilgrimage in the Vaidikbhawan to meet Mahatma, the compiler of the Bengali dictionary, who has single-handed, after twenty-eight years of con-

were labour completed a work which enables him to be ranked with literary giants like Sir Nagendranath Datta, the author of *Samgrah Mahasanskuta*, and Prof. Murray of the Oxford Dictionary have forty-five volumes of his monumental work, we were told, have already been published, and the complete set, when it is ready in another three years' time, will run into eighty and cost from 45 to 50 rupees.

In the China Bureau or the Department of Chinese Culture, Prof. Tan-Yuan Sun was not there, being away with the China's goodwill delegation that is touring India, but his good wife was there to meet Gandhiji. Gandhiji was here above the library of Chinese books that the Chinese nation had presented to the Yarnabharati. The Chinese children, Gandhiji was told, were not one who looked any other in establishing a friendship with their Sanskritized claims, and felt more at home with them unadorned by the "language difficulty".

#### A Philosopher Finds

In the sector of Indian culture, Gandhiji was delighted to see an original manuscript transcribed in his own beautiful calligraphic hand by the Philosopher Puro — Darsa Shukla, who through his mysticism arrived at a nobility and beauty of calligraphic outlook that was unknown of in those days and is rare even in our own. In a manuscript published by the Department we are told how he patronised men of all denominations, sects, theologians, philosophers and poets of every creed and community, studied Sanskrit, became deeply interested in the Vedanta and Yoga philosophy, and from the learned pandits of Benares and contacts with yoga, initiated himself into the practices of Yoga. Drawn by the fascinat- ing art as a hobby he was nevertheless a true Mimamsaka. In a lengthy introduction to the Upanishads which he himself translated into Persian, he has explained how he was led to their study through his search after Reality. "Sobala doubts came into my mind for which I had no possibility of solution and whereas the Holy Koran is almost totally esoteric and at the present day the understanders thereof are very rare, I became desirous to collect into one work all the revealed books, in the very word of God itself might be its own commentary, and if in one book it be comprehensive in another book it might be found deficient." Proceeding he adds that as a "yogic enthusiast and ardent advocate of the unity of God", he searched for Reality no matter in what language, and that in quest for Truth, is the higher stages of its realisation, religion is of no matter." And so he came to 'Upanishads' "which are a treasury of monism." And yet it was not that he wanted to raise a hybrid growth by drafting Hinduism on Islam or vice versa. As Dr. Yusuf Husain has pointed out, "he was animated by a desire to prove that both Islam and Hinduism, in appearance as fundamentally dissimilar, are essentially the same, both

expressing spiritual efforts of man to realise Truth and God."

#### In Mandababu's Sanctum

The last to be visited was the Kala Bhawan. San Mandababu's sanctum sanctorum of art "Like Krishna, he hides himself behind his work," was the appropriate description given of him by a friend as Gandhiji. Retiring, shy, reserved, he is the picture of humility and unassuming unobtrusiveness. He lives only in and for his art which he has taken as his spiritual Sadhana. "The artist becomes an artist," he is fond of telling his pupils, "unless you identify yourself with the hammer and the anvil of God's creation." A brother soul has hardly ever hoisted. All the children are his chums, and it is a common sight to see Mandababu make a detour to avoid a bunch of youngsters engaged in a 'hack' but he should intrude upon their 'freedom'. "Art is a palace and entering unknown," is another favourite saying of his. But though fastidious and meticulous to a degree in his devotion to his ideal, he has never been known to send away an aspiring artist without an encouraging word.

His genius is only matched by his industry. There is hardly a week in a corner in Sarnath where he does not leave the impress of his art and industry. A wall to him is only a bed for the execution of a fresco or a bas-relief panel, a ceiling usually a surface for bearing his cartoons, a lump of clay plastic material to be carved into a beautiful model. As a friend remarked half seriously, half in jest, if Mandababu had his way, he would use our great globe itself as material for turning out some cosmic piece of art! It gave Gandhiji particular satisfaction and joy to know that, next to Bengal, Gujarat had provided Mandababu the largest number of pupils.

#### Gurder at Sarvastoyatra

Gandhiji had several intimate talks with Gurder, but they are of too mixed and personal a character for reproduction here. An acquaintance the Poet's consciousness shows no distinction in its heart, the eyes burn brightly then ever, the step is firm although he needs support and moves along only with difficulty. The voice has lost some of its vigour or its ancient musical quality, and the open scars all the tribulations and irreparable embarras of youth. He insisted upon Gandhiji witnessing the performance of his favourite musical pastime, Chudhala, in which his grand-daughter played the principal part. He personally supervised the rehearsal and even delayed the programme for a quarter of an hour till he was satisfied that everything was up-to-date. It was a sight to be remembered when at one stage he almost jumped to the edge of his seat and broke out into a musical interlude to provide the cue when the performer had or seemed to have lost it. His enthusiasm must have got an infectious quality in it, for I have never seen Gandhiji follow with such rapt and awe hushed any

maintainance as he did the one during the full one hour day is better.

#### A. Insidiously Reflexive

From a bare spot that Bartholomew is originally said to have been and notorious for being the house of demons, it has under the magic of Goodley's remarkable powers to its present use, and yet, as Kilmaholme remarked to Goodley with a sigh, "the scholars who are engaged in research work are cramped for space, and when enough accommodation is forthcoming, who knows, the present case of scholars at any rate may have run its course!"

On issue 26-2-40

Pyralis

#### UNCONVINCING APOLOGIA

Mr. F. E. James has done the anatomy of smugging Goodley the rest of his reply to the latter's article "The Pyralis Case" that recently appeared in *Harvard*. It is a clever piece of reasoning, but it is hardly convincing.

Mr. James's quarrel with Goodley is that the emphasis of the farfield misadventure of the British role in the plague is, in the first place unnecessary and irrelevant, in the second place a waste and lastly a a provocative.

Let us take the second objection first. For, if the "Pyralis case" lacks a historical basis, that by itself should be enough reason to justify the deletion of the passage in the plague under reference.

Mr. James draws that Britain can be held guilty of keeping about the economic role of India or the destruction of her cottage industries, which he contends was inevitable as a result of the impact of Western civilisation upon the primitive economy of the East. One is astonished to say that Mr. James has been begged the same. The question is not whether the progress of industrialism would have by itself sufficed to kill Indian cottage industries, but whether the policy adopted by the British administrators with regard to them was not calculated to bring about that result. The wage money of the working by means of one, two, even five, hundred per cent and higher interest loans on the Indian side, the economic 'budge' states and the 'Maurice' act' or of the

Indian employment of the British armaments under the East India Company which led them to cut off their demands in the only sense of escape from their comfortable lot, is all recorded in authentic history. Let the curious turn over the well-documented pages of R. C. Dutt, whose industry has not been challenged in a single paragraph, or of Montgomery Martin, and judge for himself whether British industry could do further in drawing means for the extermination of a people's handicrafts, or whether any system of industry in the world would survive such sabotage. It is true that the progress of civilisation had an equally devastating effect on the native industries of Britain. What is forgotten is that the latter were not smothered to benefit the industry of another nation as India's were for the sake of Britain.

Similarly, Mr. James forgets that, while he enthusiastically espouses the change of throwing upon India fundamental education, the authors of our educational system were themselves retroactively frank about it. The failure of India's present-day educational policy made no bones about it when he declared that the measures behind it was "to form a class of persons who would be Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect" and when he expressed the hope that, "those plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single scholar among the responsible class in British thirty years hence."

That is the spiritual destruction of a nation under foreign political domination. A survey regarding education, historical research, it is a question of the evidence of one's senses. Mr. James, however, has one when he tries to defend himself occasionally on the ground that they were very much to India which started before the British came. It should be enough that they are freely treated by every self-respecting son of India. Mr. James could not possibly have forgotten how the "efficiency and skill" to use

in words, all industries, whether producing things which are also used separately, or trading by the roadside, for, some person expert on these points, when he prescribes to sell—according to the most trading articles of trade and the cheapest trade the mechanic can employ, the cost of which is the quantity measured on loans by the Ministry, under which the use of them is permitted." "The discriminatory power under which it is collected," the conversation went on to add, "affords a wide field for the perpetual practice of inequitable trade, extortion and oppression, so that the planners in the capacity of the responsible collection, with whom it is an unusual thing to meet in conversation and letters in order to exempt their conscience. And this whole case raised by the report is but little above £ 15,000 sterling"—R. C. Dutt: *The Economic History of India in the Victorian Age*, pp. 164-65.

1. Kennedy in 1935—also by Edward Thompson in his *Five and Fulfillment of British Rule in India*, pages 211 and 217.

<sup>1</sup> With regard to the *East-Indische Maatschappij*, one of Lord Teignmouth or one of his heirs in Indian affairs, to reference Dr. Charles Tervin's *Report*, wrote: "The past history of India shows to all that, as they do to every other nation and oppression which they suffer at our hands, because they look upon them as together, but have the latter complaints which were made to Lord Mountbatten by the merchants of Holland. They actually declared that the various companies and nations practiced on merchants in the British-Indian provinces were infinitely greater than they experienced in Russia, Prussia, Poland or Bohemia."

<sup>2</sup> It was described in a memorandum submitted to the House of Commons as "a tax upon trade and occupation, including wages, carpenter, all workers



Prof. Keith's phrase with which the *Frontier* was drilled on the question of Lord Curzon's Durbar nearly presupposed a major crisis in the relations between the Ruling Chiefs and the Paramount Power. But since Mr. James came upon the press chapter and verse, let him ponder over the following packed up almost at random from the pages of Edward Thompson:

"Barbaric exterminations were marvellous, and he achieved fame by permitting Indians to drive in the Governor-General's house in carriage."

"On going to a station on Englishman thought of calling on the members of the durbar, as was once done as a matter of course visited, courtesies of respectability were required of the natives before they could be guaranteed a chair when they wanted the office. . . . In Calcutta many writers expected every Indian to salute them." (Indians)

Or the following:

"The moral relations in Bengal concerned what they are still—the advancement of the society of India's most respect. Epithets were carefully avoided even among his own people. But he knew well that India had its own aristocracy, whose friendship was worth acquiring. He told Mahadeo (May 24, 1878):

"The position you deem of the state of India, as it is likely to be for the next four or five years, makes me regret that you are so soon to leave it. It has sometimes struck me that the lack of our younger politicians—who have never seen the Indian States in the days of their power—is a concept for the nation, and an inclination to carry every thing with a high hand."<sup>1</sup>

Or take the following from Sir Thomas Munro's answer to Lord Curzon. As Mr. Edward Thompson points out, Sir Munro's views are too important for the historian to omit any fair chance of calling attention to them:

"Foreign companies have treated the natives with violence, and often with great cruelty, but none has treated them with as much scorn as we, none has signified the whole people as unworthy of trust, as incapable of loyalty, and as fit to be employed only where we cannot do without them. It seems to be not only negligent, but impolitic, to define the character of a people fallen under our dominion."

The strength of British Government enables it to get down every obstacle, to compel every foreign company, and to give to its subjects a degree of protection which those of no Native power want. Its laws and institutions also allow them security from domestic aggression, unknown in those states; but these advantages are dearly bought. They are purchased by the sacrifice of independence of national character and of whatever makes a people responsible. The Native of British provinces must, without loss, pursue their different occupations and enjoy the fruits of their labour in tranquillity, but some of them are exposed beyond the normal state of distress in peace, some of them are left forward to any

change in the legislation or civil or military government of their country. The effect of this state of things is observable in all the British provinces, whose inhabitants are certainly the most abject race in India.

The consequence, therefore, of the conquest of India by the British arms would be a place of misery, to define the whole people."

Mr. James nonchalantly remarks that the Pledge is repeated in circumstances of unparalleled freedom, and argues from this that England has founded the state of self-government in India for which we ought to be grateful. May we remind Mr. James that this "unparalleled freedom," as he calls it, became possible only after the people had proved their worth under the fire of suffering and repression, that more than one university in India were actually asked to exclude the writings of Burke and Mill from their curricula as they tended to foment the spirit of 'sedition', and that many a college student has been made to pay the penalty for betraying a secreted letter in discovery debates or in circulating satirical papers?

Full of unconscious irony is Mr. James's assertion that for the first time in her history, largely through British influence, India has understood the meaning and necessity of unity. This is a strange claim to make on behalf of a nation whose administrators have perfused the source of 'divide and rule' and used it with deadlier effect than any other people on earth. But here again let us hear the truth from the lips of the Britishers concerned themselves. It was a British Commandant at Mandalay, Lt.-Col. John Coke who about the time of the 1857 rising wrote: "Our endeavours should be to spread on all hands the (for us fortunate) separation which exists between the different religions and races, not to endeavour to unite them. 'Divide et impera' should be the principle of Indian Government." It was Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, who in a memoir dated May 14 1833, wrote: "Divide is Empire was the old Roman motto and it should be ours." It was Sir Dampfield Miller, the Governor of Lord Curzon's province "The East Bengal Province" who in an eloquent address presided over the new known 'Imperial' with policy. Again it was for John Howard, a retired member of the Executive Council of the Punjab who in an article published in *The Foreign Affairs* London, wrote:

"It is, of course, true that British authority could not have established and could not now maintain itself but for the European minority, of which the Hindu-Muslim antagonism is an indispensable part. It is also true that the main rivalry of the two communities began under British rule. Persecuting rulers made their appearance from time to time in the pre-British era, leaving tribute as a substitute for punishing with material real, the slaying of love. But the Hindu and Muslim masses—before they had seen of the use of lawbooks and had learned

<sup>1</sup> E. G. P. Spens *The Mahars*, p. 101, cited by Edward Thompson in his *Race and Parliament of British India in India*, p. 105.

1. *Ibid.* p. 105.

reflexes common — wrapped peacefully into by side of the main stream."

Lastly, it was no less a person than Lord Clive, the Secretary of State for India under the Ramsay MacDonald Government, who in the columns of the *London Times* observed:

"No man with a close acquaintance with Indian affairs will be prepared to deny that on the whole there is a predominant bias in British officialdom in favour of the Hindu community, partly on the ground of their sympathy but more largely as a counter-weight against Hindu nationalism."

Nor has India forgotten the way Sir Samuel Hoare torpedoed the All-India unity talks by going out of his way to concede to the separation of Hindi without joint elements when the Mussolini representatives at the Conference had already agreed to joint decisions on the condition that Hindi was guaranteed some a separate province.

True enough British rule has brought home to India the meaning and necessity of unity in a way as nothing before had, that is not the sense in which Mr. James perhaps means it or of which Britain can be proud.

Mr. James has objected to the inclusion of Gandhi's household underwear in the Pledge on the ground of irrelevancy. There would be other things in the objection if the household ran to which the Pledge calls attention was no more than a mere historical memory, a mirror of ancient customs only, instead of being an ever-present reality, that under a changing face continues on at every turn. The "Loi haie" is only a continuation of an earlier tradition. The cry of varied "European interests" has a healthier ring to one who has studied the records of the Honourable East India Company's "instruments."

"Clive had warned the Director (August 24 1937) of what was coming, the policy, that he-telling cause of Indian administration, which the increasing evidence of Indian inalienable action was to set up, 'the great and complex as past appointments, and with even with personally select you to provide for the proper function of their families'...It did, and immediately, Director and Director's relations, past, even the Royal Family, now as means why they should not push a poor friend or dependent into a service which within an incredibly brief period would bring him back miserably maimed." — (Edward Thompson & G. T. Garnett *His & FitzGerald of British Rule in India* p. 108.)

"Hastings came to see Mr. Owen and said his eyes at he went up country 'I have been surprised to meet with several English flags flying in places which I have passed, and on the river I do not believe that I passed a boat without one. By whatever title they have been assumed [sic] I could only trust to the information of my eyes, without stopping to ask questions, I am sure their frequency can lead me good to the Marath's mission, to the quest of the country in the house of our nation, but evidently tends to bring such of them. A party

and the hundred and fifty armed 'pols' which Brown made to himself one of Indian gauds, is not different in character from the earlier spoliation of Clive, Warren Hastings and the barons of the East India Company, which shocked their contemporaries but made the hero of Hastings, so far as he was concerned, only "stand astonished at his own audaciousness."

Lord Marley on one occasion remarked that lack of courtesy on the part of Englishmen, reprehensible everywhere, was in India a crime. The remark, I think, applies equally to speeches about the basic facts of British rule in India, particularly the Indian viewpoint. There is no greater obstacle to the realization of justice in Indo-British relationship, than the belief shared by most good Englishmen, in common with Mr. James, that the operation of British rule has on the whole been beneficial to India. It is this belief that makes Mr. James and his co-conspirators find offense in the reference to India's "household rule" under British domination, instead of a ground for heart-searching and introspection. Is it again this belief which makes them regard Indian independence as a "polt" to be granted or withheld at Britain's discretion, instead of a matter of despised justice calling for unflinching repentance on their part. As Clive has said to me, duty will be more when debt becomes a donation.

Then, I hope, I have proved that the reference to the household rule is true and, since it continues, it is relevant, and being relevant, ought not to be provocative to our post-arranged Englishmen. The case for independence would lose as police of the reform, having begun by plunder, had of of equal, who were on the march before us, offered an sufficient proof of the ignorance and constant spirit of these people when they are left to their own discretion. Many complaints were made against those on the road, and most of the party terms and means were directed on our approach, and the shape that up from the apprehensions of the same treatment from us.

Hastings protested 'The Marath has granted a loan to his subjects and there are no grounds for demanding that a stronger power should withdraw such a loan, or for threatening him with a war on the ground of refusal.' — (Edward Thompson & G. T. Garnett *Op Cit*, p. 108.)

"Am I not rather deserving of praise for the confidence which marked my proceedings? Consider the situation in which the victory at Plassey had placed and a great power was dependent on my pleasure, an upstart city lay at my mercy; its robust leaders had united with others for my aid; I walked through ranks which were thrown open to me close, piled on either hand with gold and powder. No, Clive, at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation!" (Clive before Select Parliamentary Committee)

"Nations lightened the unhappy spot's problem in 1750 when such a further-tragedy Bengal that one-third of the nation were believed to have

their own will have separated it and made common cause with the people. Does it not occur to Mr. James that, if they had, India would today be a free country, living in honourable partnership with Britain? The reverse is the fact, India's fourfold ruin still continues. She is still being bled for Britain's sake. Hence Britain's reluctance to part with power.

Madrassa, 23-2-40

Pyralid

## HARIJAN BEYAK SANGH

[The following are some excerpts from the summary of the proceedings of the annual meeting of the Harijan Bevak Sangh conducted by the General Secretary.]

The seventh annual meeting of the All India Harijan Bevak Sangh was held at Harijan Nivasi, Delhi, on 11th and 12th February under the presidency of Shree G. D. Bala, President of the Sangh. In all 43 members and representatives were present. Reports from the various provinces were presented and discussed. The reports showed that at present a large number of educational centres were being run by the Sangh. In all there were 96 free hospitals and ashrams run by the Sangh's branches out of which 50 were girls' hospitals. The largest number of hospitals were in Andhra, 25 in all. The Sangh is running cottage training centres in Bengal and Tamil Nad, industrial and agricultural centres at Banars in Agra, Delhi, Mysore, Allahabad, Gorakhpur, Ranchi, Bangalore, Coimbatore, Kodambakkam (Madras), Tiruvallur, Derasaevan, etc. The Sangh through its various agencies has constructed or repaired about 300 wells during the year. The Sangh is all spent about Rs. 550,000 during the year Rs. 42,545 were spent on administration, Rs. 4,237 on propaganda, and the rest on welfare work among the Harijans, as schools, hospitals, medical work, construction and repairs of wells, scholarships, etc. The Andhra Branch of the Sangh spent the largest amount, viz. Rs. 42,325, during the year, but the most important work of the Sangh was the organisation of the Tamil Nad temple entry campaign and the consequent opening of the famous Minnakudi temple of Madurai and Palni Temple followed by a number of other temples.

The General Office at Delhi alone received Rs. 72,000 as donations during the year, mostly through Gandhiji and the President of the Sangh.

passed by millions and women. This was Harijans' own estimate, some English newspapers put the death toll on the population which was probably about fifteen millions. We may seriously accept a fifth as the true proportion. The principal Shah Mahomed Khan Khan, collected the revenue almost fully, adding 10 per cent (the survey tax, a very small excise by which the living made good revenue losses which were in other taxpayers having been so imputed as to it), and the Company's servants professed to account." (Rohatkar *Thiruvallur* 2 G. T. Ganga, Op. Cit. 118-119)

As regards the disbursement of Rs. 20,000 received through Gandhiji from Late Late Ranchard Khanna of Washish for medical work among Harijans, the Sangh decided to invite schemes for its utilisation from the branches of the Sangh. The Sangh accepted the offer of land and buildings of the value of about a lac of rupees from the Washish (Kathmandu) Education Society for starting a new course of Harijan welfare work.

Shri G. D. Bala, Shri Ram Ramabharat Nohra, Shri A. V. Thakkar, Dr. Porfalia Chandra Ghosh, Shri T. D. Puri, Shri Mahabir Prasad Puri, Shri L. N. Gopalswamy and Shri Parshadlal Majumdar were appointed members of the Executive Committee of the Sangh for 1940.

Including the two accumulated sums of Rs. 20,000 and Rs. 2,000, Rs. 127,984 were received for Thakkar Jivan Prasad, Rs. 20,000 for the Central Board, and Rs. 5,000 for the construction of workers' quarters at Ujan, 25 per cent of the total collection will be spent by Shri A. V. Thakkar for All-India welfare and 75 per cent for Harijan work. A sum of Rs. 20,000 has been set apart out of this for awarding scholarships to Harijan girls for 5 years for Higher Vocational Education, and a separate sub-committee consisting of Shri Ram Ramabharat Nohra, Shri A. V. Thakkar, Rajkumar Anant Das, Shri Parshadlal Majumdar and Shri Shyamal has been formed in the connection.

The Sangh expressed satisfaction at the able literary campaign conducted by the Indian H. S. Sangh, and hoped that other provinces would also start similar literary campaigns in their respective areas. The Sangh accepted with thanks an offer of Rs. 20,000 from Shri Ram Ramabharat Nohra, as Vice-President, for starting a medical industrial centres for girls to be located in Delhi, and decided to take the necessary steps for starting the same.

The question was raised as to the Sangh's policy towards propaganda. Little or nothing has been spent by the Sangh for propaganda. The Board made it clear that it was not the expenditure on propaganda that was objected to, but the employment of paid propagandists. Propaganda of the right type carried on by convinced reformers was not only not objected to but was welcomed. Such was Gandhiji's view of 1913-14. Propaganda organisations may, therefore, accept noted reformers to run their provinces.

A. V. Thakkar

| Books Received  | Books Received | Books Received |
|---|----------------|----------------|
| S. H. Ganga—Gandhi's Challenges to Christianity         | 1-10           | 0-2            |
| L. P. Jais—Speech against Mechanism                     | 1-10           | 0-2            |
| J. C. Menon—C. P. Industrial Survey Report Part I Vol 1 | 0-20           | 0-2            |
| " " " " " " " "   | 0-12           | 0-2            |
| " " " " " " " "   | 1-4            | 0-2            |
| Thakkar Committee's Report on C. P. Swapper's condition | 1-2            | 0-2            |

Available at (1) Harijan office—Poon 4, (2) Harijan office—41 Queen's Road, Bombay 2.

## A VISIT TO DEENBANDHU

Deenbandhu Charan Andrews returned from his here and there and will be greatly pleased to learn that he is now considered by his doctors to be out of any immediate danger. Gandhiji, who visited him upon his return from Melbourne, found him well very weak, but otherwise there was a marked, all-round improvement. The effect of the mild paralysis stroke which had followed the preliminary operation was nearly over, the kidney function had largely been restored, and Gandhiji had the satisfaction of being told that, if and when the second operation was decided upon, the most competent surgeon in Calcutta would be invited to perform it.

Deenbandhu was apparently feeling quite at home in his well-ventilated chamber room. He was eager to know all about Gandhiji's Sanatorium visit and the meeting with Gandhi. The reference to the Post put him in that expansive mood when one feels with the poet that

"God's in His heaven,  
Affairs right with the world."

Everything that Gandhiji told him was 'wonderful', 'marvellous', 'perfect'. He referred to the European struggle which had been assailing his mind even on his sick-bed, and then added, as if describing something that he saw with the eye of faith, 'But Bapa, Swami, I cannot. I see it coming India will be free.' "I know it," replied Gandhiji; "Do you know?" murmured Deenbandhu. "I am quite reconciled to my illness. I think it was God's blessing in disguise. It has given me a wonderful experience which I would never otherwise have had." He struggled hard to recall Francis Thompson's lines without success. I asked him if he was thinking of Francis Thompson's "In no strange land,"

"O world unworldly, we view thee,  
O world unworldly, we touch thee,  
O world unworldly, we know thee,  
Inapprehensible, we clutch thee."

His comments lie up with art, and he began slowly to fumble out the succeeding lines

"Open the fold door to find the room,  
The single plunge to find the air—  
That we ask of the stars in motion  
If they have memory of this state?  
Not where the whirling vortex dashes,  
And our bounded concernings cease—  
The drift of passing, would we hasten,  
Born at our own day-shrouded doors."

He again fell into a mood, "O it is marvellous, that description of the sweep of the angels' wings." He slowly murmured, his eyes half closed and a deep retrospective look on his face. I supplied the lines,

"The angels keep their ancient places:—  
There but a vision, and that a wing,  
Thy ye, 'tis past ungrasp'd dawn,

That was the many-splendored thing  
But I when so and then must not muller)  
Ope—and upon thy so soon lose  
Shall show the truth of Jacob's ladder  
Faded harvest Harvest and Clearing Come."

A serene peace settled on his face as I proceeded

"Yes, in the night, my soul, my daughter,  
Ope, clearing Harvest by the beam,  
And lo, Christ walking on the wave,  
Not of Gennesareth, but Damascus!"

And who wrote Sonnets, I chafed him, as I used to take leave

"But have you His last—have seen and known  
The moment was given  
And I can wait the drawing of the day,  
The day-star on my night already glancing,  
The shadow and the veil shall pass away,  
That shall make true my dreaming"

He replied with a faint smile, "I think, I wrote something like that!"  
On the train to Wardha 3-3-40 Pysad

## To Correspondents and Message writers

In view of my notice in *Harjes* of December 2nd those who can spare me continue to write and ask for sometime I would refer them to the centre for fuller explanation. I know several persons friends have not retained acknowledgements or messages. They will forgive me, I have so hardly my heart if I am so busy with the responsibility I am carrying. And what can be better than that I should converse with known friends?

Surajpur, 15-2-40

M. K. G.

## To Agents

In view of the several complaints recently received from agents about misreport of book post packets containing copies of *Surajpur*, we now take certificates of posting on all the packets. Our responsibility ends with the proper posting of the copies, and we would ask our agents, in case of non-receipt, to complain to the Post office. MANAGERS

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# HARIJAN

ONE ANNADIGAL

Vol. VII, No. 5]

POONA - SATURDAY, MARCH 16, 1940

[ ONE ANNA

## NOTICE

The business hours of our Bombay branch will hereafter be from 11 A.M. to 7-10 P.M. Readers will please note the change. Address: 67 & 68 Queen's Road, Bombay 2. Manager

## QUESTION BOX

### Do I Deny the Viceroy?

Q. Do not you identify yourself with the famous resolution of the Working Committee better known as Lord Lansdowne, although you have professed to believe in his wisdom?

A. You have read into the resolution what is wholly unwarranted by the text. I do not doubt the Viceroy's sincerity. I have not known a Viceroy who has weighed his words as Lord Lansdowne does. It is a pleasure to have a talk with him. For he speaks with the greatest deliberation. His speech is, therefore, always brief and to the point. I adhere to the remark I made about our last meeting that, although we could not agree, we had come nearer each other. We might have gone on talking for a few days, but we would only have talked round the subject and repeatedly come to the same point of disagreement. I was under no hardship for I was speaking for myself. He was under a severe handicap. He was speaking under orders. He had no authority to do outside his instructions. And so we parted the best of friends. But as far as I am concerned, I expect more were made. The resolution makes the Congress position clear beyond doubt. It represents also my own position. If the British Government really meant full-hearted Dominion Status with the right to decide, then they can have no difficulty in accepting the Congress position. Unfortunately Lord Lansdowne's interview shows that it is not India which is to determine her future but Britain will do so for her. This is not even Dominion Status of any known variety. Once the British Government are sure that they can no longer hold India, all the difficulties that are now being put forth on their behalf will vanish like dummies before them. For they are all of their creation. They are inherent in explanation. I hope you now see that there is no question of dissent of the Viceroy. Events had to move to where they are.

### Fear of 'him'

Q. You say that no such thing as Gandhian creed, and that what you stand for is nothing new, I am a Muslim. I am father of Islam.

glory is Gandhian. As a student of theology I see the goodness of Hinduism and the rigour of Christianity simply expanded in Gandhian. It includes also to a considerable extent the chosen philosophy of the entire East. I search the pages of India's past history, but your creed I do not find. Why, therefore, is it not new, and why may it not be named Gandhian for those of us who believe in you and therefore in?

A. I have a horror of 'isms', especially when they are attached to proper names. Even if all that you say of me is true, it does not make a new one. My effort is to avoid not only new ones but even to do away with old and superfluous ones. Absolute aliter non, Absolute is a satisfying fact. It discovers unity in diversity. All that you say is deducible from absolute. To bring into being a new rule is equivalent to chance, so the very experiment I am making. Thus you will, I hope, see that there is no room for 'Gandhism'.

### Women and Their Work

Q. You say 'It is degrading both for men and women that women should be called upon or induced to forsake the hearth and shoulder the rifle for the protection of that hearth. It is a reversion to barbarism and the beginning of the end.' But what about the millions of female labourers in India, factories, etc.? They are forced to forsake the hearth and become 'bread winners'. Would you abolish the industrial system and revert to the stone age? Would that not be a reversion to barbarism and the the beginning of the end? What is the new order that you envisage where the art of making women work will be absent?

A. If millions of women are forced to forsake their hearth and become bread winners, it is wrong, but not so wrong as shouldering the rifle. There is nothing inherently barbarous in labour. I see no barbarism in women voluntarily working on their fields whilst they are looking after their homes. In the new order of my imagination, all will work according to their capacity for adaptation, men for their labour. Women in the new order will be permanent workers, their primary function being to look after the home. Since I do not regard the rifle as a permanent feature in the new order, no one will be progressively recruited even so far as men are concerned. It will be inherited as a necessary evil while it lasts. But I would

not deliberately inconsistent women with the evil.

### Roman Script?

Q. Why may not the thousand names be taught the Roman script? This would eliminate the existing controversy between Urdu and Hindi.

A. To teach the Roman script in the plain of Hindi and Urdu would be like passing the buck before the horse. Our children have first to learn both Hindi and Urdu scripts. Difficult questions cannot be solved by ignoring them or suggesting apparently easy substitutes. So long as hearts are divided the Roman script will not convert them. It would be an additional burden. The burden of the two scripts is the best and the easiest way of at least solving the national language riddle. In open Hindi and Urdu thought to both Hindu and Muslim boys and girls who will be the men and women of the future generation. The Roman script will be learnt at its proper time, i. e. when our boys and girls are taught the English language, or some undoubtedly will be.

### How to Begin?

Q. Congress demands for unity, but the principles which must be followed to attain that unity, viz. Hindu-Muslim fellow feeling, no caste distinctions, no hatred towards each other or towards foreigner, co-operative endeavours, all these are presented to us without through the microphone but not acted upon. Tell me what are the duties of a Congress member. I would like to join and will put forth all my energy to do my bit for the country.

A. You need not mind what others do or ought to do. Chamber begins at home. Let your begin with yourself. Abolish all caste and religious as well distinctions from your heart. Be true to everyone—Hindu, Muslim, Marwari, English etc. as you are, I hope, as yourself, and you will find that as far as you are concerned your difficulty will be solved and your example will be copied by others. Be sure that you have banished all hate from your heart, and that you have no political or other designs on your own well.

Jamshedpur, 12-3-40

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## GANDHI KEVA SANOH

III

### The Spinning Wheel

Quite the most important part of the daily routine of the Singh members was manual spinning. Every year there used to be an hour set apart for this ritual. This year Pradipdasan decided, in consultation with Kirtanadasan, to have it for two hours daily, as the usual programme for some form of lady labour in the village had been dropped. There was no work so which the two or three hundred people could be engaged in a row, and to the decision to double the period of the spinning interval was quite appropriate.

The bare appeal made of this ritual is worth noting. This year's figures will not be ready until the yarn is turned into cloth, but they may be judged from the last year's results which was available just on the day we were about to break up. The yarn was sorted and sent to the weaver in two batches. The superior sort yielded 27 yards of khadi 45" wide of beautiful texture, and the inferior sort yielded 12 yards of 27" width. This year the result will be nearly twice as, apart from the time being double, the number of spindles was larger and the spinning went on for a day more. Calculating at a normal standard, 300 spindles must have produced about 150 yards of cloth in five days, i. e. half a yard each. This is a conservative estimate, for five days' spinning at the rate of 300 yards per hour should give four-fifths of a yard of cloth of 20 counts. What a good thing it would be if we could meet on every conference or meeting beforehand with a spinning ritual of, say, an hour held an hour. In this connection it may be noted that the Ramnagar District Congress Committee has actually made such a rule, and has appealed for at least 1000 spindles prepared to make in the Congress an annual donation of 3000 yards of yarn. The Gandhi Sarva Singh members devoted in five days one-fourth of the annual income expected of every member of the Congress. Hindu, Musalman, Christian have all these periods of rest. Without being members of any Singh, if they make up their minds to do a couple of hours' spinning on three days of fasting (or non-fasting) and prayer, they can easily donate in 20 days all that the entire expense of them. As regards the other results they are perhaps more valuable. Two hours' slow spinning is a healthy spiritual exercise which unites many problems with health. It adds to one's peace and mental equanimity and power of concentration. And one finds—as I actually found—that every day one improves the quality and quantity of one's work. The moral is that a silent hour or even a half-hour must be set apart for the ritual. Lastly, to watch these three hundred odd spindles doing their slow spinning for a couple of hours was a study in many respects. The six different places could compare herself with the

processed spinner in many ways. The former found that he appeared for the crowd less equipped than the latter—he forgets to examine his wheel before he spins, he had no spare spind, he had no oil and had no bazaar in front, his neighbor, he had no intercept his spinning often because of these lapses, and has several breaks often than that of the other. A careful process in this bound to make one precise, methodical and careful not only in spinning but in every detail of life.

#### Prof. Ishikawa's Exhibition

From the point of view the pledge taken by Prof. Ishikawa's co-workers, something about three hundred, of spinning 60/60 yards per year is significant. If they do their spinning regularly, methodically, and in a proper religious spirit, the three hundred are easily nearer to a total of 1,000. Thus may or may not become Congress members they will certainly not think of having any responsible positions in the Congress, but they will qualify themselves as members of the non-violent army that Gandhi is looking forward to before he can attack the country—if indeed he has to—no branch civil disobedience. In fact as a matter of preparation it may be well to expect every citizen of a nation to certify that every year in it has done textile and wool spinning for at least some months. If we are in right earnest, we can organize spinning on this basis everywhere, and the production would be enough guarantee that those who told them will go through the fire without abating their creed in any way. The nations under this test may be very few, but the quality will be ensured and every task will be completed.

#### The Exhibition

The Exhibition was a neat little affair quite useful and instructive. The central black cloth covered exhibits of the year (and cloth made out of it) spun by numerous workers in Bengal. Some of the samples were as high as 40 cones in the center of the room was a giant spinning 80 cones of beautiful even yarn. Most of the black exhibits were from the various production centers of Bengal and there were among them samples of fascinating designs of weaving.

Among the stalls that surrounded the main room the most interesting in my opinion, was the hand-made paper stall showing the actual process of pulp-making and paper-making by indigenous instruments and also of polishing and curing. The raw materials for the pulp were varied, some a novel one being the skins from the of the pondwater water-breached of Bengal. The paper made out of the skins was the most flexible of the samples exhibited there. The makers were all Mohammedans.

Among other interesting stalls were the pottery and the silk stalls. The latter showed the actual process of silk-rearing and silk-spinning. One wondered how the man in charge of both operations was quickly collecting the threads from the boiling water. Dr. Prof. Ishikawa was put in mind of the famous Baniya who handled red

hot liquid glass, and thought of the day when we too may have our Banias from these millions of village crafts which are now being revived. There were women showing different processes of spinning materials resembling the making of sericulture. There was the quicker way and the slower way, the organizers expecting the visitors employing the latter method to copy the former. The pottery stall showed the Bengal village pottery at its best. A potter's family was there making various samples, and there was a small kiln attached to the stall showing the process of baking and smoothing and polishing. When I thought of the miserable poverty at Begun (Berhampur) and also of the inefficient carpenter and mason, at the same time, I wondered if we could not organize non-commercial teams for our craftsmen from Dargapada and its neighborhood had been brought two flower women here with their wool and indigenous dyes, and their hand-made basket was one of their proud exhibits. Another interesting stall was the coach-hauling stall. Making of hauls from canals (imported from the Chittagong coast) is a specialty of Dacca. A stall, quite interesting for the farmer, was the one put up by the Dishesman Cotton Mill, demonstrating the possibility of the growth of the half-acre cotton in Bengal. There was little cotton being grown in Bengal except in parts of the Tippera district. Experiments had now been successfully made, and it had been found that cotton of 1 to 1 1/2 inch staple could be produced in Bengal. A pamphlet issued in Bengal by Shri Sahasra Bhattacharya of the Bengal Millowners Association was being freely distributed. This shows details of places growing cotton plants 4 feet high, with 40 bolls to each plant, and producing cotton of 7 1/2 to 1 inch staple, plants growing 7 feet high, with 120 bolls and producing cotton of a 1 1/2 to 1 3/4 inch staple, and plants growing 7 feet high, with as many as 360 bolls, and producing cotton of 1 1/2 to 1 3/4 inch staple. The seeds can be had on application to the Second Economic Bureau, Dargapada, P. O. Tippera, Dacca.

Other interesting stalls which had nothing to do with the textile were the medicine and hygienic stalls with attractive and interesting charts in Bengali, which are very essential in every village means for the village, looking to the heavy toll taken every year by malaria, kala azar, and cholera. These proved very successful.

#### The New President

Shri Kishorelal Mukherjee's successor as president of the above Bengal is Shri Shriniketan Dasgupta. An underwriter and entrepreneur in his profession he is perhaps less contemplative and more practical. He had a brilliant academic career, having won first class honors every where, and was a keeper of papers, has given up practice years ago and has been giving all his time to public work. He is a member of the A. I. W. I. A. Board, was president of it until a little while ago, and a president of the

Mahatma Charida Singh. He belongs to the Marwadi community, and his speech in reply to the response given to him by the community in Calcutta, on return from Malabar, was quite characteristic of his life and thought. This is a free translation of what he said in Hindi.

"When I address meetings of poor agriculturists I ask them to learn how to add to their scanty income. But when I am in front of a Marwadi audience, I ask them to find out ways and means of reducing the burden of their wealth. They are 'curled' with great possessions', and it would be a blessing for them to reduce them and to learn a little sacrifice. And in this connection I should like to leave a thought with you. I give a much higher place to sacrifice than to desisting out of superficial wealth. Therefore the more we reduce our digestion from the better for us. There are many of you who regard yourselves as non-possessors and believers in *Vairagya-samacharana*. If you believe in the four ashramas, it follows you after having made your rule as householders—*grahastha*—to be trustees for whom you have earned, by taking in *atithi-vandhanam*."

As one who undertakes to live up to his principles he is a worthy successor of Kshatriyadharma, and one may fully hope that the Singh with a new ideal and new plan of work will flourish under his guidance. (Concluded)

Savagan, 11-3-46

M. D.

## Harijan

Vol. 16

1946

### FOR ENGLISHMEN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Thus writes a very responsible Englishman to a reviewer friend. The reviewer sends it to me for answer.

"I have just been reading with very real concern the text of the resolution which the Working Committee adopted yesterday. I am writing as a very ordinary Englishman who has been interested in India for a good many years. One of my pleasantest discoveries on here has been to find a much closer affinity in outlook between Indians and Englishmen than I had ever ventured to expect. I do not believe that my sympathy with or attitude towards Indian aspirations is in any way peculiar or exceptional. I hold, even if they are not those of the older type of I. C. S. or Army officer, are pretty generally held by a large number of Englishmen. I can speak with some confidence on this point as I am in fairly close touch with several people who exercise some influence over English opinion and have been working with increasing success to create an atmosphere favourable to granting India's demand for full dominion status. What are we to make of the Colonists' latest move and of what appears to be the rather sudden and drastic

change from a demand for dominion status to one for complete independence? I have for too great a respect for Gandhi and the other Congress leaders I have met to believe it is either bluff or some form of a large ruse meant at one repeatedly misbehaving attitude during the early negotiations. They ought to know us well enough by now to realise how difficult we find it to do the business thing in a business way, and yet on the whole I think it is our manner which are at least more often than our intention.

If, therefore, the resolution must be taken to mean what it says and we are obliged to renounce ourselves here and hereafter forthwith, I cannot help asking you very anxiously whether you are really able to rule India without any help from us. When I was up on the Frontier last summer I met a number of large and brave gentlemen who were literally glowing at the prospect of sweeping themselves at India's expense once the English were gone. There are also, I believe, other parties who would not hesitate to exploit the difficulties of the new Indian Republic. None of these, I admit, is powerful weapons against people with some principles against the physical success of those who do not defend themselves, but I doubt an effectiveness against those who regard the whole plan with contempt. Can you keep these forces in order or are we to contemplate handing India over to all manner of chaos and possibly, even possibly, civil war? You may say that that is your affair and if such difficulties arise you will deal with them in your own way, but that does not ease my mind. I am not prepared to defend either the document or order which we got signed over India—in view of her deplorable condition in the latter part of the Third century since either Power would no doubt have taken advantage of it, if we had not—we the way we have treated her since, for the more our record may be made to appear the more sincere that it is upon us, in my opinion, not to divert ourselves of our responsibilities, of the position of our own countries if you like, until there is an equally stable as well as a more enlightened administration ready to take over from us. I hope that if I heard my opinion after we left India that Gandhi and Nehru were telling one another in the face of an important government, I should not feel without blame, and I am certain that many Indians and other people as well would point to it as the end legacy of British dominion. I cannot therefore persuade myself that we English can truly leave India until we have put her in a position to stand firmly on her own feet. When that time comes I will go gladly. I believed it was coming soon but my experience does not suggest that it has arrived yet. An dominion status seems to me to be a long step towards it, why it is unacceptable?

May I raise an another point? Progressive opinion in England, which will probably become more or less permanently in the ascendant after the war, provided that we win, as I believe generally expects to see justice done to India, but it is even more anxious that the cause for which we are now fighting shall



proved I know the East End of London fairly well and I can assure you that it is the poorest area in any that the streets of Belvedere are fighting to bring to better up British Imperialism. They realize that we are up against real change and that life even under the conditions of dockland is a better thing than it would be under Egypt. They know too, or if they do not I am afraid they will learn before they are much older, that this is going to be a desperate struggle and that victory, if and when it does come, will have been bought at a terribly high price. How are they going to lead towards these people in India who by trying to obstruct our war effort at this critical stage did their best to give that little push to the scales that might well have meant defeat?

You may say, "What do we owe to England and what do we care whether she is Defeated or not? This is the opportunity we have been waiting for and we mean to take it." May I look at such an argument quite objectively? Civil disturbances and the trouble to which it will certainly give rise will interfere so seriously and cause suspension, if not much worse, between people who ought to be friends, but I do not see how by itself it is going to get rid of us, particularly when we are needed. If it is successful and we win the war in spite of it, the very people who I firmly believe would have renounced India's independence in aid of our difficulties in the most generous way will feel a resentment which it will take a generation to dissipate. If on the other hand you are able to make us lose the war, do you really believe that the Germans or Russians will either keep their hands off India or will be more active in giving her complete independence than we have been? If your answer is 'no' then would you prefer to rule by Nazis or Bolsheviks than by us?

I do believe I have been honestly sympathetic towards Congress aspirations and so far as my limited experience goes have tried honestly to interpret them to friends in England. But the latest development I cannot understand or really follow on grounds of logic or even of expediency. Can you help me? I know I shall be getting replies from home before long and should like to answer them fairly. At the same time while the generals are manoeuvring, is there any war in which a private soldier like myself could be of assistance? There is no much greater in danger of being wasted."

The letter represents the thoughts of many Englishmen who are well disposed towards the Congress. And yet it betrays a major difference of Indian thought. Thus the writer says, "What are we to make of the Congress's latest move and of what appears to be the rather sudden and drastic change from a demand for Dominion Status to one for Complete Independence?" Now Complete Independence has been the definite goal of the Congress since 1929, and has been repeated every year from thousands of platforms. From that year to this the Congress has never even so much as mention-

ed Dominion Status. There is therefore no change whatsoever in the Congress demand. The question of Dominion or Dominion simply does not arise. Confusion arises from my misquoted letter to Mr. Ho S. L. Peking wherein I said in 1937 that, if Dominion Status with the right to secede was offered, I for one would accept it I had no authority in hand except due to that statement. Needless to say the offer was never made. Whatever may be said of me, no change of change of policy can be brought against the Congress. So far as I am concerned I have changed. Experience since 1929 and constant reflection have led me to think that Dominion Status even of the Status of Westminster variety cannot save India's case. I have only privately given my reasons for the change of opinion which I need not repeat here.

When the writer thinks that India cannot get stand on her own legs, he has not even Dominion Status in contemplation. For Dominion Status is asking if it does not mean the ability of the Dominion to question to stand by itself.

What the Congress has definitely asked for is India's declaration that it will give effect to the demands of a duly elected Constituent Assembly in other words, India should relinquish the right of India without any outside interference or influence to determine her own future. It may be even Dominion Status. It may be less than Independence or a modified form of it. It may also be Complete Independence. The Congress will not lower its flag. But the Constituent Assembly is not synonymous with the Congress. The Assembly will include representatives of all parties who can secure sufficient votes. Therefore all minorities will be represented in their full strength.

It is a great pity that even the best of Englishmen are, as a rule, woefully ignorant of the Indian claim. They are not well-informed to take the trouble of studying the Indian case. They will use read newspaper papers. They take their opinions from the Anglo-Indian papers which themselves generally better among themselves about the thoughts, aspirations and aims of contemporary India. It has been the lot of the Congress to be misrepresented from its inception. I suggest that responsible Englishmen should meet, say, the best known Congressmen of the left and the right schools of thought, and I propose that much misunderstanding will be removed. It may be that even then there will be honest differences of opinion. These will always exist.

The writer dares to think what will happen in India if Englishmen were to remove the country bag and baggage. Such a contingency is conceivable in a non-violent struggle. The end of non-violence action is a friendly settlement. It is meant merely the English soldiers, they will certainly go if they will not serve Independent India or if they are not wanted because they are too expensive or for any other cause. It must

not be forgotten that the Indian struggle is not non-violent; it is anti-imperialism; anti-forgery-rule, not anti-forgery. Underlying the writer's fear is the possibility of India deciding upon something beyond its capacity. The lowest English belief in the incapacity of India to come to a wise judgment as to defend herself against civil war or foreign aggression is perhaps the greatest stumbling block in the way of an honourable settlement. If the fear is justified the only solution is to run the risk and let India learn wisdom and the art of self-defence by becoming free. Any other course means almost perpetual helplessness and foreign domination. Surely it is better for India, England and the world that a helpless sub-continent runs the greatest risk for coming into its own than that it go on forever as a dead weight to itself and the world. The distinguished writer seems to admit the wrong Britain has done. It will not be undone by Britain being the judge of India's destiny and cherishing the distant hope that one day India will be fit enough to shoulder full responsibility for internal and external defence. The very argument advanced by the writer against India determining her future seems to me to be conclusive for ending British rule at the earliest moment possible.

If the position taken up by me is the correct one, the Non or Bahadur manner can have no meaning for independent India, especially as its defence is based on non-violence.

But the writer evidently has no lack of non-violence of the sword. I must wholly disagree with him when he says, "Non-violence I believe is a powerful weapon against people with some prejudices against the physical coercion of those who do not defend themselves, but I doubt its efficacy against those who regard the whole idea with contempt." The real test of non-violence lies in its being brought in contact with just those who have contempt for it. The writer would be right if he were to say that such unadorned non-violence has not yet been used by the Congress. The current would be that I am trying no strategy to pressure India and through it the world with a complex example of non-violence. I may be but I urge Englishmen to assess the experiment if they have even a faint belief in the possibility of the existence of non-violence.

With the poor opinion the writer has of the working of non-violence, it is no wonder that he trembles at the thought, when the British came from India, "of a number of large and fierce gardeners who were busily glazing at the prospect of enjoying themselves at India's expense once the English were gone." Is it likely that an assembly of elected men and women who had such a fear would use their death warrant by asking the English to retire in order that they may be denounced by "large and fierce gardeners" of the Frontier? I return to the writer that, if and when the English

return, both the Moslems and the Hindus will find it profitable to live in peace as they used to do before the British came. If there had been prepared gardens, one or the other would have been wiped out. When real independence comes to India, Congress and League will be powerless unless they represent the real opinion of the country. The presence of the British beyond has created an artificial condition which suppresses the natural play of human action and demonstrates both the suppressed and the oppressor. Let us also add that the presence of the British forces has not prevented men such as were seen in Bihar or Orissa from making the Frontier. Whatever reason the forces achieve is after the event have happened. The soldiers are no better off for the positive reason, nor is it possible to say that at least in the majority of such cases full reparation is made.

That the Congress continues at the rate will embetter the English mind and will be remembered against India, is a possibility. But my own experience of human nature, not excluding the British, is that humaneness is deeper when parties wish to come together. The suppression presupposes the crushing of civil disobedience. There is no such thing as the civil disobedience movement. If there is violence, it will certainly be crushed because violence can only end in a despicable rout. There never has been persons preparing the people themselves will be bewildered. They would not know what to do. But if, in spite of all the precautions I may take for a non-violent struggle, humanism is still to be the ruler, even that risk has to be run. Before the choice of the Almighty man will be judged not by his acts but by his intentions. For God alone reads our hearts. Freedom's battles are not fought without paying heavy prices. Just as man would not cherish the thought of living in a body other than his own, so do nations not like to live under other nations. However noble and great the intent may be. Englishmen who are undergoing tremendous sacrifices for preserving their freedom should not feel so apprehensive India's move. The Congress does not say, "Give us Congressmen what we want. It says to the British, "Not now but, the elected representatives of the nation should decide on this." If such a reasonable proposition is circumstances, what should the Congress do?

Seragam, 11-3-46

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### OCCASIONAL NOTES "Playing Providence"

Mr. Brundage, the eminent politician, has in a recent article explained with remarkable clarity the reasons of the breakdown of the Delhi negotiations. Gandhi's last explanation, he says, has unfortunately not been understood since in the Labour Party and so he offers further explanation:

"The central issue on which the negotiations at Delhi broke down is as vital as it is disturbing. What is it to be the arbiter of the political situation which Indians are to have? Are we to decide it for them, or are they to give it for themselves? They claim to be a nation. The presence of Dominion Status means that we concede that claim. Very well, then, how do we treat other nations in a comparable position? We hope, in the event of victory, to bring liberty to the Austrians. It would never enter our heads to draw up a constitution for them at Washington or in Paris. They must decide for themselves whether they wish to remain a part of Germany, succumb, as we hope, for democracy, or to form a separate State. Is it to be a Republic? That is their affair. We may have our values and opinions, but they must settle all this, and much more, for themselves at Vienna. And as a matter of course, we should concede in such case to nations less united in our respect than Austrians that in the case of India it is first of all an obvious principle in our policy made that God's Englishmen must give the honor in which Indians are to live. Our Civil Service will do the deciding. Our Parliament claims by claim will debate the Bill. The vote of which some responsible to the desires of Chamber and Churchill will decide whether India shall have two chambers or one, a veto or a proposed franchise. It is the India in the day for us to play Providence to this untrained nation. Indians will not submit to our paternal authority. They stand for 'self-determination'—the right to choose for themselves the type of government under which they shall rule themselves."

#### An Analogy

In a very long article on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in *Life*, one of America's most widely read journals, Mr. and Mrs. Gumbel sum up the case for India. Having a statement of plain facts and there is the Americans it is a most lucid statement of the Indian case and must make the Britisher pause to see how Americans view our case. "While the British fight for democracy in Europe, they deny full democracy to 350,000,000 Indians who want freedom. Everyone knows how unexpectedly difficult it is for the Allies to state their war aims. But India should be a test case for war aims when the time comes for stating them," she writes us. Thus they put down what they describe as "an extreme statement of the Indian case, such as one that Nehru might make." There is, however, no exaggeration about it, for it is a perfect picture of the condition of things in

India. "An analogy might be a Japanese occupation of the United States," they say, "tried to put themselves in the Indians' position. Suppose that the United States should crumble into decay, and succumb to civil war between rival American forces. Suppose then that the Japanese, residents of a distant land, should invade America, impose order, order tranquility with various local authorities and maintain an armed occupation of the land, finally permitting the Americans a limited degree of local autonomy. Suppose that the Japanese first flew in Washington, and that the Japanese Viceroy was solely responsible for the conduct of foreign affairs, finance, law and order. Suppose that the Japanese ruled America of its internal industrial production and external commerce and maintained married American. Suppose, finally, it established weekly clubs which no American could enter, accepted pro-Japanese papers among Federal Americans, and collected an American's unopposed organized Japanese Civil Service. Then suppose the Japanese should become involved in a war with, say, Russia. Would the American subjects of Japan be loyal to Japan? Or would they not?"

#### The Civil Service

The Gumbels have in the hyperbolic analogy referred to the "unopposed organized Civil Service" in India. This is an item in the fearful ruin of India, which events will do well to bear in mind. A writer in *The New Review*, a monthly issued by the Indian National Congress in India, gives a detailed account of the Indian Civil Service. "Though it is now a high and ranked service," says the writer, "the Indian Civil Service has had a humble origin in the harem and women of the East India Company . . . (who) later became civil servants. The salaries of these servants were very low. The courts were paid £5 a year, the barristers £15 poorer merchants £20, and under merchants £30, while the Governor received the princely salary of £200." In about a hundred years, it is 1930, this Service became the "Crowned Civil Service of India," in contradistinction to the lower un-crowned service to which these Indians were advanced. The few salaries led the Civil Servants to engage in private trade and to accept "presents," and when for reasons of expediency prohibiting these the salaries continued the salaries were increased. And yet Lord Curzon, having "no faith in the integrity and moral standards of Indians, adopted the policy of paying everything done by European agency. All the better posts were reserved to Europeans, and Indians had to be content with subordinate posts." The salaries were raised in order to minimize the possibilities of corruption among the Europeans, and yet it was integrity and ethics of Indians that were questioned. "It was Curzon who raised the salaries of the Civil Servants to a very high level, thus burdening the country with

one of the most, if not the most, expensive Civil Service in the world. Civil Servants had to live on a level commensurate with the level set up by the Nawabs. In addition to salary the Civil Servants were given a commission of 14 per cent on the private collections. This meant that a collector could earn in all about Rs. 1,000 a month as long ago as the closing years of the eighteenth century. This is to say a collector over a hundred and fifty years ago was earning ten times the salary drawn by a European Governor in 1874, and which salary along with other salaries decided above were fixed according to the conditions of life in India. The recent history of the Civil Service with British Government drawing as much as Rs. 20,000 per month, with the 'Law foot' scandal and so on, is well known.

The Service, which is a cross between a native Indian, not civil, not service, and which based on the one hand the business economic class in India has been on the other hand almost wholly responsible for the circumstance of the misgovernment in India, is a moral outrage without a parallel in history, and by itself provides a case for amendment for Britain.

Servgram, 12-3-40

M D

## Notes

Jagdish Nath Narayan

The arrest of Shri Jagdish Narayan is unforgotten. He is an ordinary worker. He is an outcast on occasion. It may be said that what he does not know of Western civilization nobody else in India does. He is a fine fighter. He has freedom all for the sake of the deliverance of his country. His industry is infinite. His capacity for suffering is not to be counted. I do not know what speech has brought him within the law. But I like A. at the highly judicial sections of the Defence of India Act are to be respected for reaching uncommon persons, then any person whom the authorities want can be easily brought within the law. I have read before now that it is open to the Government to prosecute a crime if they wish so. They have every right to do so. But I have taught the hope that the light will be allowed to develop along its natural course so long as it keeps strictly non-violent. Let there be no compromise. If Shri Jagdish Narayan is guilty of violence, violence should be proved. What the arrest has done is to make the people believe that the British Government want to keep the mass. Narayan will then have repeated staff. During the first Civil Disobedience the Government had faced the mass by arresting the Ali Brothers. In this arrest a prearranged plan, or is it a plan conceived by an extraordinary officer? If it is the latter, it should be set right.

Servgram, 12-3-40

## 'Khash Bashi'

A correspondent writes

"I believe in *Khash*. So I must say it that my money are hoarded. So I made it a point to be made Rs. 1 per month. Yet I am afraid the saving is within my reach of getting ready. So I suppose a category of 'Khash Bashi' (Not only does the advance start later the saving could be effectively stored by purchasers or various purchases of *Khash* but also to ensure a device of converting *Khash* to the purchasers without in any way affecting the interests of the wage-workers).

All those who are *Khash* lovers and all those who cannot afford to save enough to make *Khash* purchases at a time may purchase such bonds. An amount of money be deposited at a time as at suitable intervals with a certified A. I. S. A. *Khash* (bond). Such a bond would differ from a money bond in that the money once deposited cannot be withdrawn except through *Khash* purchase equivalent in value. The A. I. S. A. may issue bonds like in such currency who may from time to time draw bonds of appropriate denominations on the *Khash* and purchase *Khash*.

The advantages of having such bonds are obvious and important both from the purchasers' and wage-workers' point of view. Thus, if the *Khash* lovers all over the country take into their hand in judicious such bonds, (a) it is obvious that the A. I. S. A. would be in a position to guarantee the wages of the wage-workers. The extent of such security might vary (a) it is equally obvious that the interest earned by the A. I. S. A. would be expended and added towards reduction of the cost of *Khash* to purchasers without in any way reducing the wages of the wage-workers. Thus the purchasers get cheapened *Khash* or less of interest on their advances. Therefore, I think, the proper working of such *Khash* bonds may prove a useful device in lowering the price of *Khash* without loss to the wage-workers.

I do not know how far the above suggestion is practicable. So I request you to give your thoughtful consideration to it. If you think it worth your right, kindly put it through the columns of *Kabir* for the benefit of the general public.

The wage-workers would appreciate. Let the A. I. S. A. express consider it. If the purchasers will thought money and a sufficient number subscribe, it should be possible to cheapen *Khash*.

Servgram, 11-3-40

M E G

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# HARIVAN

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NEW HARIVAN DEEN

VOL. VIII, No. 6.]

POONA — SATURDAY, MARCH 23 1940

[ CHAS. ANDERSON ]

## QUESTION BOX

(By Mr. K. Gandhi)

### Pakistan

Q. You have, I see, avoided the question of Pakistan. Obviously you are strange to your subject, but somehow or other you seem to have walked round the subject.

A. Apparently, but not really, there is some truth in the charge. The fact is that the Pakistan issue never before now has presented as a difficulty. They are now aware from the British corner. It is British India that is fighting the battle. The Indian people are fighting their own battle in their own States against overwhelming odds. The people in the States and in British India are not. For them the artificial boundaries do not exist. But for the administration the boundaries are very real. British law has allowed Pakistan to regard as foreigners people from British India along to the States or people from one State to another. And yet Pakistan can only on British soil. They cannot move without British permission. They have had to be approved by the British Raj. Their return is also under the same supervision. They can be disposed of will. Thus so far as the British control is concerned, they are worse off than the ordinary British subject. But so far as their people are concerned, the Pakistan have unlimited control over them. They can suppress them at will and even put them to death. Theoretically British Raj has a duty to the people also. But it is a merely nominal. Therefore the people of the States labour under a double burden. It must be clear to you from the foregoing narrative that the Congress cannot influence the Pakistan except through the British Government. Indeed the latter will not permit any real approach to the Pakistan. I personally do not desire the attraction of the French color. But I do want the Pakistan to recognize the spirit of the times and shed a large part of their sovereignty. In spite of the powerful British support, the march of the people of India the Indian cannot be stopped. I am hoping that the combined wisdom of all, including the Pakistan and the present rulers, will prevent the march from running wild, which it is bound to do unless a serious attempt is made to stop it. I am putting forth the best non-violent effort I can, but my non-violence, because of my impotence may fail. I ask for the help of the hand of those who would see India with her soul without a blind fold.

But if the Pakistan will not listen I do not ask for their conversion. Let British India have her independence, and I know the Pakistan know that true freedom of British India means freedom of their people also. For as I have said the two are one. No power on earth can keep them in separation for all time.

### Use of Force against Muslims

Q. You talk of complete independence from Britain and at the same time of setting the question of minorities through a Constituent Assembly. This means that, if Muslims do not listen to you, you would want to use British force to compel them to submit to your will.

A. This question really touches my own position and, so far as I know, the Congress position. The Congress cannot want independence and the use of British force at the same time. But that is not all. The Congress will not create Muslims or any minority. That would be a non-violent approach. The attitude common in British circles. And the Congress is prepared to get out of that attitude. We hope to demand a Constituent Assembly is that whether the Muslims are represented by the Muslim League merely or any other, the representatives when they are first to face with the reality will not think of saving up India according to religious but will regard India as an indivisible whole and discover a method to solve, whatever of even specially Muslim questions. But if the hope is frustrated, the Congress cannot definitely reject the proposal will of the Muslims of India. Muslims or any the Congress can never seek the assistance of British force to meet the emergency, it is the Muslims who will impose their will by force only or with British assistance as an unwelcome India. If I am given the Congress with me, I would not put the Muslims to the inside of using force. I would be ruled by them for a world will be India only. In other words the Congress will have only a non-violent approach to every question and difficulty arising. But just as it is possible that Muslim representatives to the Constituent Assembly may wear another hat than that of the Muslim League, it is also possible that the others may be non-Congressmen. In that event, the British will be where they are, only they will be wooed by both the parties alternately and will remain the architects of India's destiny. For that, with the Congress ever ready, non-violence will be known to the whole and

paradoxically the infinitely superior violence of the British aided by the willing co-operation of the working party will surely rule India. For the only force matched against British force is that of non-violence, unimpaired through it is, of the Congress.

#### Magist of Banket

Q. Do you know that the Purna University has practically rebuffed the study of Banket? Do you approve of the step? If you do not, will you express your opinion in Harijan?

A. I do not know what the Purna University has done. But I quite agree with you that the study of Banket is being badly neglected. I belong to a generation which believed in the study of the ancient languages. I do not believe that such a study is a waste of time and effort. I believe it is an aid to the study of modern languages. This is truer of Banket than of any other ancient language as far as India is concerned, and every particular should recall it because it makes a study of the provincial languages easier than otherwise. It is the language in which our forefathers thought and wrote. No Hindu boy or girl should be without a knowledge of the rudiments of Banket, if he will enable the spirit of his religion. Thus the Gayatri is understandable. No student can give the sense of the original, which I hold has a meaning all its own. The Gayatri is but one example of what I have said.

Rampat 17-3-40

### WOMEN AND VOLUNTARY ENTREPRENEUR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shriyam Rajkumari Amari Kaur writes

"Recently the women members at the Annual Session of the All India Women's Conference passed a resolution expressing their wish to build up a means of economic relief to our poor women, and pledged themselves to try to use it to the best advantage in their homes and provinces to which in view of this I have already alluded at our Branch and asked them to take up what you have termed "municipal spinning" as a practical way of helping them. If women of the lower classes would spin regularly and give their yarn to the A. I. W. C., it could be utilised for supplying the poorest women in the wages of spinning which the Government has introduced. These poor women need to earn even as low a wage as a pice per day for the A. I. W. C. has voluntarily fixed it to a pice and more per hour and desires it to rise much higher. But it cannot do so without the hearty co-operation of the well-to-do ladies. For it has to keep down the price of cloth so that it may remain within the purchasing power of the middle classes. We shall therefore be rendering a double service to the spinner and the cloth buyer. It is a simply that many of us do not realise that the A. I. W. C. is really an organisation for the benefit of women. Spinners are women; they love it; and if we can help to raise their earnings to a living wage,

we are at once not only giving them economic independence but also raising the dignity of their labour.

Through the kind help of Shri Krishnaswami Gaudhi I am able to give the following figures which illustrate the material value of the help we could easily render to our poor village women.

If a woman spins for an hour daily, she spins for about 360 hours in the year. Rendering an average speed of 160 yards per hour and approximately 2½ hanks per week (a hank being equal to 840 yards), she would be contributing 14 hanks per month and 120 per annum. The value of the yarn works out at 1½ Rs. to 1½ Rs. per annum and the value of the spinning (an hour daily at the rate of wages at a pice per hour) may be reckoned at 7 annas approximately. Supplying 1,000 of us rural women, we would be contributing Rs. 1,250 and Rs. 25,000 worth of yarn per month and per annum respectively, the labour of spinning being reckoned at Rs. 1,400 a month and Rs. 17,000 in the year.

If we lay our claims, we would have to spend 7 Rs. a month at Rs. 2-4-0 per annum on them. If, however, the art of carding cotton at home and making clothes themselves is cultivated, this expenditure could be reduced by Rs. 2-4-0 a year, with-made clothes involving a cost of 4 to 5 pice per month or Rs. 2 per annum. Each one of us would thus be contributing labour to the extent of Rs. 7-8-0 during the year. (Rs. 2-4-0 in making clothes and Rs. 5-4-0 in spinning.)

Some readers have asked me why I am asking them to spin rather than contribute their quota in cash. While it is open to those who will opt open to help by donations, the value of work which makes us one in spirit with the poor, which enhances the dignity of all labour, especially women's labour, and which develops within us a love of handiwork and hand-spun cloth as nothing else can is something which cannot be replaced in terms of money.

Girl students in colleges often ask me in what way they can serve the country. Each one of them could contribute her quota in this manner too.

I shall be very grateful if you will give your blessing and approval to this scheme and thereby strengthen my appeal. We ought of course to be able to raise many more than 1,000 volunteers to give hands in this enterprise. What is 3,000 for a large country like ours, if we have the love of service in us? And of course it should be remembered as those who can give longer hours of labour to do so. Those who wish to pay the "tribute" may send their money and offerings to me, and I will inform them at to where they can give in their turn.

I may mention that the figures given have been reduced at present to 1 L. 5 S. 4 annas."

I heartily endorse that appeal. It will be a shame if even three thousand women cannot be found who would labour for the starving millions. It is well that the Rajkumari has had access on acquaintance with the poor through labour willingly and cheerfully done.

Seagram, 11-3-40

## CANDID COMMENTS

*Time and Tide* is one of the most influential, broad-minded Conservative journals in England today. The following comments that have appeared in it re-echo the Hindu-Muslim question in relation to India's claim to independence will be read with interest:

"To the British public who have had the words 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' drilled into their ears until India has come to assume little else, this will sound helpful, but it raises new questions. There is the Hindu-Muslim problem and it is no use ducking it. But the Congress standpoint is that its Ministers did not come over the national question, but over the question of India's constitutional status and the British Government's war aims and that the Viceroy and the India Office have dragged in the Hindu-Muslim problem, such as Sir Paul, with his usual success, dragged in the quarrel of the Saddlers and Plumbers when he found himself in a tight corner. Also the India Government, by the manner and recognition it has given to what is, after all, merely the best organized and largest Muslim group, the Muslim League, is held to have deliberately exacerbated the problem. The Congress has its own natural difficulties for every other group, but the difficulties of the Indian Government are likely to come to harvest first as the war gives ground and war weariness returns. Finally, there will never be any settlement of the Hindu-Muslim problem any more than of the Catholic-Protestant problem or of the many religious problems of Syria and the Balkans. If India has to wait for Dominion Status until there is such a settlement, she must wait for ever, which many Indians believe is our only interest in the problem. All you can get is a convention for a specified term of years by which the majority spontaneously places itself to give Muslims such representation in terms of their numerical proportion as will establish them in the legislature and the public services—and their educational and economic progress has made the community able to look after itself."

Even more outspoken are the comments of *The Natal Witness* which is the oldest established journal in Natal. The extracts below are from an leading article entitled "A cat may look at a king" in reply to the *London Times'* rejoinder.

"There are fewer tests of the sanity of Britain in her war aims than are to be found outside them. None of the numerous 'wings' made on behalf of democracy and its defense call from Britain at this time (as well as from South Africa on the same connection) a practical recognition of this (and we) are not to be allowed to practice what we preach by those we are not slow to condemn. The Congress Party, it is true, does not represent all India, it would be reasonable, indeed, if, in the diversity of India and the vastness of the population, any one group should enjoy the unanimous support of the masses. Let it be said, however, that the party is in power in seven of the eleven provinces, and that

it guards a national majority in the provincial elections, and it will be realized that its right to speak for India is comparable with that conferred upon the Conservative Party to speak for the British Commonwealth of Nations. In claiming this right a similar speech not only sets the record and strong maintain in India. Briefly, what its demands envisage is the achievement by the greater democracy Britain of a principle for India not dissimilar from the one we are now fighting for in Europe. It has disclosed already, however, that if the objective of British policy in India is Dominion status, a process of self-determined freedom and liberty, the granting of it is a slower process than the swift call to arms for the defense of the principle elsewhere...

It remains, as so many people reason that because there are strong minorities in disagreement with the Congress Party, it believes Britain to withhold the right it is capable of granting. It is as if to say that because the Conservative Party has failed it is wrong opposition it must not be allowed to declare war or make peace. This stupidity will one day prove the undoing of a considerable portion of the British Commonwealth of Nations... If we continue to deny those of our own Empire, that are fitted for such status and privileges, the right to have more than vague movements for the future, we can expect to be deluded or hypocrites by our enemies in the field.

The *Times* stands for the re-establishment of Poland and Czechoslovakia, and at the same time refuses the same to a nation far more democratically elected than Poland, which did but lately emerge from a national enslavement, one ever hope to be. There is no light reason. It might have thought that the leaders of British opinion would pay some critical attention to the foundations of belief and facts, and on their knowledge policy connected with religious principles and agreement with those ideals for which men are called to die in that time...

Let it be said at once that the relation of Britain to India mainly reflects the relation of the Union to its Indians. For access with a cost for democracy, with which goes a measure for political integrity and reputation, will find it difficult to approximate an equality to defend liberty, freedom, honest dealing with the rest of the values now challenged in Europe, combined with a complete neglect of those same things in our own land. The war, it has been said, is a test of our own faith in matters of faith. Seriously enough, it is not in Poland or in Czechoslovakia or at the Magyar has, though *The Times* thinks it is, where democracy is to be defended. If the quest of the British Commonwealth is to be moral, it can only be done by granting those values it is full measure of that political freedom and self-determination we fight to grant those values. The *London Times* very naturally does not see it that way!"

## Mahatma Gandhi

By S. Radhakrishnan, B.A. 3-10-3, Passage 7 Aa, Available at Harpan office-Panama 4, and 37 A B Queen's Road, Bombay 7

# *Harijan*

No. 35

1949

## ANOTHER ENGLISHMAN'S LETTER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Last week I dealt with a letter from a well-known Englishman who is in India. Now I have a letter from a responsible English friend in England, from which I give below all that the readers need to know.

"We are quite certain that no such thing as 'hanging the door' has happened. The Government will sincerely discuss a settlement to be reached. Even if certainly it did not want that, it is bound to do so at the present time, in view of the terrible war in which the country is engaged. The feeling, however, is growing amongst Government people that the Congress is increasingly exporting 'hardness' as meaning what it alone considers right. Apart from the fact that that is not of the nature of a settlement, but rather of a one-sided decision, I am bound to remind you that a war settlement does not increase the moral-morale of men, but on the contrary tends to strengthen a certain hat and rigidity in politics, when men become of necessity concentrated on the terrible effort in hand, and more and more unable to stray for opposition.

Hence, if the Congress rejects a settlement and follows a line of unswerving opposition, it is more than probable that the British War Cabinet will do the same. The time for peaceful settlement will pass—a disaster for both India and Great Britain. I need not believe that its consequences are obvious. But I may say that it is felt here, by many more sympathetic to the cause of freedom in India, that the Congress is not now in taking so rigid a position and growing the grave and real serious problems Great Britain is facing that makes an effective a satisfactory answer to the Congress claim.

India claims her freedom in the name, first, of self-determination. Here the question is asked. What is the Government of India that all India wants—Congress Party, Muslims and other communities, and Princes included? The Congress demands a Constituent Assembly to determine that. But it seems clear that before such an Assembly could actually attempt to tackle the question, with any hope of reaching agreement, great work has to be done. Should not, then, a small, private but very responsible Conference of a dozen representatives (before were sent out to represent the main parties of the divided community)?

Given that this small Conference was representative, and was accepted by both India and Great Britain as a responsible body, and given the reaching of reasonable agreement, it is generally saying that the British Government would accept its decision. And it is to be expected that a National Assembly of all India, whatever the precise making-up of might desire, would subsequently do so too.

The world will not feel that the Congress High Command is accepting that unless the Congress is prepared for "war" there must be some meeting of the minds of other parties, and some willingness to meet the *de facto* Government on procedure.

There is a great desire and willingness here to reach a solution. Everything demands it, and there never was a greater amount of discussion over British India solution than at the present time. On the other hand there is developing a unique great determination not to accept decisions from what, it is otherwise spread of course, is the major political party in India,—but whose decision can neither meet Great Britain from participation in the solution, nor induce her from division, understandings and promises.

The strategy of the situation now is such that I must deeply pray you not to turn from the wonderful path of patient seeking of understanding that has always been yours and return to a posturing of a hard no both equally fatal.

May I add as a long friend of Indian freedom my deep conviction that the struggle must and can be ended in friendship and equality—accepting all the implications of both those words. For this, England has to return to India the dominion and control she has assumed, not refuse a prayer and India has to show England's demand, not demand her withdrawal. So only can a lasting peace be reached. But if this is so, the steps therein must be agreed steps.

I can well believe that the Government people did not wish to hang the door, but Lord Zealand's interview left no stone for doubt. There were his words.

"Following to Mr. Gandhi's statement that, if the British Government would leave the framing of the constitution to Indians themselves, the questions of defence, economics, Finance and European representation would automatically be resolved. Lord Zealand said that, while he greatly admired Mr. Gandhi's optimism, he was reluctantly quite unable to share it and felt that, so long as the leaders of the Congress maintained their present attitude, the obstacle in the way of an acceptable understanding would be greatly increased.

Lord Zealand said that it was unfortunate that Congress spokesmen made a habit of the word 'independence', since he was convinced that this had created a false impression in Great Britain of the men which the vast majority of Indians look on with. "That they desire freedom is genuine from-selves I do not doubt, that they contemplate India emerging from the orbit of British Government, I do not for a moment believe. In a real world, they are far too appreciative of the protection afforded to them by the armed strength of Great Britain to hand and on."

My correspondence is a careful reading of contemporary events in India. He chooses his words before send them. Yet he has evidently felt unable to accept the impression in Government circles that the Congress "is increasingly regarding 'settlement' as meaning



what it alone considers right. The Congress has never taken up an uncompromising attitude and wishes the four corners of its demand be always shown as evidence for 'a settlement'. Its demand is unimpaired. It says to the British Government: "If you really mean to part with power and your war is not for consolidating your Empire but for democracy all round, then you will declare India a free country and let a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage decide upon the form and content of her own Government. No doubt there are difficulties, e. g. about defence, about minorities, and the Princes. The burden of solving these difficulties will be shifted from you to the Constituent Assembly. If the Assembly cannot solve these satisfactorily, it will prove its unwisdom. You will have done your duty." Surely in this there is no unresisted division.

The writer reminds me of the war conditions and wishes to effect that it does not improve one's temper. I should say that a problem like India is a direct issue in the war; perhaps the duration of war will turn upon the conduct of nationalist India. People engaged in a war do not lose temper over matters which affect the duration of war.

I have no difficulty in endorsing the suggestion that some work goes to the Constituent Assembly should be done. The writer suggests "a very responsible conference of a dozen representatives". The difficulty is of choosing the representatives. Who will choose them? They cannot command confidence unless they are duly elected. Such a conference, so far as I can see, can only be appointed by the members of the Constituent Assembly. I think the day is gone when any party worth the name will accept as representatives Government nominees as was done at the Round Table Conference.

The Congress has to be and is prepared for war. But it wants to avoid 'war'. It will not violently set so as to be the cause of needless suffering to the people. The Congress is ever ready to meet the de facto Government on procedure. Is the latter willing and ready to recognise India as a free country? The Congress history shows that it has always met and is today ready to meet the views of other parties on most matters. What it is not ready to do is to share the guilt. It must be content to be reduced to a hopeless minority for the sake of preserving its goal. It is a trait which it cannot abandon without being delayed in its path. The end of non-violent 'war' is always an agreement, never decision, much less foundation of the opponent. There can be no question of the Congress asking or expecting Britain to deliver her just obligations as trustees.

What, however, I wish is a sincere desire on the part of Britain to do unto India what she would wish done to her if the positions were reversed. The Congress is unreasonable, if it is

wrong for it to refuse to share the power for freedom for which Nehru has laboured, which India might like to regard as her birthright, and by which thousands of men and women have cheerfully suffered imprisonment and loss of their possessions. If it is allowed to a worthy power, the Congress has no fear as to the wisdom of being regarded as eminently reasonable in everything else.

Randark, 26-2-49

#### A Very Useful Publication

Shri Santhashankar DasGupta of Khadi From-then has just published a volume called *Home and Village Doctor* (price Rs. 5 cloth-bound, Rs. 4 leather-bound). It contains 1384 pages, has 25 chapters on the human body, care of women, children, injuries and accidents, nursing, accidents, home treatment, cheap remedial diseases of the various organs, care of contagious diseases as well as those relating specially to women. Particular contents are exhaustive, and it has a complete index at the end covering 32 pages. There are 222 illustrative diagrams. It was during my second imprisonment here that I wrote and asked medical friends to give me a book after the style of the excellent publication *Moore's Family Medicine*. I wanted, however, something better and more judicious in the sense that a layman serving in villages could handle with ease. A book was promised but the promise could not be fulfilled. Santhashankar came to the rescue and with his amazing industry has produced a book which should meet my requirement. As he says in his introduction he would not publish it till I had read it through and certified it as satisfactory. He supplied me with the chapters as they were getting ready, then when he had finished the whole volume he bound it and sent it to me. I carried it with me for six years or longer but could never get the time required. In despair I wrote to Santhashankar to publish the book as it was. He was quite content to leave the work unpublished, but I could not think of allowing such labour of love given with infinite care to be lost. I confess that I do not quote like the bulk of the volume. If I could have revised it, probably it would have been rewritten. But Santhashankar has agreed, if he has agreed at all, to the end note. I hope that every village worker knowing English will prize it a good to possess a copy which can be had from the Khadi Practitioner, 25 College Square, Calcutta.

Joragpur, 4-3-49

M K G

\* Can also be had from the Warpage office (Pore, 4, and 31 Queen's Road, Bombay 2). Postage 15 Rs. by ordinary post, Rs. 1 per V. P. note.

#### NOTICE

The business hours of our Bombay branch are now from 11 A. M. to 7-30 P. M. Address: 27-2-11, Queen's Road, Bombay 2.

Mahagur

## OCCASIONAL NOTES

## "Non-Congress India"

It is Sir Samuel Hoare's phrase. In his speech on the present crisis he tried it to distinguish it from Congress India. It was an expansive phrase but his object was not quite patent in his speech. What Lord Zetland and Sir Samuel Hoare have said expensively Mr. W. F. Bates, a retired Colonel, has expressed more bluntly in an article in *The Quarterly Review*. Non-Congress India, he asserts, are with and for the British rule in India, and they represent the vast majority. Here are some of the statements on which, one can now see, the average Briton is fed:

(1) "The Congressmen have little or no sympathy with the classes possessing military value", viz. the Muslims of the north, the Sikh peasantry, the Rajputs, the great landowners, the Marathas. (2) "Moneyed classes oppose the Congress claim." (3) "In the future only a very small proportion of the Hindu intelligentsia in their subscribe to the Congress creed". (4) "The great community of workers (fifty million) does not acknowledge the authority of the Congress, despite Gandhi's several promises". (5) "Indian Liberals similarly reject the Congress claim to speak for India". (6) "The Democratic Swami Party of Bombay follows the example of the Liberals". (7) "So does the great party of Hindu orthodoxy, the Hindu Mahasabha". (8) "The landowning classes throughout India, who contributed largely to the Congress victory, are now bitterly hostile". (9) "A pro-British (Hindu) party is opposed to the Congress Government of Madras".

Mr. Bates has by accident forgotten the Parsees and some a number of other groups though he has made every attempt to be as exhaustive as possible. The conclusion which Sir Samuel Hoare and Lord Zetland have not uttered is so many words is that there is no truth in the "Congress claim to represent as Indian masses which only exist in an imagination", and "it is doubtful if it can claim to voice the wishes of a third of the people of India." Why, therefore, Mr. Bates repeats such an attempt to come with the Congress?

## The Naked Reality

Whatever happens, the Congress "delegation" is "India likely to perpetrate India's war effort", for the whole of non-Congress India is with Britain.

"Does Gandhi," Mr. Bates asks, really intend as he has tried to persuade India's war effort, because the admitted fact that with two-thirds of the people of India on the side of Britain any such attempt must inevitably fail? Does he really intend to risk the future by a gambler's throw? It seems unlikely. Gandhi is not a realist, but he cannot overlook the fact that he would lose almost the support of the Congress by allowing former Ministers to maintain office and work with Britain relying on British support to improve the lot of a tiny group of

revolutionaries. Whatever policy Congress may decide to adopt, it is obvious in existing conditions that Britain could not possibly comply with Congress demands and place it in a position that would give it pre-eminence over the Parsees and the great Muslim community. Practically the whole Muslim world of over 200 million people is given its moral support to France and Britain. It would be almost insanity on the part of Britain and a gross neglect of her responsibilities in India to reject Muslim support by placing the Muslims of India at a disadvantage as regards the Hindu majority in the future political settlement of India.

The whole position is transparently clear. If two-thirds of the people of India were on the side of Britain, it would be absurd for the coalition to think that it can persuade Indians war effort. For Mr. Bates it was that as a matter of fact the *mainbody* he claims to be with Britain are not ready to. With Britain's policy of "divide and rule" and with the help of the British taxpayer they may be won over perhaps. And Gandhi, if he was the "astute" and "unknown" gambler "who with his usual astuteness had acquired meat by professing himself ready to support Britain unconditionally, only, of course, with good force and generous loans," he would certainly purchase the "services of the Congress" from another Britain. Luckily Gandhi does not answer to Mr. Bates's description. He wants for the Congress pre-eminence rather over the Parsees not over the great Muslim community. He wants freedom for all—including the Parsees and the Muslims—from the yoke of British Imperialism. "Would the Congress ever let go British Imperialism?" asks Mr. Bates. The Congress has proclaimed it to the world that it would prefer structure to having anything to do with British Imperialism. But it goes further and questions the fact of the so-called "non-Congress" India wanting to depend for its existence on British Imperialism.

That question can be automatically decided by Britain's declaration of India's right to frame her own constitution by means of a Constituent Assembly on which all the parties that Mr. Bates has mentioned will have representation. To accept that suggestion—we will not call it a demand—would be sportsmanlike. To reject it would be just one playing the game. That Britain has enough physical might overseas knows. The Congress would prefer to raise the moral question and on the solution of it to be established that lead the knee to Imperial Britain.

## Misunderstand Once Again

If there is one thing that one can guarantee about the Masons, it is their persistence. They know what Gandhi has to say in reply to their such questions, but they go on asking them in the spirit of converting him to, I take it, being in these rare moments. A group of them are his at Saragpur the other

der. We were busy packing to go to Rastach, and there was hardly any time that Gadling could spare. But he promised to see them for five minutes. And they did indeed make the best of their time.

"What started you on your career of leadership?" was the queer question with which they started.

"It came to me, unthought, unasked," said Gadling rather embarrassed. "I do not know, though, what sort of leader I am and whether what I am doing is leadership or service. But whatever it is, it came to me unasked."

But the friends who came were sure that they were leaders, and they asked for guidance as leaders of Christus thought.

"All I can say," said Gadling, "is that there should be less of theology and more of truth in all that you say and do."

"Will you kindly explain it?"

"How can I explain the *de-lous*? Amongst aspects of the many mistakes that are presented in the world one of the foremost is theology. I do not say that there is no demand for it. There is a demand in the world for many a questionable thing but even those who have to do with theology as part of their work have to survive their theology. I have two good Christus friends who gave up theology and decided to live the gospel of Christ."

"Are you sure that no great results have come through your own study of Jesus?"

"Why? There is no doubt that it has come, but not, let me tell you, through theology as through the ordinary interpretation of theologians. For many of them consider that the Sermon on the Mount does not apply to immediate things, and that it was only meant for the twelve disciples. Will I do not believe that I think the Sermon on the Mount has no meaning if it is not of vital use in everyday life to everyone?"

"Is there not to be found a solution of the personal problems in the teaching of Jesus?"

"Well you are now driving me in deeper waters," exclaimed Gadling, "and you will drown me!"

"What is the present trend of the thought of Young India?"

"It would take a longer and knowing man to answer this question, too," he modestly said. "I must tell you that you have developed your mind already. And if you go on questioning and over-questioning me, I dare say you will find me without being any the wiser for having done so."

#### A Seeker

Of a different type, so far as I could judge, was a Newcomer friend who saw him long before this and asked him similar questions in a different spirit. He was more a seeker than a questioner. "Could you tell me the things one should avoid in order to present the gospel of Christ?" he asked.

"Come to think that you want to convert the whole world is your interpretation of Christianity. At the end of reading the Bible, let me tell you, it did not leave on my mind the impression that Jesus ever meant Christians to do what the bulk of those who call him name do. The moment you adopt the attitude I mention, the field of service becomes limitless. You limit your own capacity by thinking and saying that you must *persecute*."

"I see what you mean," he said. "We have been confused by creeds and man-made things. We feel that we should be in a place where all humans have broken down."

Gadling mentioned a few Christians who, he said, saw the spiritual side that, if they wanted to live this Christian life, they should heartily follow the words — "Not he that saith 'Lord Lord,' but he that doeth His will."

You are living a guided life. Could you kindly tell me your experience of guidance?"

"I do not regard God as a person," said Gadling. "Truth for me is God, and God's Law and God are not different things, or facts, in the sense that an earthly king and his law are different. Because God is an Idea. Law King will. Therefore it is impossible to consider God as breaking the Law. He therefore does not rule just actions and withdraw Himself. When we say He rules our actions, we are simply using human language and we try to limit Him. Otherwise He and His Law abide everywhere and govern everything. Therefore I do not think that He answers in every detail every request of ours, but there is no doubt that He rules our action, and I heartily believe that not a blade of grass grows or moves without His will. The law will we enjoy is less than that of a passenger on a crowded deck."

"Do you feel a sense of freedom in your communion with God?"

"I do. I do not feel cramped as I would on a boat full of passengers. Although I know that my freedom is less than that of a passenger, I appreciate that freedom as I have unfolded through and through the central teaching of the Gita that man is the maker of his own destiny in the sense that he has freedom of choice as to the manner in which he uses that freedom. But he is no controller of results. The moment he thinks he is, he comes to grief."

"Thank you."

Ramgarh, 26-3-46

M D

#### To Correspondents and Message-writers

In spite of my notice in *Harper's* of December 1945 those who can spare the continue to write and ask for messages. I would refer them to the notice for fuller explanation. I know grateful message friends here and received welcome letters or messages. They will forgive me; I have to burden my heart if I am to cope with the responsibility I am carrying. And what can be better than that I should communicate with known friends?

Severance, 17-1-46

M. K. G.

## Notes

### The London Assassination

Further details that have come through the Press of the assassination of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the attempted assassination of Lord Zetland, Lord Lamington and Sir Louis Dore confirm my opinion that it was a work of anarchy. It is mine the less responsible on that account. We had our differences with Sir Michael O'Dwyer, but that should not prevent us from being grieved over his assassination or condoling with Lady O'Dwyer and her family. I would like every Indian patriot to share with me the shame of the act and the joy that the lives of the three distinguished Englishmen were saved. We have our grievances against Lord Zetland. We must fight his reactionary policy, but there should be no malice or vindictiveness in our vengeance. The papers tell us that the accused stood with unshaken composure when he faced the court and the execution. This does not diminish my abhorrence. It is to me a rare sign of continuing anarchy. The accused is haunted with the thought of his betrayal. I have known devoting men act with a recklessness of which they would be incapable in a colder state. I understood that extra men were used to address who are used to specially hazardous tasks. What am I to point, the man or the accident? The word anarchy over its origin in the handbook that was introduced to the world's attention in order to denote their conscience. The continuing anarchy of the accused should fill us with pity and grief. If we are to fight fairly and squarely, we must, as far as is humanly possible, make every Englishman feel that he is at risk in our midst as he is in his own home. It fills us with shame and sorrow that for some time at least every Indian face in London will be suspect. Is it not possible for us all to realize that the masses will never march to freedom through murder? I would like every reader of these lines to know that every such act turns our non-violent struggle and therefore to denounce himself in the secret of his heart and openly from such acts of anarchy.

### The National Week

From 6th April to 12th April has been observed as the National Week from year to year. On the 6th April 1939 the masses of India found their first. It was the inauguration of Girdhar Dasbhadra. Its non-violent character was emphasised by fasting and prayer. Hindus and Muslims participated as they had never done before. The song of Swadha was taken by tens of thousands. The 12th April 1939 was the Jallawala massacre in which Hindu, Muslim and Sikh blood flowed communally. The National Week is observed as a week of self-

denunciation in which acts of blood and other products of village industries are rejected as a large scale. I have said and I repeat that there is no living for the masses except through blood and other village crafts. For there is no non-violent dualism without sustained constructive effort. A living, constructive movement is impossible without some constructive programmes requiring almost daily contact of the workers with the masses. I hope, therefore, that the forthcoming week will be celebrated by all earnest workers with the solemnity and with unswerving acts of blood and other products of village handicrafts.

Ranaghat, D-3-40

M. K. G.

### AN INHABITANT

Goodbye made the following statement to the Press on the 14th inst. at Ranaghat.

The news of the death of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and of the rescue to Lord Zetland, Lord Lamington and Sir Louis Dore has caused me deep pain. I offer my condolences to the deceased's family, and hope that the injured will soon recover. I regard this act as one of anarchy. Such acts have been proved to be injurious to the cause for which they are committed. I hope this will not be allowed to affect national feelings.

The Working Committee passed the following resolution at Ranaghat on the 14th inst.

The Working Committee has learnt with deep regret of the assassination of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the wounding of the Marquess of Zetland and others by a person said to be an Indian. The Committee does not attach any political significance to this unfortunate act of violence. Nevertheless, it wishes to condemn its perpetrators and all such acts are repugnant to the national cause.

### To Agents

The attention of the agents is drawn to the fact that we do not accept stamps other than those drawn on banks in Poona and Bombay. In view of reports circulating about loss of bank post packets in transit, we are able ourselves of posting. In case, there loss or misplacement agents may complain to their post office.

Manager

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# HARIFAN

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[ TWO ANNAS

## RAMGARH

The Non-cooperation of the Elements

When Ragnadabhai and his colleagues laid upon Ramgarh as the venue of this year's Congress, they little knew the hardships they would have to bear due to the non-cooperation of the elements. From the point of view of convenience Ramgarh would have been a much better and much less expensive place. But Ramgarh was ruled out as not being a village-venue. Ramgarh was right in the midst of the semi-populated villages, and, through the cheap village-Congress of Gandhi's conception, still remains a dream, we have, since Poona, been successful in planning a Congress-city in the midst of villages to the mutual benefit of the villagers who for three or four months get full employment, a satisfactory wage, and a chance for village products in a vague sort of way the message of the Congress does reach these folk. But we have not yet learnt to go to the Congress with village-enthusiasm, and therefore the principal object of having the Congress in the village—viz. abolition of the distance between the city-dweller and the village—is still far from being realised.

But Ramgarh proved a handful in a non-unexpected way. The exhibition, for which Ragnadabhai and others had laboured like Trojans, was to have been opened by Gandhi on the 15th, but heavy rains ruined their work; they had to wait over and the Exhibition could be opened only on the 16th. For five days the show remained closed, the workers lived a life of relief, when suddenly at the noon hour of the opening of the Congress it began to pour, and the amphitheatre with its encircling earthenment soon became a lake.

'How uncooperative,' some exclaimed 'No,' was the reply, 'two or three uncooperative, and certainly never so disastrous as this.' How human nature always tries to derive consolation from all acts of God! And really speaking the non-cooperation of the elements proved not a small blessing to organisers. The Madras Sahib declared that, come what may, he was determined to open the Congress. Pandit Jawaharlal stood by him, and their determination was infectious. Nearly a hundred thousand people—men, women, and children, the richest with their costly wearing apparel and the poorest in their single khadi shirt and dhoti—not smiling and laughing were watching the slightest act. When the down-

pour was unbearable they lifted the bamboo-roofs from under themselves and held them up for shelter, and only when there was knee-deep water, and no sign of the fury abating, did they make for their camps. But even then there was no complaint to get back, everyone bowed to the inevitable, the orange-clad women and the men volunteers gave all the help they could in carrying children and helping people who slipped and fell, and not a soul was hurt. Ragnadabhai, sore at heart, pressed the people in a brief speech, the Madras followed with a carefully brief address, and Pt. Jawaharlal moved the main resolution which Prof. Kripalani seconded, and the house was adjourned. The movement elements controlled their mad fury but finding that everyone was undrained, the impetus ceased and the show closed at the morning, and at one o'clock the Congress men again in the Church with fifty thousand people again ready to face the disconcerting weather with a show. The President could have made short work of the uncooperatives which did not deserve the permission to be moved, among the same lack of support they had in the Subject Committee, but he gave everyone at least a rope as was asked for, and in a little more than three hours brought the proceedings to a close. Nothing could have been more expeditious, more telling, more significant of the temper of the people. The non-cooperation of the elements was thus turned into co-operation and work, and has left a lesson for all time.

## The Exhibition

If the rain taught the workers the lesson of waiting for the Congress a non-proof venue, they taught people like me not to leave until someone else does the work that you can do today. For I was foolish enough to delay until the last day a careful and examining look of the Exhibition, with the result that I have come away having seen only the Khadi Court to which one day I devoted a couple of hours. And I know that, if I gave a couple of hours to the Khadi Court, there were scores like the Khadi Education Court, planned by Shri. Anand Ashok and the Jani Nila workers with elaborate care, which deserved more than that time.

The Khadi Court was arranged the same way by professional people like Shri. Jagan, but by an amateur in the field, Shri. Anand Ashok, who with her husband runs the People's Own School at Vileparle, a school of Dombivli,

Her amateur hand left nothing to be desired in the way of exquisite taste and arrangement, and though I have not heard the figure of khadi sales, I know the state have contributed not a little to push up the sales. Bihar has been lucky in the manufacture and sale of khadi, better than other provinces. The Congress Government purchased last year Rs. 50,000 worth of khadi from the Bihar branch of the A. I. S. A. This year the new arrangements have placed an order for Rs. 400,000 worth of khadi — policemen's uniforms to be made of cloth costing 17 annas a square yard. No wonder, therefore, that the Bihar workers should be faying ahead every day in the matter of new patterns, new designs and new trouses. Thus they were able to exhibit this year a piece of muslin woven out of yarn of 300 counts — reminiscent of the famous pashmerlike Dacca muslin — spun by a sister who was present on the spot to exhibit the beauty of her art. Darsanabehn of Calcutta sat in the middle of the court with her wheel, surrounded with patients cast from her two handlooms above the 300 count yarn. Though the workers had succeeded in sending her to give up paradi, it was difficult to make her answer many questions. (By the by, the Congress in spite of the heavy expenses and trouble a means for the organizers, has helped to bring about a revolution among womenfolk. Nearly 200 Bihar sisters have discarded their paradi and, having worked as volunteers, will now be as many workers in the field of social reform and will help in the abolition of the paradi from the province.) Darsanabehn told me that she had made her share out of Calcutta cotton, and that a rule of eleven took her a month to spin! The yarn which had been exhibited there weighed 15 talas. Rs. 5 was her monthly earning. Alkali the weaver said that it took him three months to weave her yarn with the help of four men.

The other exhibits — shawls and shertings, saree, dhotis, curtains, bed-spreads — showed the rapid growth we have made in producing stuff suited to the most varied taste and varied needs, and left no stone for people to say that no khadi to suit their taste was available. There were also exquisite door curtains from Simla (Mrs. C. Ouse) and U. P., the fine shawls from Ouse, not quite so elaborate and expensive as the one from Poon, but costing no more than and therefore within the reach of fashionable middle class women, the shawling shertings from Bankey and Meerut, and the beautiful saree from Amity and Thropur, and the Kashmir shawl with all kinds of perfume products which remained but were beyond the reach of the ordinary khadi-lover. The reversible perfume wristbands and perfume pall-over were worth their price, and the rug of clipped wool-work sold a sale that is worth recording. The art had died out until one of the A. I. S. A. workers recently stumbled upon an old man working in a soap-

booster, who casually told him that he could weave designs that would bewitch the eye but had no customer. He was asked to give up soap-making and revive the dead art. The rug with the clipped wool giving the appearance of fur coats and the silky perfume made measured 3½ yards, was worth Rs. 175-6-0.

There were other courts worth a visit and a careful study, but, as I have said before, I missed them as I deferred among them. I had, however, rushed through the Exhibition with Gandhi; on the day he opened it, and therefore knew from a distance the wealth that it contained. The Bihar Education Court, in which, as Gandhi said, one could see Hindu-Muslim-Christian unity at work, was where Dr. Zakir Husain and his colleagues, Sarwan Ashadani and San Arjanyasham, had tried to show the wisdom and the desirable scope of their education.

There was the place where the villagers in Bihar were extracting rice out of sand and making such out of it; the manufacture of paper by hand and the rapid strides made in that department, the tannery and the leather-goods factory doing wonderfully in dead cattle hide, the mill where sugar and all kinds of sweetmeats were made from the juice of the palm tree which grows wild in most provinces of India, and of which the number in Bihar is enough to produce gum and water for the whole of India. The harvest is rich, the staples are few and far between.

#### In Meeting

In a speech which I shall not attempt to reproduce here Gandhi explained the vast possibilities of the movement for the revival of these village crafts and occupations. "You can show the villagers," he said, "that they have in their possession crafts that can stand the invasion of bombs from aeroplanes. For they are possessors of their treasures which have been mostly looted and run on the basis of attraction. We have to awaken them to a sense of those treasures, and dispel their ignorance and delusion. That is the function of these exhibitions."

A wag had remarked the other day that Gandhi would not be the architect of India, but at the charkha-union of India. Whatever one may say about the meaning and importance of the charkha and Gandhi's conception thereof, it does not doubt that the charkha-union which has been the pride and the admiration of all historians was the charkha-union? Gandhi adhered to the report and said: "The new Indian architecture is in the Indian villages. The modern city exists, as you find in Europe and America, and in a handful of our cities which are copies of the Western cities and which were built for the foreigner, and by him. But they cannot last. It is only the handcraft civilization that will endure and stand the test of time. But it can do so

only if we can correlate the intellect with the hand. The late Madhusudan Das used to say that our peasants and workers had, by reason of working with hammers, become like bellows, and he was right. We have to lift them from the state of the lungs to the state of ears, and that we can do only by correlating the intellect with the hand. Not until they learn to work intelligently and make something new every day, not until they are taught to know the stir of work, can we raise them from their low state."

Touching on another aspect of the exhibition he said in another speech at the exhibition after the evening party: "This exhibition is the real Congress for the masses. Our chosen delegates will attend the Congress, and pass resolutions there as to what we have to do during the year. But what are the masses to do? The exhibition serves to provide intellectual education for the masses, and those who visit the exhibition owe it to them to take to them what they have here. There is no museum where 25 members of our people can go. The Kumbhar Mela is attended by several lakhs of people, but what is that number as a population of 25 crores? But if you who attend the exhibition can take some of the crafts which are being demonstrated here to the villages, you can reach the millions who inhabit the villages and revolutionize their lives. There is the talk of civil disobedience in the air. But who is fit to practice civil disobedience? Not those who will not you who will not wear khadi, who do not care for the handicrafts. They will do some other kind of disobedience, but it will be anything but civil. That is not the disobedience I would like to teach or would care to live for. I want to train the quiet and living strength that springs from you into the channel of civil disobedience. If you will, therefore, use the exhibition with my eyes, you will carry the gospel of khadi and the spinning wheel to the villages, and for the foundation of a handicraft civilization and universal khadi and handicrafts. If you do so, I assure you there will be no necessity for civil disobedience. If you will not do so, if you do not spin, do not manufacture khadi, I may go to jail and be there for a number of years, but it will be all in vain. Without khadi and without handicrafts the Congress best, far from carrying us to the port, will sink in undergrowth."

At the Night

The candidature of Mahatma Abul Kalam Azad was the real test of the Congress delegates' attachment, then faith in Hindu-Muslim unity, and their courage to sustain the doctrine of the unity to a Muslim leader as a case of unprejudiced crisis. But by an overwhelming majority they declared their faith in him. They would have done so in 1939 too, but their having done so in this critical year of our nation's history is especially notable. I had an opportunity to ask the Mahatma what he meant

when he was reported to have said in a Lahore interview that now that the parliamentary programme had been put aside he had no difficulty in consenting to be president "That," said the Mahatma, with a smile, "is the trouble of having a reporter who cannot understand and express correctly what you say in Urdu. Don't you see the absurdity of the statement? How could I deny the parliamentary programme having been so closely associated with the conduct of it? What I meant to say was this: 'The parliamentary programme is over. I have had my share in the Working Committee's resolutions asking the ministers to resign, and if I am called upon to preside over the next Congress and if I declined, I should be rightly held guilty of having derided the natural consequences of the resolutions. Some time or other, unless the Government revise these attitudes, we are sure to have civil disobedience, and I did not want anyone to say or feel that because civil disobedience was a certainty I got fussy. And then to have reported that trust in me in ordinary times would be good enough, but to have done so in a time like the present as something that compelled me to resign.' I think this explanation is enough to silence all criticism on the score of that unexpected interview. And the Mahatma's presidential address and his conduct of the proceedings at Faizpur have more than justified the nation's choice. The address was characteristic of the Mahatma, a directly revealed poem, strongly confined to the question of the hour, and continuously referring themselves to one other subject. If the Working Committee at Faizpur decided to have only one resolution, the Mahatma decided to have only one topic for reference throughout his address. Not a paragraph in it is superfluous, and he has wasted no words on adjectives and epithets. "You might have said something on civil disobedience and the constructive programme," I said to the Mahatma. "No," he said, "having said that everything depended on discipline, unity and full confidence in Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, it would have been an act of superciliousness on my part to have said anything on these topics. He has said all that is worth saying. He who accepts his leadership accepts all that he has said on civil disobedience and the separate consequences of the constructive programme with it, and he has no business to add anything of his own. If I did, I should not be a bad example."

#### The Address

The address has been printed in *extenso* by the Daily press but as a number of foreign readers read this paper, and as *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph* have disposed of it in a summary of 30 and 40 words, I shall content here the crowd of the address. India's life is now against the British people but against British imperialism, and the Mahatma has made this abundantly clear.

"But while we were considering the chapters arising from Faizpur and Shimla, it was impossible

for us to forget the other danger which has been proved to be infinitely more fatal to the cause and fraction of nations than these new dangers, and which has so far supplied the basis for this reaction I refer to British imperialism. We are not distant spectators of this imperialism, as we are of the new reactionary movements. It has taken possession of our houses and dominated over us. It was for this reason that we started to clear things that, if new arrangements in Europe brought about war, India, which has been declared free, entering her will and making free decisions, will not take any part in it. She could only consider this question when she had acquired the right of coming to decisions according to her own free will and choice.

India cannot ignore the prospect of Hungary and Pakistan, but she is even more keen of British imperialism. If India remains deprived of her natural right to freedom, that would clearly mean that British imperialism continued to flourish with all its traditional characteristics, and under such conditions India would see no reason to be prepared to lend a helping hand for the triumph of British imperialism. This was the second declaration which was consistently emphasised through these resolutions. These resolutions were repeatedly passed from the Lucknow session onwards till August 1950 and are known by the name of 'War Resolutions'."

Also

"But it is not a question of the desire or of the measure of the desire of the British Government. The straight and simple question is of India's right whether she is satisfied to determine her own fate or not. On this matter, the question depends the answers to all other questions of the day. This question forms the foundation stone of the Indian problem, India will not allow it to be removed, for if it is displaced, the whole structure of Indian capitalism will collapse.

So far as the question of war is concerned, our position is quite clear. We see the face of British imperialism as clearly now as we did in the last war, and we are not prepared to suffer in the struggle for participating in the War. Our case is crystal clear. We do not wish to see British imperialism triumphant and stronger and this lengthens the period of our own subjection to it. We absolutely refuse to do so. Our war has patently in the opposite direction."

Lastly:

"Since war began, several members of the British Cabinet have tried to make the world believe that the old order of British imperialism has ended, and that today the British nation has no other aim except those of peace and justice. Which country could have more warmly welcomed such a declaration than India? But the fact is that, in spite of these declarations, British imperialism stands in the way of peace and justice today exactly as it did before the War. The Indian demand was the touch-stone for all such claims. They were so tested and found to be counterfeit and wrong."

The portion of his address on Hindu-Muslim Unity and the Minority Problem is fairly so

uniform in tenor. Ever since he started his weekly *Al-Hind* in 1932 he has waged unrelenting war against the policy and efforts to divide Hindus and Muslims, and he declares in his address:

"I would record my re-employment that today I stand exactly where I stood in 1932 when I addressed them on this issue. I have given thought to all those tremendous circumstances which have happened since then; my eyes have watched them, my mind has pondered over them. These events did not nearly give me by I was at the cradle of them, a participant, and I examined every circumstance with care. I cannot be false to what I have myself seen, and observed; I cannot quarrel with my own observations; I cannot write the verse of my conscience. I repeat today what I have said throughout this entire period that the many millions of Muslims of India have no other right course of action than the one to which I invited them in 1932."

He asserts the idea that the Muslims are in a minority, and that the democratic institutions in India would therefore jeopardise their interests and interests.

"Ethnically speaking, the most minority does not mean just a group that is numerically smaller and therefore entitled to special protection. It means a group that is so small in number and so lacking in other qualities that give strength, that it has no confidence in its own capacity to protect itself from the much larger group that surrounds it. It is not enough that the group should be relatively the smaller, but that it should be absolutely so small as to be incapable of protecting its interests. Thus this is not merely a question of numbers; other factors count also. If a country has two major groups numbered a million and two millions respectively, it does not necessarily follow that, because one is half the other therefore it must call itself politically a minority and consider itself weak."

Also:

"Full-blown minorities have passed by many times. India has seen as great a claim on the soil of India as Hinduism. If Hinduism has been the religion of the people here for several thousands of years, Islam also has been their religion for a thousand years. Just as a Hindu can say with pride that he is an Indian and follows Hinduism, so also we can say with equal pride that we are Indians and follow Islam. I shall always still abide with India. The Indian Christian is equally entitled to say with pride that he is an Indian and is following a religion of India, namely Christianity."

Lastly:

"Do we, Indian Muslims, view the free India of the future with suspicion and distrust or with courage and confidence? If we view it with fear and suspicion, then undoubtedly we have to follow a different path. No present declaration, no promise for the future, no constitutional safeguards, can be a remedy for our doubts and fears. We are then bound to tolerate the existence of a third power. The third power is already revealed here and has no intention of withdrawing and, if we follow this path of fear, we



must needs look forward to its continuance. But if we are convinced that for as far and swift have we place, and that we must wear the light with courage and confidence as freedom, then our course of action becomes absolutely clear. We find ourselves in a new world, which is free from the dark shadows of doubt, misbelief, hesitation and apathy, and where the light of truth and democracy, love, justice and confidence never fails. The confusion of the times, the ups and downs that come our way, the difficulties that beset our forward path, cannot change the direction of our steps. It becomes our bounden duty then to march with unswerving steps to India's national goal.

I arrived at this definite conclusion without the least hesitation, and every fibre of my being resolved against the former alternative. I could not bear the thought of it. I could not conceive it possible for a Hinduism to tolerate that, unless he has renounced the spirit of India from every corner of his being."

So much for the Mussalmans. As for the British who are not tired of repeating the obsolete of the communal question as an insuperable one, he declares:

"We could attach no greater importance to it, than to make it the first condition for the attainment of our national goal. The Congress has always held this belief, as no one can challenge this fact. It has always held as two basic principles in its conception, and every step was taken deliberately with these in view.

(1) Whatever constitution is adopted for India, there must be the fullest guarantees as to the rights and interests of minorities.

(2) The constitution should judge for itself what safeguards are necessary for the protection of their rights and interests. The majority should not decide this. Therefore the decision in this respect must depend upon the consent of the minorities and not, as a majority vote. . .

The manner in which the Congress has dealt with this problem today in connection with the Constituent Assembly, throws a flood of light on these two principles and clarifies them. The safeguarded minorities have a right, if they so please, to change their representatives by their votes. Their representatives will not have to rely upon the votes of any other community except their own. So far as the question of the rights and the interests of the minorities is concerned, the decision will not depend upon the majority of votes in the Constituent Assembly. It will be subject to the consent of the minority. If minority is not satisfied on any question, then an impartial tribunal, to which the minorities have also consented, will decide the matter. This has proven as surely as the sunrise of a promise for a possible unity, and is most unlikely to be rejected. If a more practical proposal is made, there can be no objection to it."

#### The Background

Many people have described the Bangalore Congress and the passing of the single citizenship as

a unique example for Gandhi. But I wish I had the words to give even a faint picture of the awesome travel that Gandhi was going through during the last three days of the Congress. There was no question before him of triumph or failure. There was before him the sole question of whether he would be able to shoulder the terrible responsibility that was being placed upon him, to bear the weight of the unshaking trust that was being reposed in him. He had pleaded with the members of the Working Committee to relieve him of the burden. It would free them from what might be coming upon them as an onerous, and it would at the same time leave him free to pursue his experiments of ahimsa more intensively and without thoughts of the millions who looked to him for direction. "I may be a broken reed and may well lead you into unexpected troubles. I might not begin the movement for an indefinite length of time, and I might stop it abruptly. However much you may agree with me, your ahimsa does not go as far as mine. And if after twenty years of practice of it I have not been able to win the affection and trust of the Mussalmans, my ahimsa must be of a very poor quality indeed. Why not then let me further examine myself, and make further researches?" To the Muslims he said: "I have not the slightest doubt that the Congress and the nation can have nothing to lose and everything to gain by the step. There is no question of my detaching you or other members of the Working Committee or the nation. It is a question of my dissent in myself. I am sure that, if you release me, I shall be able to give even cord and disabundance a power and a nobler shape." But the Muslims demurred. He somehow could not persuade himself to the step. "You must not forget," he said with visible emotion, "that it was at your command that I accepted to serve the race, and you cannot now forsake me." There was now nothing for it but to bear the burden. The speeches at the Subjects Committee and the open Congress made after the passing of the resolution, manifested fully fully in this area, should be read with this background in view.

M. D.

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## THE OLD GAME

The British today were maligning as being surrounded that the communal problem in India, as we see it today, is largely the creation of the British themselves and a part and parcel of the imperialist game of 'divide and rule'. But he can do so, as the following narrative will show, in the teeth of recorded history.

A friend has sent a penetrating monograph, based on a study of letters of Lady Minto, that shows a flood of light on this phase of British India policy. In the winter of 1925-26, George V, as Prince of Wales, made a tour of India and returned to England in the spring of 1926 in a letter to Lord Minto, she then Viceroy, dated 12th May 1926. Lord Morley wrote:

"Yesterday I had a long conversation with the Prince of Wales in which he gave me an extremely interesting account of his experience in India. His key word is that we should get on better if our administrations showed more sympathy... He talked of the National Congress rapidly becoming a great power. My own experience, based long ago, and confirmed since I came to the office, is that it will nearly depend upon ourselves whether the Congress is a power for good or evil. That is so, whether we like it or not."

To this letter Lord Minto replied on May 26th, 1926:

"As to Congress.....there is much that is absolutely deadly in the movement and that there is danger for the future, I have no doubt. You are extracts from the *Vernacular press*, the great bulk of the tone of it can only be termed diabolical.....I have been thinking a good deal lately of a possible compromise to Congress since I think we may find a solution in the Council of Princes or in an elaboration of that idea, a Privy Council not only of Native Rulers, but of a few other big men. At least, my aim is just, for a week or a fortnight, to talk for instance Subjects for discussion and procedure would have to be very carefully thought out, but we should get different ideas from those of the Congress emanating from men already pursuing great interest in the good government of India—

I cannot say how much I am with you in an 'empathy'. We with all our eyes down to 'sympathy' are most not less sight of hard facts. We are here a small British garrison surrounded by millions composed of hordes of an uncommensurate minority to the Western world, connected to Western forms of government, and we must be physically strong or go to the wall." (Indian note)

About the same time a number of distinguished Anglo-Indians, including Sir Walter Lawrence, Private Secretary to Lord Curzon (1897-1903), Sir Valentine Chelmsford, Times correspondent, Sir Sydney Low, special correspondent during the Royal visit to India (1925-26), were, in their self-appointed role of servants of the Empire,

aligning Lord Morley with their 'imperial' advice. In a letter dated 29th June 1926, Morley wrote to Minto:

"Everybody seems to find a new spot in evening and spreading over India. Lawrence, Chelmsford, Low, all say the same way 'You cannot go on reverting to the same spot, you have got to deal with the Congress Party and Congress principles, whatever you may think of them. Be sure that before long Mahatmashankar will show us their bit with the Congressmen against you and soon and so forth. I do not know how true this may or may not be.'"

The letter, in his reply on June 26th, showed that he was fully alive to the danger. He recognised the Congress Party as a power with which he had to deal and with whose leaders he had to reckon.

What followed is worth noting closely. While in a few words a Mahatmashankar deposition, headed by the Aga Khan, presented an address to Lord Minto at Simla on October 1, 1926. It was to the effect that "the Mahatmashankar community should be represented as a community," and that the position of the Mahatmashankar should be attended not merely on their communal strength but on respect to the political importance of the community and power is rendered to the Empire" (Indian note). Lord Minto replied to it in terms that have set the pattern for all official pronouncements since down to Sir Samuel Hoare and Lord Zetland in our time on the communal question:

"I am extremely concerned with you.....I am so fully convinced as I believe you to be, that any communal representation in India would be detrimental to the interests which stand at present a personal attachment, regardless of the beliefs and religious of the communities comprising the population of this continent. The great mass of the people of India have no knowledge of the representative institutions. In the meantime I can only say that the Mahatmashankar community may not accept that their political rights and interests as a community will be subordinated by any administrative representation with which I am concerned."

There is a significant entry in Lady Minto's diary under the date October 3, 1926 which provides a very revealing commentary on the nature and origin of the Mahatmashankar deposition which Lord Minto showed such willingness to oblige. In expounding and as the passing away of the great Mahatmashankar leader, Mahatmashankar, who had died in Simla, second his good points the prominently notes that "he it was who engineered the recent Mahatmashankar deposition". Equally characteristic is the entry under October 1, 1926, which is set down as "a very successful day, and speech in Indian history". That evening he reviewed the following issues from an official whose name and identity are not disclosed: "I must add your

Executive a line to say that a very bad thing has happened today, a work of assassination that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year. It is nothing less than the pulling back of 60 millions of people from joining the ranks of the millions' oppression." The attitude taken up by Wheelchair with regard to the Mahomedan question was reflected in the Secretary of State's letter to Lord Minto (January 25 1939), after an interview with "the men of the Crescent", to Lord Morley personally put it. It is a naked statement of the policy of balancing one community against the other. "How could I satisfy them by a straight declaration of my bias," he wrote. "We have to take care that as looking on the Mahomedan we do not drop our Hindu friends, and the matter is impossible to them not the full length to which we are or may be ready to go in the Muslim direction." (Indian note) In the letter dated February 1839 by the Secretary of State to Lord Minto, the crusade is even more brutally frank. "I treated the Aga Khan as danger from his mind, what I had feared, that, like all other English nobles, I had learned of Islam. What other English thought of Islam, I did not know, but for myself, if I were to have a label, I should be called a Pantheist, and in the Pantheist Calendar, framed by Comte after the manner of Catholicism, Mahomed is one of the great Indian gods, and has the high honour of giving his name to a Week!" This will soon be expanded into a paragraph in *The Daily Mail* when the Indian S. E. has turned Mahomedan. That, at any rate, would tend to reflect Mahomedan character from our place. Pardon all this nonsense. Like many another man of power (or skill) temperament, I seek measures of relief from boredom by stepping on a fly's cap at odd moments' (Indian note).

Later on however as the fruits of his policy began to grow him a forecast of what was coming, Lord Morley wrote to have his memory misgivings written him that he had perhaps gone too far in the Mahomedan direction, and that it was necessary to try a bit. It appears that the India Council, especially Sir Theodore Malet, was anxious to favour the Muslim cause. On August 6, 1939 Lord Morley wrote to Lord Minto as follows:

"Morley is preoccupied up to the elbow with about his M. friends, wants to see India, and perhaps a chance of W's approach and distribution. It may be so. On the other hand, I predict that departure from the line we have agreed upon in our dispatch, would provide at least as much regret and dissatisfaction among the Hindus. We shall therefore have a stubborn talk in Council, to which I shall not contribute more than two or three stubborn sentences. I am the last in the world of a Crusade, but I am beginning to understand, in a way never understood before, how important is the delay and twisting and turning of very small points the big men at last draw. Owing to good his Com-

mission policy."

In his letter of August 26 to Lord Minto, the reaction has become even more marked. He is already talking about his determination to 'put his foot deliberately down'.

"Morley tells me that a Mahomedan is coming over here on purpose to see me, and will appear on Monday next. Whatever happens, I am quite sure that it was high time to put my foot definitely down and to let them know that the process of haggling has gone on long enough, down what way I can only say we could not do it earlier" (Indian note).

The last entry relating to this dismal episode is dated December 6, 1939. The wheel has come full circle. "When the philosopher Secretary of State to Lord Minto, with disconcerted shyness, 'I won't follow you again into our Mahomedan dispute. Only I respectfully remind you once more that it was your early speech about these extra claims that first started the M. line. I am convinced my decision was best.' But it was too late to retreat. The marcher was done. The "counterpoint to Congress note", that Lord Minto had suggested, was created in the form of communal representation. Fourteen millions of people were "pulled back" from "joining the millions' ranks". But the most surprising part of the story is that Mahomedan India is today called upon, by the successors of the secretaries who deliberately started the "hat" of assassination, to expiate for their predecessors' sins!

The other episode, not less Machiavellian, suggested by Lord Minto in pursuance of his policy of divide and rule was not left unnoted. We are in a full swing today even like the communal device. But the story of the exploitation of the primary order for strengthening and perpetuating the imperialist structure I must reserve for full narration on another occasion.

Kanpur, 26-3-40

Pravali

J. Morley's *Executive*, Vol. II p. 246-47

o. *Ibid.*, Vol. II p. 253

7. *Ibid.* " " p. 217.

#### To Correspondents and Misrepresentation

In spite of my notice in Harijan of December 23rd those who did spend me continue to write and ask for answers. I would refer them to the notice for fuller explanation. I know several intimate friends have not received acknowledgments or answers. They will forgive me. I have to burden my heart if I am to cope with the responsibility I am carrying. And what can be better than that I should commence with known friends?

Sonapur, 25-3-40

M. K. G.

#### Mahomedan Gandhi

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# *Harizan*

No. 30

1940

## EVERY CONGRESS COMMITTEE A SATYAGRAHA COMMITTEE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

When I said at the Satyagrah Committee meeting at Raigarh that every Congress Committee should become a Satyagraha Committee, I meant every word of what I said, as I meant every word of everything else I said. I would like every Congressman who desires to serve in the Satyagraha Seta to read my two speeches made at Raigarh as well as whenever else I may write in Harijan on the struggle, and to carry out the instructions meant for him or her.

In the coming struggle, if it must come, no half-hearted leader will answer the purpose. Imagine a general marching to battle with discipline, ill-prepared soldiers. He will surely march to defeat. I will not consciously make any such fatal experiment. There is no secret to discipline Congressmen. If they have the will, they will see how our instructions difficult to follow. Correspondents tell me that, though they have no faith in me or the shakhs, they ply the latter for the sake of discipline. I do not understand the language. Can a general fight on the strength of soldiers who, he knows, have no faith in him? The whole meaning of this language is that the correspondents believe in man again, but do not believe in the conscience I see between it and the shakhs etc., if the answer is to be non-violent. They believe in my hold on the masses, but they do not believe in the things which I believe have given me that hold. They merely want to exploit me and will gradually pay the price which my ignorance or stupidity (according to them) demands. I do not call this discipline. True discipline gives enthusiastic obedience to instructions even though they do not easily mean. A volunteer soldier has means when he chooses his general, but after having made the choice, he does not want his time and energy in making every instruction and seeing it as the word of his master before following it. His is a "want to reason why."

Now for my instructions.

Every Congress Committee should become a Satyagraha Committee and register such Congressmen who believe in the cultivation of the spirit of goodwill towards all, who have an unapproachability in them in any shape or form, who would speak regularly, and who habitually use khaki in the exclusion of all other cloth. I would expect those who thus register their names with their Committee to devote the whole of their spare time to the constructive programme. If the response is sincere, these

Satyagraha Committees would become busy spreading deposits. They will work in committees with and under the guidance of A. I. S. A. branches in a businesslike manner so that there remain, in the parenthesis of the Committee, no Congressmen who have not adopted khaki for exclusive use. I shall expect businesslike reports to be sent from registered headquarters to the A. I. C. C. as to the progress of the work of the Satyagraha Committees. Seeing that this supervision is to be purely voluntary, the reports would mention the names both of those who give their names for registration and those who do not.

The registered Satyagrahis will keep a diary of the work that they do from day to day. Their work, besides their own speaking, will consist in visiting the country members and inducing them to use khaki, spin and register themselves. Whether they do so or not, contact should be maintained with them.

There should be visits paid to Harijan houses and their difficulties removed so far as possible.

Needless to say that names should be registered only of those who are willing and able to follow instructions.

No financial assistance is to be expected by Satyagrahi persons whether for themselves or their dependents.

So much for the active Satyagrahis. But there is a much larger class of men and women who, though they will not spin or cook or suffer imprisonment, believe in the two cardinal principles of Satyagraha and witness and work well in the struggle. These I will call passive Satyagrahis. They will help equally with the active ones, if they will not interfere with the course of the struggle by themselves causing imprisonment or arrest or precipitating strikes of labourers or students. Those who out of sympathy or for any other cause will not consent to these instructions will leave the struggle and may even compel me to suspend it. When the forces of violence are let loose all over the world and when nations reputed to be most civilized cannot think of any force other than that of arms for the settlement of their disputes, I hope that it will be possible to say of India that she breathes and wins the battle of freedom by purely peaceful means.

I am quite clear in my mind that, given the co-operation of politically-minded India, the attainment of India's freedom is perfectly possible through constant non-violence. The world does not believe any pretensions of non-violence. Lay down the world. I, the self-styled general, have repeatedly admitted that we have violence in our hearts, that we are often violent to one another in our mutual dealings. I mean confess that I will not be able to fight so long as we have violence in our hearts. But I will fight if the proposed weapon is honest and if those who consciously keep out will not disturb the even course of the struggle.

Non-violence means more indifference of world opinion in our favour. I know that a growing number of thinking men and women of the world are sick of the war spirit, they are longing for a war of peace, and they are looking to India to point that way. We cannot have that opinion on our side if we are not honestly non-violent. Let me repeat what I have said in these columns that I shall be able to fight with a very small army of honest Satyagrahis and shall feel powerful and emboldened if I have a large army in which I can have no trust or as to whose behaviour I am not always sure.

I expect the A. I. C. C. to resume Satyagraha Committee and report to me from time to time of the progress made. If there is an authentic response, made of one month it should be possible to forecast the exact period required to put the Satyagraha Committee in working order.

Serapgan, 28-3-40

## MY ANSWER TO QUAID-E-AZAM

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah is reported to have said: 'Mr. Gandhi has been saying for the last 28 years that there cannot be any Union without Hindu-Muslim unity. Mr. Gandhi is fighting for a Constituent Assembly. May I point out to Mr. Gandhi and the Congress that they are fighting for a Constituent Assembly which we cannot accept? Therefore, the idea of a Constituent Assembly is impracticable and unacceptable. Mr. Gandhi wants a Constituent Assembly for purposes of ascertaining the views of Muslims, and if they do not agree, he would then give up all hope and then will agree with us. If there even the will to come to a settlement with the Muslim League, then why does not Mr. Gandhi, as I have said more than once, honestly agree that the Congress is a Hindu organisation and that it does not represent anything but the solid body of Hindus? Why should Mr. Gandhi not be proud to say "I am a Hindu and the Congress is a Hindu body"? I am not ashamed of saying that I am a Muslim and that the Muslim League is the representative of Muslims. Why all this canting, why this distrust of civil disobedience, and why this fight for a Constituent Assembly? Why should not Mr. Gandhi come as a Hindu leader and let us men here proudly represent the Muslims?'.

My person is not has been clear. I am proud of being a Hindu, but I have never gone to anybody as a Hindu to secure Hindu-Muslim unity. My Muslims demand no-<sup>1</sup> parts. My support of the Khilafat was unconditional. I am no politician in the accepted sense. But whatever talks I had with Quaid-e-Azam or any other have been on behalf of the Congress which is not a Hindu organisation. Can a Hindu organisation have a Muslim drive as President, and can we Working Committee have 4 Muslim members out of 15? I still maintain that there is no

Secret without Hindu-Muslim unity. I can never be party to the creation of Muslims or any other minority. The Constituent Assembly as conceived by me is not intended to cover verbally. Its sole mission will be to attend witnesses of communal questions. If there is no agreement the Constituent Assembly will be unanimously dissolved. The Constituent Assembly or any body of elected representatives can alone have a fully representative status. The Congress representative capacity has been and can be questioned. But who can question the sole representative capacity of the elected delegates to the Constituent Assembly? I cannot understand the Muslim opposition to the proposed Constituent Assembly. Are the opponents afraid that the Muslim League will not be elected by Muslim voters? Do they not realise that any Muslim demand made by the Muslim delegates will be acceptable? If the vast majority of Indian Muslims feel that they are not one nation with these Hindu and other brethren, who will be able to resist them? But surely it is permissible to dispute the authority of the 50,000 Muslims who listened to Quaid-e-Azam to represent the feelings of eight crores of Indian Muslims.

Serapgan, 28-3-40

## A BRAVE STATEMENT

[Shri Japubhai Mangar sent me a copy of his statement before the court which is printed below. It is worthy of love, leave, brief and to the point. It is an essay of fact, as he himself has said, that his principles should be preserved. What tens of thousands think and thousands say is clear talk, Shri Japubhai has said in public and before the very men who are producing war material. It is true that, if his words take effect and they are repeated, the Government would be embarrassed. But such embarrassment should not then thinking about their treatment of India instead of punishing a partner for his open thinking.

The concluding portion of the statement shows the author's manner humaneness. He has no malice to him. He wants to end Imperialism and Nazism. He has no quarrel with Englishmen or Germans and says truly that, if England were to show consideration, not only India but the freedom-loving people of the whole world would exert themselves to see the defeat of Nazism and the victory of freedom and democracy.

Serapgan M.S. 40

M. K. G.]

## THE STATEMENT

"I have been charged with trying to impede the production of munitions and other supplies essential to the efficient prosecution of the war, and with trying to influence the conduct and attitude of the public in a manner prejudicial to the defence of British India and the efficient prosecution of the war. I plead guilty to these charges.

These charges, however, do not constitute a task for me but a duty which I discharge regardless of the consequences. That they also coverages an offence under certain laws of the foreign Government established by laws in this country, does not concern me. The object of these laws is diametrically opposed to the object of sovereign India of which I am but an humble representative. Thus we should come to conflict is only natural.

My country is not a party to this war in any manner, for it regards both German Nazism and British Imperialism as evils and enemies. It feels that both the sides in this war are driven by selfish ends of conquest and domination, exploitation and oppression. Great Britain is fighting not to destroy Nazism, which it has nurtured, but to curb a rival whose might one no longer be allowed to grow unchallenged. It is fighting to maintain its dominant place in the world and to preserve its imperial power and glory. As far as India is concerned, Great Britain is fighting to perpetuate the Indian Empire.

Finally, India can have no truck with such a war. No Indian can permit the resources of his country to be utilized to hasten up imperialism, and to be converted through the process of the war into the chains of his country's slavery. The Congress, the only representative voice of nationalist India, has already pointed out this sacred duty to the people of this country. I, as an humble servant of the Congress, have only need to tell this day.

The British Government on the other hand, is never daunted for Indian opinion, has declared India a hellfire power and is urging Indian men, money and materials for a war in which we have pledged our uncompromising opposition. This is in the nature of an aggression against India, or less against the determination that German aggression against Poland India cannot but resent this aggression. It therefore becomes the paramount duty of every Indian to oppose the attempt of the British Government to use the country's resources for its imperialistic ends. Thus the charge framed against me of trying to impede the efficient prosecution of the war is only the fulfilment of a paramount duty. Thus the British Government should consider what is a duty for paramount India to be an offence, only reveals further its imperialistic character.

Regarding the speech for which I am being prosecuted, I cannot say how far it succeeded in achieving its ends. But nothing would please me more than to learn that it had have some success in inspiring the efficient prosecution of the war. I shall deem the heaviest punishment well earned if I am found to have succeeded in this.

As for the charge of endangering the defence of British India, I think the onus of it cannot be laid upon me. A slave has no obligation to defend his slavery. His only obligation is to

destroy his bondage. I hope we shall know how to defend ourselves when we have achieved our freedom.

I consider it fortunate that I have been prosecuted for a lawbreaker speech. This important industrial crisis, which I consider the most important in the country, a peculiarly backward politically and from the point of view of the labour movement. I shall derive some satisfaction in prison, where I expect heavily to find myself, from the thought that my arrest and prosecution for a speech delivered there has attracted to this cry the notice of the political and labour leaders of my country. It seems scandalous to me that the country's most vital resources should be so wasted in a war in which we are so firmly opposed. And it seems no less scandalous to me that while labour throughout the country should be reacting vigorously to the conditions created by the war, lawbreaker labour should carry on as if nothing extraordinary has happened. May, or here, the demand for a war home give some momentum from the prosecution.

Before concluding I should like to add that, but as an Englishman you should misinterpreted me, I should make it clear that in respect of the prosecution of the war I have no desire to help Germany or to see Germany victorious. I desire the victory neither of Imperialism nor of Nazism. Yet, as a Congressman and a scholar I have nothing but goodwill for the British and German people. If India's opposition to British imperialism was against a Nazi victory, it is for the British people to decide whether they would have Nazi hegemony at victory with real democracy at home and in India. If the people of Great Britain remove their present role and resource imperialism with its capitalist rulers, not only India but the freedom-loving people of the whole world would enter themselves to see the defeat of Nazism and the victory of freedom and democracy. In the present circumstances, however, India has no alternative but to fight and end British imperialism. Only in this manner can it contribute to the peace and progress of the world.

I am conscious, Sir, that I have made poor use of mine by this statement. I do not regret it.

In the end I thank you for your courtesy and consideration during this trial.

#### Some Books by Gandhi

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## ACHARYA KRIPALANTH INAUGURAL ADDRESS

[The following is a synopsis of Acharya Kripalanth's inaugural address at the Basic Educational Conference held at Poona last October. Those who would like to read the narrative address in full should apply to the Office of the Hindu-pani Taksan Singh, Serapana.]

Systems of education are only born just all over the world suffered from decadence. Seeds of corruption set in when institutions become complex, over-elaborated, when the personal impulse and reason that gave them birth become exhausted. In the dawn of history all knowledge proceeded from the concrete, the direct and the real, from what could be seen and touched. Man and animal both had nature around them, but man, unlike the animal, began to work upon nature and give it new and beautiful shapes. He acquired knowledge by this process and began to master nature for his ever-increasing needs. In Hindu philosophy it is said that the world is made of *rup* and *nam*, form and name. Form must come first and name afterwards. But in our educational system, we have inverted this natural order and put names and general terms first, and objects afterwards. By the new system we are asked first to master words, back to the personal process of acquiring knowledge, which humanity has successfully employed in raising itself.

When Gaudapadi first announced his new reform the learned, who had acquired their knowledge on the criticism war by means of words and phrases, were up against the reformer. If they had, instead of pronouncing judgments a priori, studied the sciences, they would have found a natural, scientific and psychological. All knowledge proceeds from observation and experience, from the practical to the theoretical. It must be justified by human experience. Gaudapadi was thinking of the scientific process. He was also thinking in terms of child psychology. The child finds a material and tries to handle and work upon things and then acquire knowledge.

The present system of education runs counter, therefore, to child psychology. The essence of science is the investigation of truth by the experimental method. Gaudapadi claims to have learnt through experience and experiment.

If the method is natural and scientific, it can not any system of education whatever is now in Europe and America. The craft method has been advocated apart from any general aim. It has been advocated for an individualistic and capitalist, as well as for a socialist or communist society. It has been advocated even by religious organizations. Even so we may not forget that Gaudapadi infused upon the method its compass with the aim of his philosophy of life for the individual and society. If our education has suffered gravely from a defective and unscientific method it has suffered none from defective and corruptive ideas. It was designed to produce cheap educated administrative and clerical assistants for the white Government, to the credit of Macaulay, to produce a race of Anglo-Saxons in thought and culture who were Indians only in the colour of their skin. The educated Indian has thus been effectively cut off from the masses. An unbridgeable gulf has been created between him and them. The national movement has tried to bring them together by giving them a common goal to strive for. If it is, therefore, necessary to change the method of education, it is perhaps more important to provide it with worthy and noble ideals.

To understand the philosophy of a reformer such as Gaudapadi it is necessary to view it against the historical background. Only so can one fully realize and appreciate the changes he proposes to bring about in the present order of things. The march of history unfolds a struggle to the knowledge of economic changes. The Marxian interpretation of history is economic, its method of investigation is scientific. Science has nothing to do with final aims and values, but we are told that the unconscious aim of the ideology is to produce a classless society. This may be said to be a vulgarizing point of process rather than an aim. In spite, however, of belating moral and spiritual aims the Marxist has to point such ends to justify all the pain and travail of history while Gaudapadi puts these in the very forefront of his philosophy.

The aim of history is to change the natural man into the moral or spiritual man and make him into a member of a moral or spiritual society. There must be some harmonious correlation between the life of the individual and society. Few will quarrel with me when I say that a moral or spiritual person is a free person, and that human freedom cannot be thought of apart from human responsibility. Moral man confuses free choice with free manner, and liberty with responsibility. To attain this end he must be a member of an appropriate moral society.

History begins with strife, violence and war. Later a moral out of this chaotic condition and some kind of justice and equality were established. The law that might alone is right was partially modified. Later still men felt within themselves the call for a higher order of goodness, mercy, charity and love. The existing society could not satisfy this inner need. Thus it was that Buddha renounced the world and Christ declared that his kingdom was not of this world but of the other. And society that was divided between master and slave came to be further divided between those who followed the way of the Lord and those who renounced the world.

The great movement organized against their heavy chains, against fire from exploitation, life from class distinctions of high and low. These groups were in some a desert of inequality, injustice, lust, and pride of power. Tyranny and injustice continued unabated and men turned themselves from agonizing sleep, and the terrible of the dream against the masters established what is known as democracy. Democracy asserts the moral worth of the individual as money if the widespread democratic principle on the politics of the nation had been allowed free scope to develop itself, it might have saved nations from internal conflicts and established a united world order. But scientific materialism and discoveries of new lands entered in the industrial condition and the modern empire. This divided humanity into the haves and the have-nots. The new need became economic and gave birth to the cult of socialism which proclaims the equality of man in the economic field. We see this socialism at work in Russia. Some sort of economic equality has been established but by the curtailment of individual initiative and liberty. For the new need the individual apart from society does not exist. Individual economic equality is built upon by centralized mechanized industry and agriculture and naturally affects the political field also. The result is bureaucratic rule.

In ancient times the great absolute of rulers had strange limits placed upon their tyranny and rapacity by the morality of the age as embodied in custom, religion, superstition, Modest democ-

every class is simultaneously with the advance of scientific research. The freedom of the individual, despised of moral responsibility, constituted a chronic disease. Only steadily when democracy is in danger have its advocates daily begun to realise that it is not merely a political device but a great and moral principle.

Gandhi believed in the spiritual status and dignity of man. This dignity has got to be worked out by the average man and woman in a moral society. It is therefore necessary that the nation must in all spheres be as great as she can. In all instances guided by him it is Gandhi's effort to secure for humanity the moral and material gains of democracy and socialism. His advocacy of cottage and village industries along with decentralised agriculture and co-operation represents a moral principle. It is a moral and humanitarian to allow the medium to overflow up the free individual Political life, national and international, must be guided by truth and non-violence. There must be no secret diplomacy and espionage. History of political power must be the servants of their people. Their economic life must be in keeping with the new-age standards of comfort prevalent in the world. No work or profession must be considered high or low. Every worker, however humble, is not only worthy of his wage but also of honour. All Gandhi's political programmes are directed towards the common aim of providing moral man with a moral society. His philosophy works for a non-violent revolution and reform in a new epoch in history. It is to educate the individual and society in the light of the principles of this new revolution that he has propounded his new scheme of education. It is a natural and scientific method with worthy and noble aims. It is in this light that the scheme should be judged.

### A CHIEF JUDGE DESCENDS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent sends me a newspaper report of a speech delivered by the Chief Judge of Mysore at a meeting recently held in Bangalore to help the war. He is reported to have said—

"The Allies were not fighting for democracy or any particular form of government. They were only fighting so that all nations might live in peace and develop on their own lines. They were fighting to put an end to all forms of oppression by one nation against others. Let them not be led to see that the war would not teach them democracy. War teaches every one of them in India and also the possessions yet unborn.

We know that most people in India were prepared to do their utmost to secure the victory of the Allies. But some people had stood aloof. The leaders of a certain political party in this country had decided that this was the proper occasion for them to happen to their political ends, had determined that, if what they asked for was not granted, they would create trouble in India and so help the enemy. Such action on their part had greatly encouraged the enemy too.

In every history there were some pages which people of the nation concerned read with shame. He was sure that when the history of India comes to be written Indian children of the future would skip over with shame, that part relating to the actions of high politicians as he had related to

He was quite certain that such persons who betrayed the free political rights of this land did not represent the heart of India. If he had thought that they did, he would wish he had never set foot in India. But he had lived in India for 40 years and knew that India as a nation was quite generous and non-violent and would respond to all good causes."

It is hardly likely that His Honour the Chief Judge knows of the secrets of the British Cabinet. In any event, if Britain in fighting against some aggressors it can hardly be called a worthy war. Having been the foremost aggressor in the world Britain could not justify her fight against Germany on the ground put forth by the learned Chief Judge.

My correspondent is sending the cutting says in his covering letter—

"1. He ought not to have entered into criticism of political controversy as a non-party meeting convened under royal patronage.

2. He, being the Chief Justice of a High Court, overstepped the limits of propriety in publicly attacking the policies of a particular party.

3. He, being a political officer of an Indian State, ought not to have gone out of the way and meddled with the party politics of British India."

I think the criticism is just. The Congress will survive the attack but I do not know whether the Parliament Power should not take notice of the Chief Judge's extraordinary criticism. Surely he cannot the word happens when he applies it to the Congress policy. What is there to be criticised of in the Congress seeking the deliverance of the country from foreign rule even when the foreigner is so detested? If the Congress was not committed to the method of peace, it would have been not only justified but would have deemed it its duty to take advantage of Britain's difficulty by declaring a state of rebellion in the country for every means at its disposal. But the Congress has adopted the policy of peace. No doubt it would have done better if it could have honestly accepted our advice. The choice before the Congress was not between two evils but between good and better. The better was beyond its ability and would therefore have harmed and weakened it. That 'good' was the best for the Congress, and so I share in my lot with it. I would have been a traitor if, having led the Congress to accept non-violence as its policy, I had remained on my pedestal and refused to guide the great experiment. It is because those who believe in war as an accepted measure to change the Congress with the spirit of bargaining. The word is a magic when it is applied to the life and death struggle of a nation born upon civilisation as right to freedom.

Swaminath, B-3-41

### NOTICE

The business hours of our Bombay branch are now from 11 a. m. to 7-30 p. m. Address: 87 & 81 Queen's Road, Bombay 4. Message—



## THE TWO SPEECHES

[For the first time during the last six years, I, a. year since his retirement from the Congress, candidly expressed his own desire to address the Subjects Committee and also the delegates. I have given in my notes a synopsis of his varied background. The physical background was provided by some of the speakers of the members of the Subjects Committee and the delegates which he had gone specially to hear. As the Subjects Committee at about quarter to ten on the evening of the 18th Goodhue addressed the meeting, and nearly twenty thousand people listened to him in a place that matched the address of the night—the only word being that of his speech delivered in firm, deliberate, unfaltering tones given to overcome the impression that the speaker was in great earnest and would not be misled with. The speech at the open Congress on the 19th was delivered to an audience of about fifty thousand who had stayed for the Congress undisturbed by the continued rain of the previous evening and night. It was raining most but the rain-clouds shielded the audience from the heat of the sun. There was the same address and the same atmosphere as on the evening of the 18th. H. A.]

I

## AT THE SUBJECTS COMMITTEE

## To Find Out Where I Was

Since I went out of the Congress at Bombay, there has been an understanding between me and the Working Committee that I should not be asked to speak at the A. I. C. C. or the Subjects Committee or the open session, and should be allowed to conserve the little strength that is left in me. I have usually been attended the meeting of the Working Committee. On this occasion I myself suggested that I should address the Subjects Committee and also the delegates. The Working Committee agreed to this and, although I wanted to address you before the resolution was adopted, the Committee suggested that I do so after the resolution was disposed of.

It was my desire to see the faces of you all, and also to give you an opportunity of looking at me and finding out if there had been any change in me since my retirement at Bombay. Fifty years of public life have given me the opportunity to read your faces. I have during these years created many movements, met thousands and tens of thousands of people, and it should not therefore be difficult for me to get at the back of your minds. But my desire to see you was so great to find out where I was.

## Difficulties

You have, I see, made considerable progress in the art of debate and I congratulate you, for in a democratic organization power of persuasion and a high level of debate are essential. I have also seen that the number of amendments you move has also increased, and it is well that you should all be anxious to prove new points of view, though I cannot congratulate

you on some of the amendments which were rather frivolous or absurd.

You have adopted the resolution practically unanimously as there were only seven or eight dissenters. That adds to my responsibility, but I have been written to in the debate. If I had so desired, I should have warned you before voting, but I accepted the suggestion of the Working Committee that I should not address the house before the resolution was passed.

I do not want to reply to what has been said by some of you in the course of the debate. But I do want to say that, though there was a time in my life when I launched movements even if some of my conditions had not been fulfilled, I am now going to be hard, not for the sake of being hard, but because a General who has to lead the army must let the army know his conditions beforehand.

Let me then tell you that I do not see at the present moment conditions propitious for an immediate launching of the campaign. We are hampered in such difficulties greater than those we had to face in the past. They are external and internal. The external difficulties are due to the fact that we have declared unambiguously what we want and the Government have also declared their intention as clearly as possible. Then there is the fact that the British Government are engaged in a world war and naturally, if we engage them in a fight, we ask for enough trouble.

What, however, appeals me is our internal difficulties. I have often said that internal difficulties need more ingenuity and sagacity. On the contrary, be dissatisfied on external difficulties and those dealt with resolutely and with vigour. Under the situation is almost the reverse. Our external difficulties do not find us stronger and more united. Our internal difficulties are increased. Our Congress members are full of hope, members and members who have carried them because they know that passing into the Congress means getting into power. Those who therefore never before thought of entering the Congress have come now in and corrupted it. And how can we prevent people from coming into a democratic organization because they come from selfish motives? We have not that discipline, and not the strength and purity of public opinion which would counsel such people to stay out.

And this strength and purity cannot come so long as we approach the primary members only once in a year for the vote. There is no discipline in our ranks, they have been divided up into groups which strive to give more and more power. Non-cooperation as between ourselves does not seem to us to be necessary. There may be groups, but they should strengthen and not weaken and destroy the organization.

## No Democracy in an Army

One has here back a democratic organization and a fighting one, ever since we resigned it in 1921. We have said even military

language, though in a non-violent sense. Well, then, I want to repeat what I have said three without number that, if you will be willing in my mind understand that there is no room for democracy in that organization. The only way for a part of a democratic organization, but there can be no democracy in it, as there can be none in its rank, as there is none in our various organizations—A. I. S. A., A. I. V., I. A. and so on. In an army the General's word is law, and his commands cannot be refused.

#### My Conditions Inevitable

I am supposed to be your General, but I do not know a more feeble General in history. My only weakness is the love and affection in which you hold me, but it has its weakness as it has its strength. I know that you love me. Does your love translate itself into action? If it does not, if it does not mean ever-increasing discipline and ever-increasing command to what I may let me declare to you that I cannot tolerate civil disobedience, and you must select another General. You cannot make me your General on your terms. Know, therefore, that I will stand on my conditions. They are reasonable, and if you do not observe them I will automatically withdraw.

The General of a military army means an order discipline. I go on arguing with you, because my only weakness is love. I say to you, therefore, that unless you accept my conditions, unless you have faith in them as you have in me, you should not think of going to jail. If you will go to jail, you have to pay the price. There is a civil fight, and imprisonment as a civil prisoner has got to be earned by strict observance of the programme. Disobeying even reserves and departs the ill the jail, but they do not carry the country to freedom.

Well then I had done the conditions in 1938 and have never ceased to repeat them. You may not believe in the programme, you may have grown wiser since then, but I have not. My faith in it has increased with the years. I am more certain in it than I was before.

I turned a rebel against the Government in 1939 but before that I was as loyal to it as any American. It is that unswerving loyalty that gave me the widest power of civil disobedience, and the unapproachable spirit of search. I therefore go on making my experiments and also go on declaring my intention whenever I discover them. I was an armed moral like you. I have never even in my dream thought that I was a Mike-mike (pink soul) and that others were Mike-mike (pink souls). We are all equal before our Maker—Hindus, Mohammedans, Parsis, Christians, worshippers of one God. Who does do us right among ourselves?

We are all brothers—even the Qued-a-Awe is my brother. I have meant all that I have said above him, never has a foreboding word escaped my lips, and I say that I want to win him over, I speak and that I would not fight with I had won him over, and by my

right. There was a time when there was not a Muslim whose confidence I did not enjoy. Today I have lost that confidence and most of the Urdu press goes along with me. But I am not sorry for it. It only confirms me in my belief that there is no Swamy without a settlement with the Mohammedans.

You will perhaps ask, in that case, why am I talking of a fight? I do so in order to have a Congress Assembly which means agreement and settlement. But if the Mohammedans will have nothing to do with it, I will understand that there is no settlement. I am also a member of the Kness like them, and I will tell them that the Kness makes no difference between the Hindus and the Mohammedans. But if they feel that they should have the Muslims without the Hindus, I will not grudge it to them.

#### Ever for Compromise

I have an old-world Englishman. When I heard that Lord Zetland was wounded, my heart was wounded. That is my temperament. I therefore always work with and for goodwill for them. That I want to destroy British imperialism is another matter, but I want to do so by peaceful means who are associated with it. If non-violence has the power that I attribute to it, it is sure to react on the opponent. If it does not, the fight will be mine, not that of non-violence.

You must therefore understand that you have to deal with a dangerous man who will lead you in unexpected situations. Compromise is a part and parcel of my nature. I will go to the Viceroy after dinner, if I feel like it. I want to lead Hindus while non-cooperation was going on. I would not only go to the Viceroy when invited, but I would even seek opportunities to go to him, if necessary. You must know that, if I do so, I do it in order to strengthen our cause and not weaken it. It happened so with General Dyer. After his arrest I telephoned to him. He put the receiver down in anger, but I thrust myself on him. As a result he released me and I was in a stronger position. Today we are friends. I could not have dragged the Dutch and the English without love in my heart for them, and without a readiness for compromise. But my compromise will never be at the cost of the cause or of the country.

One of the conditions was in the effect that the word 'must' be inserted before 'civil disobedience'. Well, if it is not more civil disobedience, it is to be the civil disobedience of a handful? In this case I should not have come to you in a the thought of mass civil disobedience that keeps my mind awake all the twenty-four hours. Who should a man of 70 walk with a thing of this kind?

Therefore let me tell you that there is no civil disobedience and I feel that you are ready. You have therefore to pacify every Congress Congressman and make it a Sarvodaya one. To that extent it will have to gain to be a democracy, because my word will be law. But if a

does not become such a snail, without of our dumb conservatism will be sacrificed. None of my campaigns has crashed or failed the masses. They have increased their stature, and it is in order to take it still higher that I want to live. There was in the earlier campaigns enough of violence of thought and word, but there was nonviolence in act, and therefore the masses were saved. I would not light-heartedly impudently throw those masses today, and that is why I want an absolute nonviolence and the fulfillment of my conditions. For that is the only link that binds them and me.

If I am your General, your pulse should be in my hands. Otherwise I cannot fight through you. I am like a hawk-headed, but for that fight I need not come and appear with you.

One has word before I do, I do not want to stand in the way of those who want to fight or over. But if they have any sense of honor, I should advise them to do so after getting out of the Congress. Let me assure them that, if they put up a non-violent fight and carry it through I shall follow their lead.

Of course it is open to them to remain in the Congress and to defy it; but it will not be Saragatists. Those who are impatient today do not know the power of Saragatists.

The revolution does not bind you. If you do not accept the conditions, you can still say you do not accept them, and you can have the machines reversed. That will fire you and me both. But if you accept the conditions and will all observe them, you may be sure that it need not take me a month to launch the struggle.

## II

### IN THE OPEN SESSION

#### We Are Not Ready

I was glad to have the opportunity of listening to the speakers who moved the amendments. The name of Saragatists was on their lips, and it reminded me of the Biblical phrase: 'Not those who say "Lord," Lord but those who do the will of God will find Him.' (Chairs) I do not need your chairs. I want to win your hearts and your intellects and cheer and encouragement stand in the way of winning them. Let me therefore warn you that not those who shout "Saragatists", "Saragatists", will do Saragatists but those who will work for it. And the success of Saragatists is to carry out in honor and upon the word of him whom you have chosen as your General, and to achieve the things he asks you to avoid. For without Saragatists carried out in the proper spirit, there is no victory and no peace.

I believe with some of you who said that it is our duty to shake ourselves free from slavery. But how are we to do it? Supposing a few devils come and take possession of our house and drive us out, is it of course our duty to fight the devils and get our house back from them. But how are we to do it? We have to plan and prepare for it. Therefore when I saw you welcoming the speaker who said that we were

ready, I was shocked. For I know that we are not ready. And knowing that, how can I ask you to fight? I know that with such as you I can only have defeat. And defeat I do not want, and defeat I have never known, not even in Russia, whatever you may say to the contrary. The word 'defeat' is not to be found in my dictionary, and everyone who is welcomed as a speaker in my army may be sure that there is no defeat for a Saragatist.

One of the speakers said that he had no quarrel with the charkis, but he wanted the charkis to be divorced from Saragatists. Well I tell you, as I have been telling you these 20 years, that there is a vital connection between Saragatists and charkis, and the more I find that belief challenged the more I am confirmed in it. Otherwise I am so full of poison in turning the charkis, day in and day out, at home and even on trains, in the seats of railroad trains, I want you too to be turning the charkis with the same fire. And unless you do it and unless you habitually are afraid you will deceive me and deceive the world.

#### Final Warning

I shall of course do with me violence on my lips, but you are not welded to it so the same I say, and so it is open to you to have another programme and to make our country free. But if you will not do that, nor turn the charkis and want me to fight, it will be an impossible situation.

I know that you will not fight unless you have me with you, but then you must know that I am here and I would fight only as a representative of those dumb millions for whom I live and for whom I want to die. My loyalty to them is greater than any other loyalty, and it is for them that I would not give up the charkis even if you were to threaten me or kill me. For I know that, if I were to refuse the conditions of the charkis, I should bring ruin upon those dumb millions for whom I have no answer better God be, otherwise, you do not believe in the charkis in the same I believe in it, I implore you to leave me. The charkis is an eternal symbol of truth and non-violence, and unless you have them in your hearts you will not take to the charkis union. Remember, therefore, that you have to fulfil both the eternal and eternal conditions. If you fulfil the eternal conditions, you will cease to hate your opponent, you will not seek or work for his destruction, but pray to God to have mercy on him. Do not, therefore, concentrate on showing the weakness of the Government, for we have to convert and enlighten those who run it. And after all no one is walked by others. And if others are walked are we the last so? That attitude is inferior to Saragatists, and if you do not subscribe to it, even then I would ask you to leave me. For without a belief in my programme and without an acceptance of my conditions you will run me run yourselves and run the cause.

## HOW TO EVOLVE THE BEST

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An Indian protagonist of British wrongs.

"If our aim is to evolve the best in Englishmen through our non-violence and thus create mutual trust, we have usually failed. Our actions have not been in conformity with our professions. Our best period of non-violence [when we manifested best hatred towards England] was the period of Congress regime in power. On account of personal contact with Congress, mutual trust was awakened. Even that period was not free from mis-trust, but now the whole atmosphere is again getting saturated with nothing but hatred towards England. Certainty is being replaced by bitterness and trust by distrust. All our activities and arguments are only proving the worst in the Englishmen. What viable demonstrations have we given of our non-violence or of our desire to cultivate goodwill? Armed rebellion and terrorism through secret disturbances, as doubt, are ruled out. But the threat of disturbances is still there, and even this non-violence at present is not constant, even more threat of war cannot but create violent passions, and so there is no hope of developing the goodwill for which pledges were given. Is not a compromise based on give and take a more appropriate machinery for (1) Creating a non-violent atmosphere; (2) Creating goodwill; (3) Evolving the best in the Englishmen and, (4) Creating a short cut to independence through mutual co-operation?"

The argument does credit to the heart of the writer, but he ignores the method of non-violence. He has started with a half promise. Our aim is not merely to evolve the best in Englishmen but to do so while we are persecuting our cause. If we cease to persecute our cause, we do not evolve the best in him but we graduate to the end as him. The best must not be befuddled with good temper. When we are dealing with any evil, we may have to rattle the evil-doer. We have to run the risk, if we are to bring the best out of him. I have likened non-violence to asperin and violence to acetylic treatment. Both are intended to ward off the evil, and therefore cause a kind of disturbance which is often necessary. The fire never burns the evil-doer.

While I agree with the view that our non-violence has not been unshaken, I was dissent from the view that we have usually failed. I am unable to agree that the best period of non-violence was the period of Congress regime. During that period non-violence was inactive. For each tried to please the other, both were seemingly pursuing a common policy, though each had known misdirection. The viable demonstrations we have given of non-violence in other violent action has been successfully and securely evolved through Congress influence. Being too near the cross we

are not able to have a true measure of the great resistance exercised by millions of men and women. I guess that we have not yet shed violence of the heart. But the amazing self-restraint imposed by the people like us with the hope that violence of the heart will in due course give place to goodwill towards the opponent. It will never come if the critic's plan of the policy of timidity, as I should call it, is pursued. Hatred will melt when restraint has been exercised sufficiently long to starve it. The effect of it on the English mind will also be equally wholesome as the long run Englishmen will perceive that non-violence was real in so far as it went, and that masses of people could act with great restraint in spite of their recent a grievance against them.

All compromise is based on give and take, but there can be no give and take on fundamental matters. Any compromise on fundamentals is a surrender. For it is all give and no take. The time for compromise can only come when both are of one mind on fundamentals, i. e. when the United Government have made up their mind that not only but Indians will decrease the commitment under which the latter will be governed. There is a dangerous snag in the reluctance to refer the question of constitution to an assembly of elected Indian representatives. Minorities need have no fear, for they will decrease their own safeguards through their own representatives. The Hindus need have none, for they need not come in, if they do not wish to. The only party that can effectively obstruct and doom abstract is the dominating, i. e. the ruling, party. There will be no compromise until that party has sincerely come to the conclusion that it cannot or does not want to rule.

Srinagar, 24-3-40

### To Agents

The essence of the speech is given in the last part of the book. It is not necessary to read the whole book. In view of recent complaints about loss of book post packets in transit, we now take satisfaction of posting, in cases, three-line, of non-complaint agents may complain to their post office.

Manager

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## HARIJAN

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POONA — SATURDAY, APRIL 6 1940

[ ONE ANNA

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

## Are You Not Moved?

Q You have written about Shri Japubhai Narayan. Has he yet not moved by his sentence? Is it not a call to arms? Will you even now not tell your impossible conditions are fulfilled?

A I fear I mean that all my conditions are fulfilled. You should allow me to know more than you of the way in which satyagraha works. Of course I am moved by the sentence pronounced against that brave co-worker. I wish I could move you as I am moved. If you were, you would already and more persistently spread the challenge only by yourself speaking faithfully and by taking an interest in your neighbours. Japubhai having gone to jail, has had his reward. He had the most wife. He deserved the reward. Believe me it will produce its own effect. If I become impatient and resort to precipitate action, the road shown by Japubhai's imprisonment is likely to be undone partly or wholly. I will not be party to producing an anarchical condition in India, nor will any good purpose be served by my urging individuals to follow Japubhai's example and court imprisonment. This judgment in satyagraha does not admit of arch-metaphysical applications. Only one person's death may be most appropriate. Suffice it to say that Japubhai's imprisonment is engaging my warmest sympathy. I wish all Congressmen would follow with undoubted zeal the path set before them.

## Constructive Work and G. D.

Q You have followed power politics from Gandhi Sirs Sangh and under instructions for the sake of constructive work. Does this mean that no workers engaged in these institutions can take part in civil disobedience? I am afraid that unnecessary division between civil resistance and constructive work will result in a crippling of the latter as no first-rate worker would take to it by resigning civil resistance.

A Those who argue like you do not know the value of constructive work. It is my duty to oppose to civil disobedience. Civil disobedience without the backing of constructive effort is neither civil nor non-violent. Those who do constructive work merely for the sake of civil disobedience look at things topsyturvy. At the present moment all satyagrahis have to hold

themselves in readiness. But all may not be called. A soldier in service is as good as not on leave day. If the battle must come, I may say at once that my present plan is to detach the constructive work as little as possible. Your question, I take it, has reference to those only who are working in organisations such as the A. I. S. A., A. I. V. L. A., H. S. S. and M. T. S. These will be as little detached as possible. For all Congressmen without exception, if they want to help the struggle, must take up constructive work in their own way.

## Khadi and Politics

Q Are you not enlarging the Khadi movement by identifying it with the political programme, especially the civil disobedience part of it?

A Most certainly not. I would be, if Khadi were confined only to Congressmen or some sections. Khadi is prescribed as national dress for all, whether Congressmen or others. It is used even by some Englishmen, Americans and other Westerners. Your objection, if it was valid, would apply even to communal unity, removal of untouchability and temperance. These have been passed upon and upon them since they were incorporated in the Congress constructive programme. They can all become illegal if they become mixed up with violence. If they did become illegal, it would be found that the movements as such were not supported for the organisations incorporated under auspices which were in reality opposing violence.

## Confusion of Thought

Q You will be responsible for a gross injustice if you persist in going to India a majority Government with only 'satyagrahis' for the minorities. The latter ought to have an effective part in the actual government of the country.

A You have evidently confused majority rule with Hindu rule implying that the Hindu majority is irreversible. The fact is that the majority in all the provinces is a mixed majority. The parties are not Hindus and Hindus, they are Congressmen, Independents, Muslim League, Muslim Independents, Labourers, etc. The Congress majority everywhere is a mixed majority and could be better balanced if there was no tension. The tension is a danger. A danger can never be a permanent source of any growing society which fails in. Whether the success of the Muslim League demonstrates and its share, some day or other there will be a solution of the issue.

ruined. The Congress will never be pure Hindu or Hindu majority in any single province. The parties will be mixed and shaped according to different regions, unless democracy is applied and minority rights receive its full as a whole or India is converted into two or more dead parts. If you have followed my argument, it must be clear to you that there will never be a demand of power to any party or group so far as the Congress is concerned. Minorities are entitled to full protection of their rights, for so long as they have to divide power with others, they run the risk of their special rights being abridged.

#### A Dialogue

Q. My father is an employee in the S. L. Railway. He has four children, all younger than I. He wants me to take an apprenticeship course. If I take part in the coming anti-discrimination struggle, he may be distressed and the family will suffer. He says I can serve the nation by doing my share of constructive work. What is your advice?

A. Your father is right. If you are the only bread-winner, you cannot leave the family to its fate for the sake of taking part in civil disobedience. You will certainly serve the nation quite as efficiently as civil workers if you faithfully carry out the constructive programme.

#### Vive Repetitionem

Q. All agree that mechanical repetition of words is worse than useless. It acts as an opiate on the soul. I often wonder why you encourage repetition morning and evening of the eleven great vows as a matter of routine. May not this have a dulling effect on the moral consciousness of our boys? Is there no better way of memorising these vows?

A. Repetition when they are not mechanical produce marvellous results. Thus I do not regard the essay as a repetition. It is an aid to the perfection of a wandering brain. Daily repetition of the vows fits under a different category. It is a daily reminder to the earnest worker as he rises and means that he is under the eleven vows which are to regulate his conduct. No doubt it will have no effect if a person repeats the vows mechanically under the delusion that the mere repetition will bring him nearer. You may ask, "Why repeat the vows at all? You know that you have taken them and are expected to observe them." There is force in the argument. But experience has shown that a deliberate repetition gives stimulus to the resolution. Vows are to the weak mind and soul what music are to a weak body. Just as a healthy body needs no music, a strong mind may retain its health without the need of vows and the daily reminder thereof. An acquaintance of the vows will, however, show that most of us are weak enough to need their assistance.

#### On Behalf of Disabled People

Q. You stand for the poor and helpless. Would you not include the paralytic of an

arm, one daily used to disabled bodies as an aim of the daily exercise of a "constructive worker"? A large number of the former are lame. There is not a day in India of any note without the presence of these helpless creatures. They certainly are deserving of your pity and consideration.

A. Valuable as the work undoubtedly is, it cannot become part of the constructive programme. It is not every form of social relief that can be made part of the Congress constructive programme. Such a programme can only cover that part, the omission of which would make the programme of Swami through non-violence incomplete. Who can deny that Hindu, Muslim unity, removal of untouchability, temperance, and the like are essential for achieving our object? My answer, however, does not mean that disabled humanity does not need any attention. No man or woman, whether of the Congress or not, can be worth much if he or she neglects to do his or her part of social service in the widest sense of the term.

Bengaluru, 1-4-40

#### A CREDITABLE RECORD

The Gandhi Ashram at Padmapriyasa, Tiruchengode (T. Taluk, South India), which was founded by Kanchi who married it and made it his own residence for a number of years, completed the thirtieth year of its existence at the end of 1939, and the latest annual report for 1939 shows a record of creditable service rendered to the village round about. The main survey of the Ashram has been blood purification, and the following figures (for 1939) of the volume of production and amounts of wages delivered speak for themselves:

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| Black pigments   | Rs. 25,475 |
| Yarn   | Rs. 22,567 |
| Black consumed by spinners under self-sufficiency scheme | Rs. 21,120 |
| Spinning wages distributed                               | Rs. 22,814 |
| Wearing "  | Rs. 21,494 |
| Shoes "  | Rs. 1,761  |

Rs. 2,220 represented the loss met by the Ashram in supplying improved implements to spinners at half price. The black survey of the Ashram covered 363 villages. 1,120 spinners were on record, and these partly managed to supply from Rs. 5 to Rs. 75, the variation being accounted for by the difference in time devoted to the work. The average annual earnings of a spinner was Rs. 12-6-4, a weaver Rs. 12-12-6, and a shoer Rs. 20--the spinner and the shoer being part-time workers. The money of the latter was saved as a second string to the bow. The figures of income were very meagre to a carpenter, but in villages where money stands at the low level of about Rs. 3 to 5 even this is a substantial addition and may in some cases even help to keep the wolf from the door. The money-saving handicrafts have an advantage over the mill yarn weaver's brother in that, whereas the latter expenditure great

difficulty in finding a market for his finished product, the former is busy from one such worry, is provided with work all the year round, and has to submit to no explanation by outsiders. The sales of khadi effected through the agency of the Ashram amounted to Rs 52,000 for the year.

The Ashram also runs at Tiruchengode 4 schools for Harijans and also a hotel having 17 bedrooms. It has a free hospital where the average daily attendance is 40 and on which Rs 1,466 were spent in the year under report. The apary work is well on the way of being permanently established. An institution like this, which has more than justified its existence, should not be allowed to feel handicapped for want of funds which should readily come forth in the form of donations.

C. S.

### THE BASIC EDUCATION COURT

The Basic Education Court in the recent Exhibition at Bangalore was very attractive and certainly interesting for those who were at all keen on the new scheme of education. The presence of a class of a few dear little boys, neatly clad in khadi shorts and shirts, radiantly sparkling over on their backs, added life to the exhibits of yarn and the products from various schools. This was the third exhibition of its kind since the scheme came into being. It was heartening to see progress. The cloth produced from this yarn should compare favourably with similar quality material in A. I. S. A. standards. Its sale need not then be a difficulty. Cash-laud articles, I was glad to notice, were improving and due attention was being paid to produce only marketable things—a fine end bonus for craftsmanship, the latter giving ample scope for varying patterns and accurate measurements to the pupils, should not become a burden to our establishment. Then the Bharu basket and "moss" small carling box which even a child of six can manufacture has been perfected and its handsome carling was a joy to behold. Its cost is now one pice, hence it is possible for each child to possess his own in class. New products that deserve special mention were "moss" made in Low and High schools from waste yarn and the wood work of the Training Centre, Wandia. The bread and fruit platters made of seasoned wood were particularly charming in design and well polished and finished. Then there were ladles of varying sizes, table and chairlike wicker chairs makers, etc. etc.

Charts showed a definite improvement. They were divided into economic, educational and administrative spheres, showing results hitherto achieved as well as possibilities for future improvement. These defining the correlation between the craft and various subjects were specially interesting.

The most original thing in the Court, however, were the pictures that decorated the walls.

They were the handwork of a young artist, Shri Nihar Ranjan Choudhary, a pupil of Shri Nandalal Bose. He spent three months in just working all the holidays available about the new scheme of education. After that he spent days and weeks at a time in most of the basic schools in the provinces watching and not listening to both pupils and teachers. The inner meaning of the scheme definitely inspired him to the extent of enabling him to depict its soul through the medium of his art. The pictures portrayed four crafts, seasonal, wood work, cardboard and agrodrama. The artist also depicted four possible crafts which are being tried in Kashmir and Allahabad, a. g. pottery-making, leather work, pottery and basket weaving. The paintings show how the teacher began his task, how the tools should be handled, how the pupils should sit or stand, how they should be clad, how various processes help better production, why accuracy must be adhered to, how attractive and colourful the class rooms may be, how neatness and order are a natural outcome of a wise use of material and tools, how patience is developed through correct correlation between the brain and the hand, what joy comes from seeing the result of the labour of one's hands, and how that task consciously elevates both pupil and teacher. The details of each craft were well answered and the relevancy of the pictures was definite and alive. Two which portrayed exercises in order and cleanliness were specially good. There was too a personal forecast of the elevating effect of the new education, the children being shown as social citizens, free from the taint of superstition. The artist has followed the Indo-Persian school of art in all his designs. The paintings were all on handmade paper and coloured in khadi. Indigenous colours were used throughout. The pictures should constitute a good nucleus for any Basic Education Centre or Museum.

Serapian, 30-3-40

A. K.

### Scholarships for Harijan Girls

Applications are invited from Harijan girls all over India (including Sindh) for the Indian Jangam Scholarships for Higher Technical Education. Higher Technical Education includes study of the Fine Arts, Medicine, Nursing and Midwifery, Law, Engineering, Teaching, Transport, etc. In very exceptional cases College Scholarships for Arts and Sciences courses will be awarded to Harijan girls from provinces and places where Harijans are educationally very backward. Such provinces and areas will be Bihar, U. P., Delhi, Sind, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Chhatisgarh, Orissa, Nagpur, Central India and Hyderabad States. The scholarships will be awarded to Harijan girls studying in recognised colleges, professional schools, or universities and such other educational institutions as may be accepted by the Board. Applications will have to be made to the General Secretary, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Nagpur, India, on prescribed application forms which can be had from the office of the Sangh before the 30th June 1940.

A. V. Thakur  
General Secretary

DHM, 35-3-40

# *Harijan*

1948

## A BAFFLING SITUATION

(By H. K. Ghosh.)

A question has been put to me, "Do you intend to start (moral and) dishonesty although Quaker-Amm Jacob has declared war against Hinduism and has got the Madras League to pass a resolution favouring conversion of India into one? If you do, what becomes of your formula that there is no Swamy without communal unity?"

I admit that the step taken by the Madras League at Lahore creates a baffling situation. But I do not regard it as baffling as to make civil dishonesty an impossibility. Supposing that the Congress is reduced to a hopeless minority, it will still be open to it, indeed it may be its duty, to resist to civil dishonesty. The struggle will not be against the majority, it will be against the foreign ruler. If the struggle succeeds, the issue raised will be raised as well by the Congress as by the opposing majority. Let me, however, say in parenthesis that, until the conditions I have mentioned for wrong and dishonesty are fulfilled, civil dishonesty cannot be started in any case. In the present instance there is nothing to prevent the spiritual values from declaring their will as unswerving as that handicraft India will preserve herself according to her own will, not that of the rulers as has happened hitherto. Neither the Madras League nor any other party can oppose such a declaration. For the Hindus will be enabled to denote their own terms. Unless the use of India wishes to escape its internal (internal), the rulers will have to submit to Muslim demands of the Muslims will come to it. I know no non-violent method of compelling the abatement of rights given to Muslims to the will of the rest of India, however powerful a majority the rest may command. The Muslims must have the same right of self-determination that the rest of India has. We are at present a joint family. Any attempt may claim a divorce.

Thus, so far as I am concerned, my proposition that there is no Swamy without communal unity holds as good today as when I first announced it in 1937.

But civil dishonesty stands on a different footing. It is open even to one single person to offer it, if he feels the call. It will not be offered for the Congress alone or for any particular group. Whichever house comes from it will belong to the whole of India. The enemy, if there is any, will belong only to the civil dishonesty party.

But I do not believe that Muslims, when it comes to a matter of moral dishonour, will ever want renunciation. Their good must will prevent

them. Their self-interest will deter them. Their religion will forbid the dishonesty which the parties would mean. The "own nation" theory is an absurdity. The vast majority of Muslims of India are converts to Islam as are descendants of converts. They did not become a separate nation as soon as they became converts. A Bengali Muslim speaks the same tongue that a Bengali Hindu does, eats the same food, has the same amusements as his Hindu neighbour. They dress alike. I have often found it difficult to distinguish by outward signs between a Bengali Hindu and a Bengali Muslim. The same phenomenon is observable more or less in the north among the poor who concentrate the masses of India. When I first met the late Sir Ab. Imran I did not know that he was not a Hindu. His speech, his dress, his manners, his food were the same as of the majority of the Hindus in whose midst I found him. The same story befell me here. Not even that with Quaker-Amm Jacob. For his name could be that of any Hindu. When I first met him, I did not know that he was a Muslim. I came to know his religion when I had his full name given to me. His nationality was written on his face and manner. The reader will be surprised to know that for days, if not months, I used to think of the late Vithalbhai Patel as a Muslim as he used to wear a beard and a Turkish cap. The Hindu love of substance prevents many Muslim groups for Mohamedan legal rules to speak with pride of his fundamental doctrine, *lilal* and *Kutub* are names unknown to Hindus and Muslims. Hindus and Muslims of India are not two nations. Those whom God has made one, man will never be able to divide.

And a Islam such an exclusive religion as Quaker-Amm would have it? Is there nothing in common between Islam and Hinduism or any other religion? Or a Islam nearly as strong as Hinduism? Were the *Abi Brothers* and their associates wrong when they tagged Hindus as blood brothers and are so much in common between the two? I am not now thinking of individual Muslims who may have distinguished the Muslim formula Quaker-Amm has, however, raised a fundamental issue. This is his theme.

"It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends had to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the proper sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders, and it is a danger that the Hindus and Muslims can ever achieve a genuine understanding. The misconception of the Indian nation has gone far beyond the limits and in the course of most of our troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to remove our sources in time.

The Hindus and Muslims have two different religious philosophies, social concepts, institutions. They neither understand, nor understand together, and indeed, they belong to two different civilisations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their approach to the rest of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Muslims derive their propensities from different sources of history. They have different ages, their values are different,



and they have different opinions. Very often the bare of one is a lot at the other end, however, than western and Indian trading. To take another very good example under a single skin, that of a maternal memory and the other as memory, come laid to proving dependent and had discussion of my talent that may be as laid up for the given cost of such a rate."

He does not say since Hindu are laid, he says Hindu as such have nothing as opinion with Hindu. I make hold to say that he and those who think like him are confused to arrive to know, they are misrepresenting the message inherent in the very word Hindu. I say this because I feel deeply heart over what is now going on in the name of the Hindu League. I should be doing in my duty, if I did not warn the Muslims of India against the outbreak that is being propagated amongst them. This outbreak is a duty because I have faithfully served them in three hours of need and because Hindu-Muslim unity has been and is my life's mission.

Sevagram, 1-4-40

#### Harpas Work in India

Shriman Ramabhai Mehta who was invited to preside at the recent conference of "Harpas Day" in India sends a note about Harpas work there. A summary is given below.

Harpas Day is celebrated on March 1st every year since the Mahatma Gandhi's granting of some rights and allowing entrance in Sans temples to Harpas. This year the program was marked by the launch of the foundation stone of a workshop colony for which Rs 50000/- have been given by the Mahatma Gandhi from his own purse. During the course of a few months houses for 50 families will be completed and it is hoped that the donation will be repeated under the housing problem of workers of India. Gar has been completely solved. A handle beginning in the form of a third and credit money and an industrial Home was inaugurated and a detailed programme of work for this year drawn up. This includes the starting of a students' hostel. The programme was well received by the inhabitants of the State who were approached for financial help. The President of the Harpas Work Singh, India, has moved a resolution in the Municipal Committee, which it is hoped will soon be adopted, to make the pay of workers and make their service permanent with the usual monetary benefits, leave rules, provident fund etc. Social service in the form of removal of illiteracy ... 100 Harpas were made literate ... medical houses of credit, clean living, eradication of debt, improvement etc. was carried on throughout last year with the help of several young caste Hindu men and women who received certificates for their work on March 1st. A few sweepers women joined the evening workshop in the Gospel Master to accompany with Caste Hindu. The pay on their share was paid to include.

It is to be hoped that the program made will be steadily maintained.

Sevagram, 11-3-40

A. K.

#### KHADI CAN

(By K. G. Mathuram)

Is it possible to produce all the cloth we need by hand-spinning and hand-weaving? When will it cost to the purchaser? With the help of Khadiapuri I am trying to answer these questions. In doing so, in order to be on the safe side, I have taken the most conservative calculations.

For this reason I have taken the total population of India to be 40 crores, and the average annual need of cloth to be 18 square yards per head. This works out at 720 crore yards per year, or less than 2 crore yards per day. This means then the average daily production of cloth for India must meet.

It is also assumed that 80 per cent of the total population (or 32 crores) is rural and agricultural. Generally 40 per cent of the total population is estimated to be fit for labour in India the women are perhaps more conservative than necessary. But, in villages, men begin to work for bread at a very early age and continue to do so almost till the end. Spinning and some of its mechanical operations easily allow children and old men to be made use of. Still, on account of the extremely ill-equipped conditions of the villages, their productive efficiency is much below normal, and as I have accepted the estimate of 40 per cent. This gives us about 12½ crores as the labouring population.

In the production of khadi the production of spindles in other countries (such as cotton, woollen, etc.) varies according to the methods and implements of production employed. Shri Vinoba has been carrying on experiments in this line. For conservative calculation I have taken his figures. According to him, among 100 full-time khadi producers, there should be 35 spindles and 45 other craftsmen (spinners, weavers, carders, etc.), and they would produce 48 square yards of cloth per day. Assuming to the prevailing methods about 75 full-time spinners would provide work to 35 weavers and other craftsmen, and would produce about 60 yards of cloth per day of between 12 to 16 ounces. (A full-time spinner is estimated to produce yarn equal to 45 of a sq. yd.)

Theoretically, according to Shri Vinoba, for producing 2 crore square yards per day, we require 25 crore full-time spinners and about 2 crore of other female craftsmen, or 40 crore full-time khadi producers in all. In a population of 12½ crores of rural workers, this figure, by itself, is sufficient to dispel any doubt about India's capacity to produce her own cloth. According to the other calculation, the figure would be much smaller.

At present there are very few spinners and other craftsmen working full time, i. e. eight hours a day. Much of the khadi is produced either during leisure hours all the year round or during periods of unemployment. Some quantity is also produced for home consumption and it is desirable that this habit should, for

the progress of khadi, be encouraged as much as possible. It will, therefore, be safe to assume that on an average in all provinces up to spinning, weavers put in on an average only 3 hours' work per day. On the simplest good village cloth the amount of labour should enable a spinner to produce on an average from 14 to 15 yards per day (hank=80 yds.). This works out at 3 spindles per day for each square yard of khadi. Therefore, to produce 3 crore yards per day, we should need 6 crore spindles working for 3 hours per day. Thus the whole khadi production would engage 6 crores of part-time workers and a crore of other full-time craftsmen, or 7 crores in all.

There is no doubt that 7 crores of people are available in India for this work, without deterring to agriculture and to other occupations and industries. Not only so, but it leaves a good margin for the expansion of the industry, if more production were needed. For this it could be made more remunerative than at present, and improvements in implements, constant work under conditions, could also be introduced with greater confidence.

This brings us to the question of cost. Let it be remembered that in the economics of khadi, the question of cost affects by way of actual out-of-pocket charges only those who demand or will not need and pay for themselves and their dependents. On a very liberal calculation these cannot be more than 6 crores in India.

They will have to purchase their khadi, and a majority of them would be consuming more cloth than the average of 13 yards per head. A good part of it will also be of counts finer than the average 12 to 14 counts assumed for the rest of the country. It will not be wrong to estimate their demand at 25 yards per head. This means that it will be necessary to produce 350 crore yards of khadi for sale. This comes to half a crore of yards per day, or 25 per cent of the total cloth needed. As for the rest of the people, they will have to do some labour (at the most an hour per day) without incurring any actual living or out-of-pocket charges.

The present A. I. S. A. rate of spinning works out to about 1 spun per hand, and payable to a full-time spinner the wage of 2½ to 3 rs. per day with the present implements and rough methods of work. To reach the standard minimum living wage of eight rupees per day the wage must be steadily raised up to 8 rs. per hand, along with training and the supply of improved implements. The present average khadi count is somewhere roundly 2½ times more than the mill cloth. Khadi of superior count does not less than 3 times (that is the way the mill cloth has become more costly and so the proportion is less than before). If the wage is increased, it would be rather still, though on account of improvements, not in proportion to the increase. If we have made the A. I. S. A. rate and by the time being

content ourselves with giving such wage as prevails in each season at each locality the rest would work out to at least half as much per hand. Even assuming that there is no change in the cost of other factors of khadi production and in the currency economy of the country, the rest would make khadi only twice as costly as mill cloth. Having regard to the fact that the production of the cloth through clothies and handlooms ensures better distribution of wealth and consequently reduction of unemployment, it must improve the purchasing power of the people to a considerable extent. The masses who have to clothe themselves by purchasing ready-made khadi will also, in return, be in a better position to manufacture articles needed by the khadi producers. Certain khadi will not, therefore, be to the disadvantage of the middle class purchaser. On the contrary a gradual increase in the spinning wage is contemplated by the A. I. S. A. would be, in the long run, still more advantageous than the normal pace of slow forward of increasing wages some of money in hand against a modern movement in millions of living human beings working for want of employment in villages, will be cheaper and economical in terms of national accounting. And then the improvement in the methods and implements of producing khadi without giving up its rural character will also be a great factor in the reduction of cost. Every day new experiments are being made in these directions, and there are great hopes of steady progress.

The rise in the price of cotton on account of war brings to light another difference between khadi and mill cloth. In the production of khadi, more is spent on labour than on the raw material. Consequently a rise in the price of the raw material (without any change in the wage) does not appreciably affect the price of khadi. This is not so in mill cloth, which runs and falls in price almost in the same proportion as raw cotton. Of course there is also one more way to reduce the price of khadi without reducing the wage. That is through 'a voluntary tax on labour' as suggested in the article so entitled in *Harvest of 1946* (January last).

The conclusion is that quantitatively it is quite practicable to produce all the cloth we require, without running the risk, that the problem of high price will affect not more than 25% of the population, that it is possible to imagine that faster in various ways partially if not fully, and for the rest, the consumers will be more or less advantaged than otherwise, and that, again, in the long run and in an indirect manner be advantageous even to the purchaser. It is also in the interest of those interested in large scale industrialisation and mechanisation to leave this industry of the masses safe for them. It is likely that the nation will be able to move with greater confidence and less disturbance in some of the other spheres of industrialisation.

## SEVAGRAM KHAND YATRA

The khadi lovers of Wardha district have been holding an annual conference in the different villages in the taluka for the last six years under the supervision and guidance of Shri Vinoba. The object of the conference is to propagate khadi. It has been named Khadi Yatra on pilgrimage. People generally come to the conference trading long distances on foot and live there for two days. The life of the village folk in every respect is as organised by the Gram Seva Mandal whose workers are stationed near these villages, engaged in various constructive activities. People from different villages around the khadi yatra to their village, and give every possible help in a more willing and enthusiastic manner. This year Shri Radhakrishna Hegde, Secretary Gram Seva Mandal, came to Gandhiji with the suggestion that the yatra might be held in Sevagram. Gandhiji had no objection to it, provided the villages of Solapur—now called Sevagram—wanted it. They did, and the yatra was held on 10th and 11th March in open fields of the village.

On the morning of the first day, the yatra took out a problem plan; on the second day, they took part in village cleaning. Two hours in the afternoon were devoted to constructive spinning. Gandhiji addressed them after the evening prayer on the 10th night. About 1,500 people had gathered from the surrounding villages and the Wardha town for the occasion. The audience sat in darkness but for an electric bulb fixed to the head speaker because his speech was preceded by the usual evening prayer of the Ashvini. The prayer includes a mention of the eleven vows. Taking his cue from it, Gandhiji said:

"Just now you recited the eleven vows as part of your prayers. It is our formula for gaining material and spiritual co-operation. Working without its other success may appear as most difficult, but there need be no despair, if we have faith. The greater the difficulties, the greater should be our faith. Even so, faith is needed for the prosecution of the khadi programme.

"Although the people of Sevagram give us assistance and I agreed to the holding of the yatra here, that does not mean that I consider this place to be fit for the holding of such yatra. My aim would require a high percentage of adoption of khadi. As it is, perhaps, not more than 20 per cent of the Sevagram folk wear khadi. Those that do, have not adopted it fully and with an understanding of all its implications. The adoption of khadi with all its implications means considering it one's life. It means pauper in its wide sense and a confidence to lay down one's life for the sake of the country's freedom. Do the people of Sevagram come up to that test? I am afraid not. I confess the future is partly mine. I have not

yet made sufficient effort to give them the needed education. I would like you to hold the next yatra in a place which comes at least within a measurable distance of the ideal that I have laid down.

"As Mahatma we related the use and scope of the Gandhiji Seva Sangh and named it now as an institute for carrying out experimental research into the principles for which the Sangh stands, so for instance, cloth, khadi, khadi, and their interrelationship. I have said that there is a vital connection between khadi and ahimsa. But I have not fully proved it. My course follows my heart. Without the latter it would be empty. Faith is the function of the heart. It must be suffered by sense. The two are not unconnected as some think. The more intense one's faith is, the more it whips one's sense. And so, although my faith in khadi is daily growing, I have not put my reason in cold storage. I have carefully to all adverse criticism with an open and receptive mind, extract from it what is worth accepting and reject the chaff. I am always ready to correct my mistakes. A full and candid admission of one's mistakes should make one proof against his repetition. A full admission of one's mistakes is also the highest form of exposure. I would like all conversions to see with their reason all I say. When faith becomes blind it dies. It is a drawback in khadi work that many workers do not apply their reason to their work. We must find out why the progress in khadi is slow. It may be that we have erred in detail, we may find that we have benefited to place more emphasis on self-sponsored than on production for sale. At one time I myself had suggested the ideal of immediate introduction of a standard wage of eight annas a day for the spinners. But under the object of experienced khadi workers, we settled ourselves with three annas standard wage for the time being, keeping the higher figure before us as our goal. Even this was a philosophical. Shall we be able to sustain the wage?

"Take now the political aspect. I have said that we can go Seva through khadi. If you have real faith in it, you will not care all you have proved it to the whole world by your means. The link between khadi, economics, politics and sociology cannot depend on unreasoned faith. The wheel is the one thing that can become universal and replace the use of arms. If the millions co-operate in spinning the charkha for the sake of their economic liberation, the mass force will give them an irresistible power to achieve political independence. You must have noticed how content I have become about the fulfilment of the khadi programme as a chairman-president in the launching of civil disobedience. If our preparation is complete, the struggle may be rendered unnecessary. And if a day becomes necessary, it will be inevitable and of a short duration. But if only a few

into or the charkha, is becomes necessary for them to sacrifice their all in order to quash the conscience of their competitors and the English rulers. The efficacy of their sacrifice will depend upon the degree of their purity and innocence. Mere wearing of khadi we have known its implications cannot help. For, when it becomes the vulgar even evil-doers will wear it. Khadi like God's number and air is for all alike, but all do not thereby become eligible for satyagrah. Khadi, purity, and readiness to sacrifice oneself are the three essential conditions for a satyagrahi. The charkha is the external symbol. Without a pure sacrifice will not be non-violent. I have no cut and dry plan of fight before me, I only know that I may be ready for a unless I am a hypocrite or a fool.

"Lastly, about the yarn has taken place here. I suggest that you draw up a programme for making the whole of the village of Sevagram khadi-clad within a year. The experiment will exercise your faith and your vision and may give you the key for making khadi universal."

#### Questions and Answers

The khadi page was over at 3 p.m. on 11st March, but as Gandhiji had agreed to answer questions, if there were any, after the evening prayers, many people stayed on for the night. Here are some of the questions with Gandhiji's answers.

Q. Has khadi been introduced into the basic education scheme with the aim, i.e. self-reliance, or the aim, i.e. in view.

A. Anything introduced in basic education can only have one end in view, i.e. the educative. The object of basic education is the physical, intellectual and moral development of the children through the medium of a handicraft. But I hold that any scheme which is based from the educative point of view and is efficiently managed, is bound to be used economically. For instance, we can teach our children to make clay pots that are to be destroyed afterwards. This we will develop their skill. But it will neglect a very important moral principle, viz. that human labour and material should never be used in a wasteful or unproductive way. The emphasis laid on the principle of spending every rupee of one's life usefully is the true education for citizenship and ultimately makes basic education self-sufficient.

Q. How can khadi and spinning lead to Swamy?

A. If millions co-operate, it cannot but generate tremendous strength which can be put to any use we like. The charkha provides the best medium for such co-operation. It provides dignified employment and food and clothing for Dandakaranya. This cannot but produce mass co-operation and non-violent strength for gaining Swamy.

Q. Must one who takes to khadi take to spinning as well?

A. From the economic point of view it is enough to take to khadi. But if khadi is to be our weapon for winning Swamy, spinning is of equal necessity. Khadi gives us economic self-sufficiency, whereas spinning helps us with the lowest paid labour in sustained manner. Everyone gives a certain time for ordinary purposes. One being a non-violent being, everyone should do sacrificial spinning for a minimum period from year to year. Mahatma Mahomed Ali used to call the talk and the run our arms and ammunition for winning Swamy. The analogy is telling. Is it too much for us to give half an hour or one hour per day to spinning as a measure of voluntary unemployment? I remember, at the beginning of the last war when I was in England I was given systems runs to work for the soldiers. Many others from the most advanced families including some wealthy old ladies and gardeners were doing such work. We all finished our quota of work as we were required to. No one considered it beneath him or her dignity to do so. Towards the end of the war the same work was given by the whole nation. Yet no one complained. I want you that, although today I am asked you only to give half an hour or one hour per day to spinning, I may have to be more exacting in the nearest future.

Q. Should civil service prisoners also satyagrahs in order to get the permission to wear khadi and spin regularly in jail?

A. A satyagrahi willingly submits to all jail discipline. He never wishes to embarrass the authorities. To want an thing allowed to spin in jail when you do not do so with religious regularity outside, would be a species of violence. I would not recommend that course to anybody although I am conscious of exceptional cases — Ajaya Parvatham for instance — who might go to the extreme length in order to secure that permission. We have not behaved as ideal persons in the past. There has been violence and untruth in our schools. I do not want that to be repeated. We are pined with the jail authorities. I would be faced with a dilemma if I were not allowed those facilities. What I have said of spinning applies equally to khadi."

Sevagram, 2-4-40

S. N.

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# HARIJAN

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## THE DEENABANDHU

I

When I saw C. F. A.—that is how many of his friends referred to him, some called him Charlie, and I formerly had come to address him as Borelade none of us who were nearest to him ever referred to him as Deenabandhu which name, however appropriate, never seemed to stick to him—a few weeks ago at Calcutta recovering from his first operation, I had a fear that though he had been secured to us, he was not likely to be with us for long. And yet he has created such a terrible void that it seems impossible to reconcile oneself quite to the inevitable. A friend who writes to me a letter of sympathy, knowing what the loss means to me, says I must be feeling as though I had lost my dear father. Quite true, for though I am proud enough to have been his son, and he had a venerable beard, it was quite reasonable to regard him as a father. In fact it was impossible to look up to him as an elder or anything else. But he was found to all—the oldest and the youngest, the richest and the poorest, the highest and the humblest. When he sat down with my boy to read *Kabir Ki Kahani* and sang his worth with his own, when he sat down with Gladstone to discuss Dominion Status or Independence or with Dr. John May to discuss Gandhi's attitude to Christianity, there was in him the same childlike innocence and simple regard for truth. I remember vividly the night following when twenty-two years ago I was introduced to him by Gladstone. From that moment his overflowing affection and friendliness made it impossible to look up to him.

When thirteen years ago he decided to come to India there were friends who recommended with him. He had won a triple First and was a Cambridge Don. If he stayed at home, he might one day be recruited as the successor Professor of History in Cambridge, or if he entered politics he might one day be Prime Minister. He would not be moved from his resolve. "India talk" were the two words he uttered with such deep conviction that it elicited all reverence. When two or three years ago friends found that he was feeling the effects of a more or less robust health and approaching age, they asked him to settle down in a quiet spot in England and give more time to his pillared pen to the world, he said 'no', he could not

think of writing anywhere else but India. When the surgeon who performed the two operations so him suggested that he should go to England or Europe and have the second operation there, he resolutely said 'no'. He knew that Sir Chamberlain's India, who bore all the expenses of his prolonged illness, would gladly bear those of an anti-flight and operation at home. But how could he leave his real home? "Whatever happens to me" he said, "must happen here." I do not know an Englishman who loved India more, and who has served India better. There was not because of an unshared impulse—there were personal wells of emotion in him, but nobody made the choice of his position out of emotion—but because he knew India, went on with the years knowing her and loving her more and more, he knew the wrong that his countrymen had done to India, consciously or unconsciously, and he had resolved to atone for it. He was a titan in the true sense of the term.

It was a triple atonement. The first was by a conscious endeavour every day of his life to wipe out the approach of 'superiority' attached to Englishmen. The second was by striving for India—the Hindu-architect and the Mohammed-architect and the European-architect at home, and the oppressed Indian in South Africa and Kenya, in Fiji and New Zealand, in Trinidad and Tanganyika. The third was by opening the eyes of his missionary brethren to the rich spiritual heritage of India, which they had ignored, misunderstood and even misrepresented, and by showing them the true way of Christ. I do not know that he made any Christian convert, but I know that he had won the hearts of millions, and hundreds are shedding silent tears over the loss of their guide, philosopher, and friend.

And he had the richest equipment for the moral mission of atonement he had undertaken. He had shown us a larger heaven than most people I have known. He had woven into his life the principal attributes of the Masters of the Gita—who persevere most, and who is joined by some. The very mission of the Borelades made him born with sorrow, giving us the impression that the joy was the reflection of the most light that comes from an absence of them. I have not yet come across a better exemplar of the Bhikshu power—a soft answer turneth away wrath. All the give him the

strength to bear the Cross that everyone must bear who is on the strain and sweat-soaked path of service.

And don't I know the terrible weight of that Cross? The great rugged man as an opponent, the man laughed behind his back saying he was a complete fall of ad-stuff, but his humanity and single-minded devotion to the cause would never dismay him. He has all muscle, hardihood, manly, serious with a smile. If Dr. Grenfell of Labrador set a supreme example of physical endurance that all servants of humanity have to possess, G. F. A. set a supreme example of mental endurance.

But he was not a man ready to take a denial. No task was too mean or humble for him. He would run errands, take a note to the Vicar, or to an estate official who was in no mood to yield. But on most occasions he succeeded in appealing to the human side of people and won their wonder. In South Africa he married General Smuts twice and again. When the final Agreement was about to be signed came a wire to Gandhiji saying Kasturba was seriously ill. But Gandhiji refused to go until the Agreement was signed by General Smuts. Charles ran to Smuts who was deeply touched, signed the Agreement, and released him to go to Durban. At the time of the last Viceroy, Sir Archibald Hill, he visited Dr. Reynolds Maxwell at all hours of the day and night until the final release of Gandhiji. In 1932 during the Poona's Award Fast, he was now with Lord Halifax then with Sir Samuel Hoare, then with Mr. MacDonald, and now that there was not a moment's delay in announcing the decision. On countless other occasions he took upon himself the mission of peace and worked at it without regard for the result. And I have seen him not only running errands, but ready to do the meanest menial clerical job like copying, retyping, etc. 'His soul was like a star, and on himself the lowliest tasks did lay'.

Not that he did not err. He was very human indeed and made plenty of mistakes, but no one knew how to make better mistakes. He had a kind of 'will to believe' which often landed him in scrapes out of which he found it difficult to extricate himself. He came across black-magicians, who sometimes forced him on every virtue, but he had the joy of Hugo's Bishop who was happy to have lost his understock. 'Better to be deceived than to deceive,' says Kipling 'to be deceived yields joy, to deceive is a sure source of misery'.

II

On three or four occasions I saw him during the convalescence before the final second operation, and every day, after the second operation, for a few minutes every morning and evening. On the first occasion when I met him after he

had escaped from the first operation, he said: "Last night was a night of peace and bliss. Somehow the Bramhadev which I like most did not leave me. What came upon my mind again and again as a never-fail-official memory was some part of the Gospel of St. John and the last fourteen verses of the second Discourse of the Bhagavadgita. They are still there with me. And oh, it was bliss to have Daga here yesterday."

On the second occasion he said: "This has been a miracle, the recovery. And yet how we feel unconquered!" With the faith of one who believed with the Apostle that 'the very hairs of our head are all numbered', he said: "Not one day more or one day less than He feels it right that I should live. To know this is a benediction." And with this he begged me to a clear conscience, mentioned some words I could not lose, and then said: "Let us rather have the great Upasanth prayer! From the world, lead me to the Real, from darkness, lead me to Light, from death, lead me to Immortality."

On the third occasion he said: "Let me unburden myself of one or two things that have been pressing on my mind. You know the little dancer who has been so good to me. He wears an uncopyrighted photograph of Daga, and I have proposed it to him. You must remember to get him that." I asked for his name, but he did not know. He asked me to call the nurse. She was not quite sure, but she promised she would find out. When she gave me the name, I had to leave Calcutta. But I said: "I shall see that he gets it." Then he said: "And now there is another thing. You know our friend gets me Rs.—for Palestine work. I was to have gone there. Twice I had very nearly gone, but could not actually go, though I have been doing work for the Jews off and on. Anyway the money was raised, when as you know—approached me with her troubles, and I gave her half of it. Now there is a little money that I have on the bank which can go to make good this loss. Please explain this to our good friend and tell him I can return the whole amount if he so wishes, otherwise if he prefers I can give that small amount to my sisters. But ask Daga what he thinks, in any case do write to the friend. I had no right to use his money as I did, and it worries me."

On the last occasion he was full of the King's mission. He said he knew that either was sure to come, and he began immediately to discuss the European situation, but I stopped him from starting himself. Then he said: "I have been thinking more and more of the Gita. What a capital idea it is—the art of man's eternal war with evil. There are wars on the physical plane and we know them. But there

are sufficient when on the spiritual plane, which we have to be unconsciously feeling."

One can then see the atmosphere that he had created around himself and the thoughts and prayers that occupied his mind. On the day of the second operation an hour before the ordeal I saw him. I gave him Bapu's and Rajaguru's messages and the program of the day. He listened. Then he smiled and said "They have chosen off my head and moustache. All clean gone!" I said, "You will remember that Gurukul also had to lose his and was none the worse for it." Then he said, "Whatever happens to me, Mahesh, don't forget that little doctor. Bapu's autographed photograph has him!" If someone would forget the cook he owed, then would C. F. A. forget his debt to the doctor. I am ashamed to say that I had not carried the photograph with me, but now his debt shall be paid, but he was already feeling the effect of the medicine he had been given, and so heard "Now I go to sleep with my God."

Then every day I saw him with the Bishop of Calcutta, but we rarely engaged him in a talk. "It is a blessing to have you here," he would say, and just close his eyes, or sometimes he would ask the Bishop to pour. He knew that a dear friend Dr. Pann had, like me, gone from farther South to be with him during the ordeal. He used to see him with the Bishop and me, but had not the strength to talk with him. So on the evening before the last he called me and said, "I hope to be better tomorrow and so be able to talk to Pann. Tell him" that it was not to be. Those words were the last words I heard from his lips, for on the last day he was in a semi-conscious condition. But there were no dreams or signs of pain on his serene face which when he slipped into the Eternal showed the stamp of the "Peace that passeth all understanding".

### III

Though he cramped about like a wandering Jew and was lame, there and everywhere, he found time for writing numerous books. As early as 1905 he declared that "few things have passed me more than the false and unmeaning poetic groans of the Hindu religion" by some of the Missionaries, and accused the Church in India of "an un-Christian lack of sympathy with what was good and noble" (*North India—Handbook of English Church Relations*). He explores the Missionary to shed his 'superstition' and his 'Schizophrenia', and tells them "As those who desire to be out in heart and soul with the people of the land, we must not expect or even wish them to approximate to our standard of living, but must continually expect and wish ourselves to approximate to theirs." "There is," he adds, "a veritable sea of thought and labor and struggle to be lived as well as a veritable language." But he still talks in the back of "rob address in the flesh". This phase did

not last long. Came the years of fruitful companionship with the late Sri S. K. Radha and the Post and Month Zakariiah. He studied the Upanishads, left the Cambridge Mission, and associated himself closely with the Post's work. In a beautiful manuscript on Month Zakariiah he describes how he, a devoted follower of Christ, and the Month, a devoted follower of Mahatma, met together from day to day adding to each other's spiritual treasure, but without thought of either converting the other to his faith.

In his *What I Owe to Christ*, which may be called his spiritual testament and which was the ripe fruit of years of experience, he declares his final faith.

"Such an intimate and devoted companionship between a Christian Missionary and a Hinduism, without the least thought of conversion, was by no means common at that time. There might have been some danger of counterfeiting on the part of other Missionaries. But Bapu's (Radha's) friendship at this point stood me in good stead, for he was well known all over India as having no sympathy with proselytizing methods, and I too were more to share with him that conviction. Lord Radha and the leading Indian Christians in Delhi expressed the strong opinion that such relations carrying with it the language of a true Christian life was worth all the propaganda preaching in the world. . . . 'Christ,' said would say to me, 'I find a difficult conversion to read St. Paul's Epistles. He is like you Rajaguru—always trying to have someone to his own point of view and' companionship was and had to make one progress'. Christ Himself is free from such forced methods to obtain nations."

The son of a Parliamentarian father, he had earned life by declaring that he could not possibly believe in eternal punishment, and that it was no longer possible for him to remain the Holy Communion side by side with the poison, and he ended up with the faith quoted above, declared a few years ago.

In politics, too, he had had a difficult inheritance. His father held firmly to the view of India as "a British possession" whose destiny had been entrusted by Providence to the British. "At times," he confesses, "it became painfully evident how deep the fibres (of this inheritance) had gone, and how hard it was to eradicate them completely." But a few years in India were enough to make him sound out for full freedom from the foreign yoke. In his book on Month Zakariiah, he summarizes some of the documents he used to have with the Missionary. "Don't you see," he would say to him, "we have no intervening power in our own country? Does not the presence of an intervening power in India only stir up greater strife? Have not the two communities got to settle their own differences without the interference of an outside party?" Then he says "I had very often spoken to him of the evils

I was to be coherent in foreign rule; and I had put forward very strongly the idea that India should govern herself independently, and not to be tied any longer by the straps of a Government many thousands of miles away. This anomaly of the foreign and distant administration had always seemed to me preposterous."

But his outstanding contribution was an essay on independence wherein he made out a strong plea for a declaration of Indian independence. He declares that it can break not a nation's delay, and leave his theme on two fundamental reasons of India in his Government of England: "Subjection for a long time to a foreign rule is one of the most potent causes of national deterioration," and India: "This is a terrible fact of history to be faced" and C. F. A. "Any further continuance in a state of dependence within the British Empire would appear to mean an increasing measure of national deterioration. We must therefore wake and shake ourselves free." Then there is the second reason which drives us Indians to the horns of a dilemma: "To withdraw the British Government from a country like India which is dependent on it, and which we have made incapable of depending on anything else, would be the most susceptible of all conceivable crimes, and might possibly cause the most widespread of all conceivable calamities." Thus, he declares, is a vicious circle—perpetual dependence, perpetual subjection, perpetual dependence. India must shake herself free, Gandhiji had given the motto, and complete non-cooperation with the foreign rule is a non-violent manner is the only remedy. "The sentence about subjection," said C. F. A., "ought to be written on the heart of every Indian with all the illumination it implies. (And the illumination is more deeply felt, there is no hope" of the remedy being worked.

It was the death of this unique friend of India that Hindu, Mussalman, Christian—Indian and English—had assembled on the 5th of April to mourn at the St. Paul's Cathedral in Calcutta. The servants and butlers and chauffeurs who worked daily about his body knew that it was a friend of the poor who had passed away, and they too shared the grief of the rest.

Servigan 3-4-40

M. D

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By David Christie Douglas

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## Notes

### A True Friend of the Poor

In the death of C. F. Andrews not only England, not only India, but humanity has lost a true son and servant. And yet his death is a deliverance from care and a testimony of his success on this earth. He will live through close thousands who have reached themselves by personal contact or contact with his writings. In my opinion Charles Andrews was one of the greatest and best of Englishmen. And because he was a good son of England he became also a son of India. And he did it all for the sake of humanity and for his Lord and Master Jesus Christ. I have not known a better man or a better Christian than C. F. Andrews. India borrowed on him the title of Dadasaheb. He deserved it because he was a true friend of the poor and down-trodden in all climes.

Servigan, 3-4-40 (Statement in the press)

### Andrew's legacy

Nobody probably knew Charles Andrews as well as I did. Charles was pure—master—in him. When we met in South Africa, we simply met as brothers and remained as such to the end. There was no distance between us. It was not a friendship between an Englishman and an Indian. It was an unbreakable bond between two seekers and servants. But I am not giving my reminiscences of Andrews, noted as they are. I want Englishmen and Indians, while the memory of the death of this servant of England and India is still fresh, to give a thought to the legacy he has left for us both. There is no doubt about his love for England being equal to that of the tallest of Englishmen, nor can there be any doubt of his love for India being equal to that of the tallest of Indians. He said as he laid from which he was never to rise, "Mighty, Swamy is coming." Both Englishmen and Indians can make it come if they will. Andrews was so strong in the present rulers and most Englishmen whose opinions carry weight. He was known to every politically-minded Indian. At the present moment I do not wish to think of English methods. They will be forgotten, but not one of the heroic deeds of Andrews will be forgotten as long as England and India live. If we really love Andrews' memory we may not have hate as we for Englishmen, of whom Andrews was among the best and the noblest. It is possible, quite possible for the best Englishmen and the best Indians to meet together and never to separate till they have evolved a formula acceptable to both. The legacy left by Andrews is worth the effort. This is the thought that rules me while I contemplate the bright face of Andrews and what unnumberable deeds of love he performed so that India may take her independent place among the nations of the earth.

Servigan, 3-4-40



## How Not to Do It

Fool, Ranga, is a co-worker whom I have had the pleasure of knowing for a long time. He is brave and good-natured, but he has the knack of often saying things he ought not to and doing wrong things in the wrong time. He sent me a telegram when he had decided to break the order of non-violence served upon him. He knew that he was under discipline. If he had left me the time, I should have asked him to obey the order to punish himself in his place, Madhubole. By compliance he would have shown a fine spirit of discipline and order he would be doing constructive work in his place and earning the privilege of giving the civil disobedience badge. As it is, in my opinion he has harmed the cause and done no good to himself or anybody. He has harmed the cause by setting a bad example to those who look up to him for guidance. If I could persuade him, I would certainly advise him to inform the authorities that he had committed a breach of internal discipline for which he was sorry and that, if he was discharged, he would gladly proceed to Madhubole and remain there till the order of non-violence was withdrawn. I wrote him on my sheet, if he followed my advice, he would help me and help the country's cause.

Sreyang, 7-4-40

M. K. G.

## CHAKRA — SWARAJ — AHIMSA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent asks now that civil disobedience is in the air I want once more, even at the risk of repeating myself, to stress as a single article my argument favouring that there is a vital connection between the charkha, Swaraj, and ahimsa. I gladly make the attempt.

The spinning wheel represents to me the hope of the masses. The masses lost their freedom, such as it was with the loss of the charkha. The charkha supplemented the agriculture of the villagers and gave it dignity. It was the friend and saviour of the widow. It kept the villagers from idleness. For the charkha meted all the interior and domestic requirements — spinning, weaving, washing, drying and mending. These in their turn kept the village carpenter and the blacksmith busy. The charkha enabled the seven hundred thousand villages to become self-contained. With the loss of the charkha went the other village industries, such as the oil press. Nothing took the place of these industries. Therefore the villages were deprived of their varied occupations and their creative juices and what little wealth they brought them.

The analogy of the other countries in which too many handicrafts were destroyed will not serve as because, whereas the villagers there had some compensating advantages, India's villages had practically none. The colonised countries of the West were exploiting other nations. India is herself an exploited country.

Hence, if the villagers are to come into their own, the most natural thing that suggests itself is the revival of the charkha and all it means.

The revival cannot take place without an army of willing leaders of intelligence and patriotism working with a single mind in the villages to spread the message of the charkha and bring a ray of hope and light into their featureless spots. This is a mighty effort as co-operation and whole education of the masses type. It brings about a solemn and more revolutionary like the silent but sure and life-giving revolution of the charkha.

Twenty years' experience of charkha work has convinced me of the correctness of the argument here advanced by me. The charkha has served the poor Muslims and Hindus as almost an equal measure. Nearly five crores of rupees have been put into the pockets of these lakhs of village artisans without loss and commotion.

Hence I say without hesitation that the charkha must lead us to Swaraj in terms of the masses belonging to all faiths. The charkha restores the villages to their rightful place and abolishes distinctions between high and low.

But the charkha cannot bring Swaraj, in fact it will not move, unless the nation has faith in non-violence. It is not enough enough. Persons yearning for freedom are apt to look down upon the charkha. They will look in vain to find it a history book. Lovers of liberty are filled with the zeal to fight and smash the foreign ruler. They ignore all the rest to him and are true to themselves. They are masters of countries having gained their freedom through war of blood. The charkha decried of violence seems an utterly alien ideal.

In 1930 the lovers of the liberty of India were introduced to non-violence as the only and sure means to Swaraj and to the charkha as a symbol of non-violence. The charkha found its proved place on the national flag in 1931. But non-violence had not gone deep into the heart of India, and so the charkha never came into its own. It will never come into its own unless the vast body of Congressmen develop a living faith in non-violence. When they do so they will, without needing any arguments, discover for themselves that there is no other symbol of non-violence than the charkha, and that without its universalisation there will be no viable expression of non-violence. It is common ground that without non-violence there can be no non-violent disobedience. My argument may be false, my facts may be faulty. But holding the views I do, let me proclaim that without faithfulness of the revolutionaries persuaded by me I simply cannot declare civil disobedience.

Sreyang, 7-4-40

## Madhusudan Gandhi

By S. Radhakrishnan. (New Edition) Pp. 5-10-0. Foreign P. No. Available at Sreyang Office-Poona 4, and 67 & 68 Queen's Road, Bombay 2.

# *Harijan*

Apr. 13

1940

## ALL ON TRIAL

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"My immediate object in writing to you is to draw your attention to the activities of the Khilafat. What has taken place in Lahore is well known to you. The Khilafat movement has been declared to be an unlawful association. I enclose a synopsis of the writings and speeches of Abul Kalam. They must have been brought to your notice before. Now I have marked the portions which show that it is a movement directly opposed to non-violence of which you are an apostle. It is stated that the law may be reserved. If that happens, we will witness it to the what appears to me to be an impossible attitude adopted by the Congress—creating deadlock in areas provinces out of doors. The British have no doubt been the very beginning adopted the policy of divide and rule, but the policy adopted by the Congress has contributed no less to the British policy on the support of the Muslims. The suggestion of a violent movement like that of the Khilafat falls within the special responsibilities of the Governor under Section 51 (1) (a), but the Governor may refuse from adopting such a course for the simple reason that it may lead to the disruption of the present country and the addition of an English province to the areas in which the constitution has already been suspended. If the law is reserved, Hindu and Sikh organisations will be forced to the same laws as that of the Muslims. The Akalis assembled at Amritsar the other day resolved to adopt a policy of non-violence to the ruler of their 'land'. If that plan materialises, there will be bloodshed in the land. Can you create a quiet and unexcited observer of the course which will be the necessary result of these movements? What do you propose to do to prevent such a catastrophe?"

This is an extract from a letter from a well-known Punjabi. He is right in assuming that I must have received Khilafat literature. I am not publishing what my correspondent has sent. I am studying the papers and hope to be able as soon as possible to give a resume of the literature in my possession. There is no doubt that it is a military and violent organisation. No Government can allow private military organisations to function without embroiling public peace. I am quite sure that the Punjab Government will not permit the Khilafat organisation to be revived in its original form. I quite agree with my correspondent that, if the Khilafat are permitted to function as before, the Sikhs and others will have to be treated likewise. This cannot but lead to a clash.

My correspondent, however, suggests that, if the law is reserved, "we will attribute it to what appears to us to be an impossible attitude

adopted by the Congress—creating a deadlock in areas provinces out of doors." I am unable to subscribe to the view. The Congress organisations had nothing to do with the communal tension. They were as honourable persons against the British Government making India a independent country over the responsible hands of the elected provinces which was supposed to be autonomous and reserved to other subjects acts in connection with the war. The negotiations were the least and the middle way the Congress could have taken. But events have perched the step on other grounds too. Communal tensions would have increased if the Congress movement had continued. So long as the Congress remains as non-violent policy, it cannot diminish the efforts of the country except with the willing consent of the vast majority of the people. Most majority through the better but that are absent. If I have my way with the Congress, I would not allow it to hold power with the aid of the British bayonet. I did not hesitate to express my dissent publicly when the Congress members were elected to make use of the police and even the military to suppress public violence. They were bound to see that if they were to remain in power. My point was that, having suppressed violence as they were bound to, the Congress might have made a public declaration that it had not attained non-violent control over the people and that therefore, consistently with its policy, it should abstain.

But I fear that in holding this view I am in a minority of one. My non-violence is not enhanced with the effort to discipline the British Government. Such non-violence would be poor stuff hardly deserving the name. Therefore, if I can help it, there will be no Congress military without a substantial communal settlement. I am quite clear that real independence is impossible without a consistent non-violent discipline. I am equally clear that there is hope of India gaining real independence if the Congress will refuse to compromise on it and will adhere to the means and for so doing dare to wonder in the wilderness.

The Khilafat matter is no matter at all. As a symptom of a deeper disease it is a poison. To bring non-violence and non-violence as a simple threat, but it is no remedy. It merely multiplies the evil. If I had my way, I would ask the people to meet the Khilafat violence with non-violence. But from the papers and the correspondence before me, I observe that the people with genuine protestation against the danger, real or imaginary. That means the consolidation of existing subunits, supplemented perhaps by private detective preparations. I am concerned in caution.

I have not discussed the terrible toll of deaths the Khilafat had to pay. My sympathies are wholly with the bereaved families. I say nothing about the shooting. A special unhappy

is imparting into the whole after. If the tragedy leads to a surrender of hearts, wherever the finding of the Communists, it will not have been wasted in vain.

Seragam, 5-4-46

### A HUMBLE TRIBUTE

Many tributes have been paid and will continue to be paid to the personality and work of Charles Andrews. I had the privilege of knowing him from my early years. His kindly eyes and smile which were but an outer of the loving heart that beat within his breast will always remain with those who came in contact with him. It is rarely that one can get along any person that he or she never speaks a harsh word to or of anyone. But it is true of Charles. I have seen him return from interviews with officials whose heads were had been bent to him and about those whom he loved. But we never ever entered his heart, and he knocked upon and again at the doors of those who misunderstood him, his profounding love for India, and the burning desire that his England should do justice for her. Many instances come to my mind of his kindness and generosity. Hundreds of young men owe their education to his help. On more than one occasion he has returned to our home bereft of his coat and detached with two because he felt that some poor hill-man carrying a heavy load on his back needed the garment more than he did. Money given to him for something he needed himself has often fulfilled another's want. And always these unselfish acts were performed with the utmost privacy. Trust would come to his eyes when he heard of oppression or injustice anywhere, and his eyes brighter was one of his greatest attributes.

With his unique career at Cambridge of which University he was a triple fan, and his facile pen, he was told by an eminent divine that he was throwing away a brilliant future to the Church of England by coming to India. "The highest office here can be yours with your qualifications." The simple answer given was "India calls." And India never ceased to call him. While he loved his own country with a true devotion, I always felt he was happier in Indian homes and how many that have loved to have him and wanted to him will miss one who through all these years has been such a loyal friend.

His death has left an aching void which it will not be possible to fill. Rarely are Englishmen able to identify themselves as he did with those whose sorrows stem from or from the natural pain of new nations with England.

Respectful in pain and may the faintest memory of a dedicated life enable us to give ourselves in greater and greater measure for the service of suffering humanity.

Seragam, 5-4-46

Asad Kazi

### A CHINESE VISION

All foreigners of note that visit India are usually drawn to Seragam. Rarely is one who does more than Pandit Jawaharlal to make the status of India in the eyes of the world. And with his burning interest in world affairs he never seems to emphasize the necessity for us, Indians concerned we may be in our own struggle to view the same in the light of a larger struggle for a new order. By his visit to China he has brought that land and its problems very near to us. Many Chinese friends have come and brought these messages of good will. The other day a devoted student of the great Chinese leader Sun Yat Sen came to pay his homage to Gandhi, armed with a number of personal questions.

"Do you believe that the British, knowing them as you do, will give you independence without a fight?" he commenced.

"It all depends," replied Gandhi. "I do not think they would want to have a fight if they were conscious of our strength. But why they do not let out strength—

"Have you any means other than civil disobedience to enforce your will?"

"Yes, if we had an unconquerable spirit, the British Government would not be able to resist us."

"You are aware that in China we have paid heavily for ours. We have had to suffer 25 years of civil war. Might not India have to suffer the same horrors if the British withdraw?"

"It is impossible to say definitely what will happen. It is, however, an accuracy that there should be universal war. I imagine conditions in China were different. The whole population there was fired with the spirit of revolt. Here we in our seven hundred thousand villages do not fly at each other's throats. There are no sharp divisions between us. But non-violence applied to large masses of mankind is a new experiment in the history of the world. I am buoyed up by my faith in its efficacy, the millions may not have caught that faith, and it may be, that civil war will be the price we have to pay for our liberty. But if we are truly non-violently against the British, I am sure there will be no civil war."

"After 25 years of civil war in China we have now found one person to represent us in our Government. Is it not possible that the Indian people will need someone more wanted than you with your spiritual leadership?"

"If there is civil war, it will have proved my bankruptcy. A substitute will then be the need."

"In the event of Indian independence would India develop along republican lines? Is democracy suited to the character of the Indian people?"

"These are problematical questions and it is difficult to say definitely one way or the other. If we resolve non-violently, democracy will not

only run as but we shall represent the true democracy in the world."

"If the British withdrew, could you protect yourselves?"

"Yes, if both Hindus and Muslims evolve non-violently."

"Is it true to say that the majority of Indians of the upper class do lip loyalty only to nationalism and in their heart of hearts want British rule?"

"I am of opinion that the vast majority does not want British rule. They want freedom from foreign domination."

"If the British withdrew, would you keep any Englishmen here?"

"Yes, if they will transfer their allegiance to us and if they will serve India with their proficiency, their technical knowledge and powers of research."

"Would you receive the help of a third party to free you from your yoke?"

"Never. We have to find ourselves through our own inner strength, otherwise we must fail. Any assistance from outside help must of necessity be weak."

"The British are a hardworking nation, are they not? Have you anything with which to bargain with them?"

"Very little. And in any case I would not bargain for my liberty."

"Do you believe conscience can make a man good?"

"Yes, but it can make a coward of him too."

"Can religion make a man moral?"

"Yes, but it may be real religion, that which issues not from within with a spirit of love and service."

"In China we used to think that communists would arrive like a flood, but it has now got a definite hold. Can the same be said of India?"

"I may say that communists have not made much headway yet in India, and I somehow feel that the character of our people will not easily lend itself to communist methods."

"Is it true that an Indian is a Hindu or a Muslim from an as Indian afterwards?"

"It is not true, generally speaking, though neither will all his religion for his country."

"Religion plays no part in our political life," said the Chinese friend, "and this applies to Chinese Muslims too. Is India likely to develop more as an Eastern nation, or will the bond with the English be a difficult thing to get rid of? It seems to me that British modes of life and thought have taken deep root here."

"You are right where there are concessions, but you will find, if you were to go there, that the villages which are the real India, are wholly untouched. All the same, English ways and customs, their methods of administration, language and thought have had a devastating effect on so-called educated India. And this cultural conquest may perhaps never be wholly got rid of."

"India is a nation of so many races. Do you think that should prove to be an obstacle to unity?"

"None whatever."

"It is strange how we and you have the same problems, social and otherwise."

"Yes, and that is why we are really so close to each other—despite all distance." And here Gandhi related, as he often likes to relate, wisdom from his vast experiences, how well he knew the Chinese colony in South Africa, how he was their lawyer, what close contact he had with them, how they became his comrades in the fight for vindication of the rights of Easterners there. He laughingly treated the Chinese friend of the proverbial "unsurmountability" of the Chinese as well as of the Japanese. He told him how Dr. Joseph Adams had the good fortune to have a Japanese monk at the moment—"quiet, disciplined, kind, but with a characteristic reserve which does not enable any of us to know his real mind. It may be a good thing, it adds to his dignity, it certainly adds to his peace of mind, and he is unattached, untroubled, by domestic difficulties and quarrels. I felt the same with the Chinese friends in South Africa. I addressed them hundreds of times. I made no distinction between them and Indians, but I always felt that your people had lost a well earned character. You are so highly cultured and perhaps, therefore, artificial. Take your art"—and Gandhi pointed to a lovely picture of hand-woven silk, framed and hanging on the wall, which the Chinese master of goodwill had given him recently—

"It is a work of beauty and joy, but that art is unattractive to me, but I do not mean this in a bad sense. I have wanted my Chinese co-workers and they were loyal and I am much drawn to China and the Chinese."

"May I ask one or two more important questions before leaving?" said the Chinese friend.

"Do you expect to see India independent?"

"Yes, of course," came the reply in so unceremonious terms "I want to see India free in my lifetime. But God may not consider me fit enough to see the dream of life fulfilled. Then I shall guard, not with Him but with myself."

"But without an army how can you ever succeed?"

"Well, we have done so thus far. We are getting our goal without having fired a single shot. It will be a miracle if we succeed. But there is nothing to make me doubt the efficacy of the weapon of non-violence. Whether, however, we have the necessary degree of it within us has yet to be proved."

"Is there hatred against the British?"

"Yes—also—but if we remain non-violent, hatred will die as everything dies from disease."

"It is very hard for us to get rid of hatred against Japan."

"You—it will take generations for you—as you are using violence against them. I do not

my that you should not have defended yourselves violently, but under those circumstances hatred cannot die."

"Are the British eager to deal with those any other people?"

"They are as easy as terms of non-violence, to deal with as against the British not having dealt with anyone else. I cannot say from personal experience. All congresses of India have insisted to what is noble in Indian culture and in Indian nature, the Muslims included. I believe the Germans would have done likewise. It may even be that the English reaction has been less than what others may have been because of their mentality and colour prejudice."

"If Gandhi had the time, there would have been more congresses, but before dawn into the car the viceroy said, 'My half hour has been the fulfillment of a long cherished dream. I shall never forget it.'"

Satyagrah, 7-4-40

A. K.

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

### A Damaged Dilemma

Q. You have rightly said that no one who has not remained uncontaminated in every shape and form can take part in Satyagraha. Supposing a Congressman's wife does not share his convictions in the spirit and want for him bring Hitlerism into his house, what should he do—convert his wife into conformity with his views, renounce her or renounce the Satyagraha struggle?

A. No reason for concern your wife. You should let her go her way and you should go yours. That would mean her having a separate kitchen for herself and, if she likes, also a separate room. Thus there is no question of renouncing the struggle.

### Teachers and Satyagraha

Q. When just should a teacher who has faith in your cause make war play in the coming struggle, that of an active Satyagrahi or a passive Satyagrahi only?

A. The data given by you are insufficient, but from what you have given I can say that you should play the passive part.

### State Price Mandate

Q. What is the duty, in the event of civil disobedience, of members of Price Mandate in the States and the rest of the people of the States?

A. If civil disobedience is started by the Congress, it will be as against the British Government. The people of the States cannot and ought not to offer any civil disobedience to the State House. It follows that the Price Mandate will remain unaffected by the Congress civil disobedience. But individuals of the States can, if they wish, join the civil disobedience campaign in British India. They can, therefore, send in their names to the nearest Congress committee outside their State.

### The Mass Enquiry

Q. Which is the more essential requirement in your mind for starting civil disobedience—your mass urge which may make you fight even single-handed, or the fulfillment of your conditions by Congressmen? What will be the position if they are prepared and you have not felt the call?

A. There can be no mass urge if my conditions are not fulfilled. It is possible that there may be apparent fulfillment of conditions but there may be no mass response in fact. In such a case I cannot declare civil disobedience, but it will be open to the Congress to repudiate me and declare civil disobedience independently of me.

### Non-Congressmen

Q. Will those who are not now active Congress members or active Secretaries be asked to join the movement? If so, how?

A. They should become Congress members and have their names registered as Satyagrahis.

### A. B. C. Chances

Q. Why should not all Satyagrahis ask to be included in "C" Class only?

A. There is a great deal to be said in favour of your suggestion.

### Secrecy

Q. You should give your opinion clearly about secrecy during the last struggle there was a great deal of secrecy to prevent the authorities.

A. I am quite clear that secrecy does no good to our cause. It certainly does joy to those who were able successfully to outwit the police. Their cleverness was unadmitted, but Satyagraha is more than cleverness. Secrecy taken over from its dignity. Secretaries have no reason to have secret books or secret funds. I am aware that my opinion has not found favour among many comrades. But I have seen no reason to change it. I admit I was lukewarm before. Experience has taught me that I should have been less.

### Damage to Property

Q. You know that many Congressmen openly preached that there was no violence in damaged property, i. e. damaging rails, burning chains when they are not occupied, cutting telegraph poles, burning post boxes, etc.

A. I have never been able to understand this reasoning. It is pure violence. Satyagraha is self-sufficing and not inflicting suffering on others. There is rarely after more violence in burning a mass property than doing any physical injury. Have not so-called Satyagrahis practiced non-resistance to force or coercion of their property? Well has one of my friends said that I have succeeded in teaching disruptive disobedience till at last it has come home to root, but then I have equally failed in teaching people the very difficult art of non-violence. He has also said that as my heart I have put the car before the horse and therefore all my

talk of non-disobedience is folly if not worse. I am not able to give a satisfactory reply to this statement. I am but a poor mortal. I believe in my experiment and in my uttermost sincerity. But it may be that the only thing sadder after my death will be "He could have equally failed."

Satyagrah, 7-4-46

## TWO QUESTIONS FROM AMERICA (By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend writing from America propounds the following two questions:

"1. Granted that Satyagrah is capable of winning India's independence, what are the chances of its being accepted as a principle of State policy in a free India? In other words, would a strong and independent India rely on Satyagrah as a method of self-preservation, or would it lapse back to seeking refuge in the age-old tradition of war, however glorious its character? To resolve the question on the basis of a purely theoretic problem, is Satyagrah likely to be accepted only as an uphill battle, when the phenomenon of anarchy is fully effective, as it is likely to be the instrument of a sovereign authority which has neither the need nor the scope of behaving on the principle of anarchy?"

2. Suppose a free India adopts Satyagrah as an instrument of State policy, how would she defend herself against probable aggression by another sovereign State? To resolve the question on the basis of a purely theoretic problem, What would be the Satyagrahi non-violence in case the invading army of the invader? What kind of resistance can be offered the aggressor before a common area of action, such as the air and water, is India between the Indian Government and the British Government, is established? Or should the Satyagrahi withhold fire action until after the aggressor has taken over the country?"

The questions are abstractly theoretical. They are also premature for the reason that I have not mastered the whole technique of non-violence. The experiment is still in the making. It is not even in its advanced stage. The nature of the experiment requires one to be satisfied with one step at a time. The distant scene is not for him to see. Therefore my answers can only be speculative.

In truth, as I have said before, now we are not having unadorned non-violence even in our struggle to win independence.

As to the first question, I feel that the chances of non-violence being accepted as a principle of State policy are very dark, so far as I can see at present. If India does not accept non-violence as her policy after winning independence, the second question becomes superfluous.

But I may state my own individual view of the potency of non-violence. I believe that a State can be administered on a non-violent basis if the vast majority of the people are non-violent. So far as I know, India is the only country which has a possibility of being such a

State. I am conducting my experiment on that faith. Supposing, therefore, that India attained independence through pure non-violence, India could retain it too by the same means. A non-violent man or society does not anticipate or provide for attacks from without. On the contrary such a person or society firmly believes that nobody is going to attack them. If the worst happens, there are two ways open to non-violence. To yield possession but non-cooperate with the aggressor. Thus supposing that a modern edition of Nero descended upon India, the representatives of the State will let him in but tell him that he will get no assistance from the people. They will prefer death to submission. The second way would be non-violent resistance by the people who have been trained in the non-violent way. They would offer themselves unarmed as fodder for the aggressor's cannons. The underlying belief in either case is that even a Nero is not devoid of a heart. The unexpected spectacle of violence was upon rows of men and women simply dying rather than surrender as the will of an aggressor was shamelessly made him and his soldiers. Practically speaking there will be probably no greater loss to men than if forcible resistance was offered, there will be no expenditure on armaments and fortifications. The non-violent training received by the people will add unconsciously to their moral height. Such men and women will have shown personal heroism of a type far superior to that shown by armed warriors. In such case the heavy costs in dying, not in killing. Lastly, there is no such thing as defeat in non-violent resistance. That such a thing has not happened before in my career to my speculation. I have drawn no responsible picture. History is replete with instances of individual non-violence of the type I have mentioned. There is no warrant for saying or thinking that a group of men and women cannot by sufficient training be non-violently as a group or nation. Indeed the normal state of the experience of mankind is that men sometimes or other live on. From which fact I infer that it is the law of love that rules mankind. Had violence, as I have said, we should have become extinct long ago. And yet the tragedy of it is that the so-called civilised men and nations conduct themselves as if the beam of sword was violence. It gives me confidence yet to make experiments proving that love is the supreme and only law of life. Much evidence to the contrary cannot shake my faith. Even the mixed non-violence of India has supported it. For if it is not enough to convince an unbeliever, it is enough to induce a formerly cruel to live a virtuous life.

Satyagrah, 8-4-46

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Bombay 2

## SPINNING WHEEL IN CHINA

The revival of handicraft and handweaving in China under the aegis of war has already been alluded to in these columns. The January number of the American magazine *Asia* contains an article entitled "Tale of a Spinning Wheel" by Loren S. C. Burdick, which describes another effort in the same direction. The writer is a Weensman participating in the movement of the Chinese Government, on the organization of Industrial Co-operatives in China. He has been a professor of sociology at the University of Nanjing (now removed to the inland territory of Chongking) and has been granted leave for the new work he has been called upon to undertake. Many of the factories situated on the west coast of China have been destroyed by the Japanese invaders, and the Chinese have to fall back upon hand production for many of their urgent needs. A plan was thus made in January 1946 for making wool blankets by simple hand methods. In course of his investigations for a suitable spinning wheel which was the first necessity in the new programme, the writer chanced upon an improved model which had been completed by a Chinese by improving the spindle already over the mule wheel. Further improvements were carried out in the structure of the wheel so make it more efficient. He spent the rest of winter here needed for blankets (120 thousand) is now for the coming winter 7,500 wheels and 250 handlooms were needed. Further work in the direction is then described.

"The local women soon learned that with the new wheel it was easier to produce garments, greater production could be obtained and the improvement the new wheel was much easier to learn to operate. Higher wages women could produce two yards of yarn per day. Consequently the local weaving women decided to provide an effective weaving co-operative with the new type of wheel. Women living with their families and others who remained in the towns often will be supplied with the wheels on condition that they spin for the blanket programme. They will be trained in the use of wheels on condition that such are loaned to others. Later, more of these women will be organized into spinning coops. Fifty men spun the weaving combs were trained also and are to improve the spinning so that the work will be kept up to standard.

The shortcomings reported for making 'dykes' (spindles) is expected from the treatment of the Japanese already described by the Chinese. The Japanese handlooms have not yet been able to produce the narrow Coastal coast and towns have been laid waste by the Japoff soldiers still occupy unoccupied. And it is here that the revival of the handloom industry is going on.

"The women who spin and the men who weave are scattered in mountain villages beyond the attack of Japanese bombers. The machine crop that makes the new wheels is not set in the country on the side of a hill. The carpenter and mechanics who turn the pile of logs and scrap iron, delivered by boat, into functioning spinning wheels have plenty of oil and machine. The strong brown beds of the

workers going to the town of 'Weil' had the logs cut, with the logs cut. The C. I. C. has made them a new way in which they can use their skill and strength to help save their fellow countrymen.

Efforts are being made to develop more or duplicate some sort of small scale carded equipment from English models. The new wheel is also reported to produce better yarn than the mule wheel than from machine-carded wool. Admittedly this is an effort made necessary by war conditions, and whether it will continue even in peace times remains to be seen. Readers will please not ask further questions about the wheel, as it is impossible to get any more information or to prepare a wheel referred to here from China. The importance of the activity lies for us primarily in the example it provides us of determined cooperative effort to which even women and children participate, inspired with a desire to render some service to their country. It also teaches us the fact that rural surroundings and rural handicrafts are proving the last resort of an overworked nation. As the writer of another article in the same issue of *Asia* says:

"It is interesting that today, when China is being completely taken over with determination, she is trying to outdo the world, not with force and machine guns, but with the idea of bringing together the various people by helping them in industry, in education and health, and in the possession of some of the better things of life. The industrial co-operative, instead of the desperately maintained lot, is now ready to be the better way."

And what womanly and vigorous the volunteer men and women who read the country-side improving up hundreds of their co-operatives the knowledge of the new techniques of spinning and weaving! Here is a description which bears reproduction:

"Our first class to learn on the way up was the new type spinning wheel which we carried, which would gather groups of mountain womenfolk. Spinning in the locality is done by the older women, and a machine which enabled one person to spin two dollars instead of half a cent in one day was certainly some improvement. However here, we found, also had the other machine known. Two women stood in a little distance from each other, with the very round their hands, and passed the shuttle through it by hand. The work was not good, a heavy woven article. Most of these people passed. Spinning are already becoming common in the use of both the improved spinning wheel and the improved loom. To them it is a real advance in civilization, and their teacher is tried to be able to report the knowledge he acquired in no system, industrial class in Kowloon. He was a lad from the Kowloon valley whose people had lost all in the earthquake. He had drifted to Kowloon, and had been taken in there by the natives and made a trade. Filled with the missionary spirit, he was then to report what he had learned, and the audience is warmly appreciative.

How much more primitive and underdeveloped we need the the production of a programme which is well as not a step was made but for some of us is also calculated to form the basis of a new economic order based on peace.

# MY POSITION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Newspapers *Lokmat* and *Khas* has, in its columns of no credit to *Qand-e-Azam*, put some questions which I gladly answer. I want to state to my statement that I have never spoken to anybody on the communal question as a Hindu. I have no authority. Whenever I have spoken to anybody I have spoken as a Congressman, but often only as an individual. No Congressman can even the President can always speak as a representative. But things have always been transacted on this planet by persons belonging to different organisations coming together and talking informally in their non-representative capacity. I fear that even the answer I am about to give must be taken as representing nobody but myself. In the present instance I have reason to say that probably I do not represent any single member of the Working Committee. I am answering as a peace-maker, as a friend (and may I say brother) of the Mussalmans.

As a man of non-violence I cannot possibly resent the proposed partition of the Muslims of India really meant upon it. But I can never be a willing party to the transaction. I would employ every non-violent means to prevent it. For it means the undoing of centuries of work done by numberless Hindus and Muslims to live together as one nation. Partition means a painful setback. My whole soul rebels against the idea that Hindians and Islam represent two antagonistic cultures and doctrines. To speak to such a doctrine is for me denial of God. For I believe with my whole soul that the God of the Quran is also the God of the Gita and that we are all, no matter by what name designated, children of the same God. I must rebel against the idea that millions of Indians who were Hindus the other day changed their nationality on adopting Islam as their religion.

But that is my belief. I cannot force it down the throats of the Muslims who think that they are a different nation. I refuse, however, to believe that the right course of Muslims will say that they have nothing in common with their Hindu and other brethren. Their mind can only be known by a referendum duly made to them so that they want. The contemplated Constituent Assembly can easily decide the question. Naturally on an issue such as this there can be no arbitration. It is purely and simply a matter of self-determination. I know of no other equitable method of ascertaining the mind of the right course of Muslims.

But the contemplated Constituent Assembly will have the freedom of a conference as an open forum. It cannot do this until the communal question is settled.

I still believe that there can be no *Shaw* by non-violent means without communal unity.

And only unity in Muslims can ultimately bar the way to peaceful freedom.

If then I still talk of civil disobedience, it is because I believe that the Muslim masses want freedom as much as the rest of the population of this country. And amongst that they do not, civil disobedience will be a powerful means of expressing public opinion whether Muslim, Hindu or any other. It will also be an education of world opinion. For I will not embark upon it unless I am, as far as is humanly possible, sure that non-violence will be observed both in spirit and in the letter. I hope the *Newspapers* has no difficulty in believing that whatever is gained by civil disobedience will be shared for all. When India gets the power to frame her own constitution, the Muslims will surely have a decisive voice in shaping their own future. It will not be chosen by, decided by the vote of the majority.

Lastly I suggest to the *Newspapers* that the writer or have the least about the President of the Congress. For they are contrary to the history of our own times. And he was equally at home in suggesting that "the safe objective of the Congress under Mr. Gandhi's leadership can be the revival of Hinduism and the imposition of Hindu culture on all and sundry." My own objective is not the issue is the tangible substance. The objective of the Congress is wholly national, *Harmony* is to be gained by making statements that are incapable of proof. So far as my own objective is concerned, my life is an open book. I claim to represent all the cultures, for my religion, whatever it may be called, demands the fulfilment of all cultures. I am at home wherever I go, for I extend all relations with the same respect as my own.

Signature 9-4-40

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# HARIJAN

1943

Editor: MANABENDU GHOSH

Vol. VII, No. 10

POONA — SATURDAY, APRIL 25, 1940

[ ONE ANGA ]

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### Danger of Delay

Q. You say you will not launch civil disobedience till Congressmen are fully trained to non-violence and disciplined. That is right. But in the meantime the country is being bled white. Increased railway fares duty on sugar the reduction of sugar-quota prices are only a few instances to quote. In a night to delay the struggle will our best workers be picked off one by one and thus lose the fight without 'strikes a blow'?

A. I can use far more telling instances than you have given for justifying civil disobedience. But civil disobedience is not being delayed for want of justification. It is being delayed for want of preparation. I should be a stupid general if I began the fight in spite of my knowledge that my resources are poor. If the leaders are picked off by the Government without just cause, it would make an mistake in the Congress to fight. I would not accept the mission if I was not ready. The leaders being picked off can do the country no harm. For we know that disciplined jail-going is itself a part of the struggle. Moreover the representation of leaders will use our strength as an organisation. A non-violent organisation needs the equal education and therefore equal stress of all years. That we have not moved on that stage shows our ignorance of the working of non-violence.

### Authorised and Unauthorised Strikes

Q. In your leading article of March 20, you have hoped that passive Bhargava will not interfere with the course of the struggle by "unauthorised strikes of labourers." There is not that cryptic word "preparatory" and nothing more. When I read it first, I did not particularly notice it, but I had to do a lot of re-reading later. Unless a very careful reader or trained to understand your way of thought and expression can it likely to go wrong. One may miss the force of the word "preparatory" and understand it as if you favoured upon all strikes of labourers.

With the recent Ahmedabad fight for a war bonus, no one would be entitled to regard you as an opponent of labourers' strikes as such. The strike in Ahmedabad was called correct, but you had approved of it and the workers received their demands. The work in Ahmedabad

was done methodically. There was proper preparation and working out of labourers' demands, completing of education, full notice and following of the over hundred thousand votes on the question of the strike. I believe that, if after such methodical work a strike cannot be avoided, you will approve of it and only assure yourself that there is no violence.

A. You are right. I consider myself to be an expert in organised strikes. My first successful attempt was made in South Africa under most adverse circumstances. I improved the technique in Ahmedabad. I do not claim to have reached perfection. I know that strikes can be made unworkable. I have demonstrated only unauthorised strikes. The Congress has not passed control over labour. Some Congressmen have. Almost all the strike leaders have their own methods. All of them are not non-violent. Some are ruled by selfish considerations. Some others are unscrupulous. When I therefore, ask for it as last positive, if not stone, unrepentant, I shall use such strikes for the purpose of the struggle. What shape were civil disobedience will take, if it ever comes, I cannot say. But I can say what it will never do if I have anything to do with it. I know that if the Congress had non-violent control over all labour in India the Congress could become far more powerful than it is today. That control will come when the Congress has one policy about labour and has enough workers to give effect to it.

### Unauthorised and Conversion

Q. If the object of the Congress is the legal degree of unauthorised is to give Hindus a status of equality with the rest, is this not achieved by their conversion to Islam? Why does the Independence Pledge advocate the programme of the removal of unauthorised to the Hindus only? Does this not show that the Congress is anxious to maintain a Hindu majority and therefore denies to the Mussalmans their right of conversion?

A. Unauthorised of unauthorised cannot be achieved by the conversion of unauthorised to Islam at any other religion. For it is the so-called Great Hindu who has to end himself of the sin of unauthorised. He can work over the sin only by doing justice, however tardy, to the oppressed. You will thus see why Mussalmans are not invited by the Congress to share the burden with the Hindus. They have conspired on an against the unauthorised. I cannot prevent you from looking at a simple bag

necessary social reforms as a political body to maintain a majority. Tens of thousands of Hindus who are doing penance have no thought of majority. All they want is to do justice to those whom, under the guise of religion, Caste Hindus have reduced to a wretched state of slavery. Lastly, you are hopelessly wrong in suggesting that the Congress denies the right to Muslims to convert "untouchables". The Congress cannot prevent anybody from doing religious work. Whether you will exercise the right in the right manner or wrong is for you to consider.

Savagana, 15-4-40

## PRINCIPALLY EXTRA-VAGANZA

1

In the course of his speech at the recent meeting of the Chamber of Princes, the Maharaja Sahib of Bikaner is reported to have said:

"It has been alleged in Congress circles that the Princes are an imperial creation, that they are vassals of the Crown and have no status apart from the Crown, that the question of the States is a red herring drawn across the path of India's progress for representative purposes, that the problem of the States is a luxury raised by the British Government. I may here be permitted to state that every State, big or small as well, owes their existence to the strong arm of their former rulers and that too before the establishment of the British Empire in India. These claims cannot be dismissed as the airy fancies which grace unfavourable historical facts. If one might point out to all mindless, it is British India which is the creation of the British Government.

The allegation has also been made that the Princes are entirely to the Congress. But that is not a correct statement of the situation. It is the Congress, however, which has of late shown active hostility to the States, and none of its prominent politicians have expressed the view that they do not want the States in the Palestine, and that they would cur the question of the States as if they were scraps of paper and even that they would like to see the States done away with."

### Not an Imperial Creation?

Unfortunately, the kind of extravagance has become but too common of late in Princes' utterances. The denunciation of the Constitutional position of the Princes is seldom to the Parliament Power as "vassalage" or "subservient co-operation", one may in all respect point out, is not of Congress making. It was laid down by the fifty appointed representatives of the very imperialist order to which, the Maharaja Sahib of Bikaner has declared twice without number, the princely order are proud to belong.

As for the other statement to which the Maharaja Sahib took exception, we find the Princes are an imperial creation, the very definition of Indian States in the Government of India Act of 1935 is sufficient. It runs:—

"Indian State means any territory not being part of British India, which the Majesty recognizes as

being such a State, whether designated as a State, or under a name or otherwise."

In other words, their status is made to depend purely on "recognition by His Majesty". The history of British relationship with Princely India is littered with instances of States that were made or unmade, of boundaries being altered to chiefships and vice versa, by a breath of the imperial power according to the desired needs of its policy. Take the case of the Tributary Mahals of Orissa, 26 in number, which collectively cover an area equal to that of an Indian Province and affect the destinies of 46 lakhs of population. We have it on the highest authority that "there was nothing in the nature of the connection of Government with the proprietors that would preclude their being brought under the ordinary provisions of the courts if it should ever be thought desirable," when they first came into collision with the British Government in 1805-1806 on the cession of Orissa by the Marathas. But in the Regulations of 1803 all these States, except Rana, Pal Lahari and Ashmalik "of which no mention was made", were exempted from the British Regulations "on grounds of expediency alone". The process was repeated in C. P. where "second policy supported the establishment... of a succession of Ranyas chiefships as devices in the removal of Maratha ascendancy which the British had finally retained in 1818". And so, every part of the large tract, "in which civil and predatory war had effaced all political landmarks, was placed under some constituted authority, and thus from the wreck there emerged no less than 145 chiefships, which are now recognized and placed under the Government-General's Agents in Central India."

In Kashmir, after a prolonged controversy, in which three members of the Government of Bombay, including Sir Bartle Frere, the then Governor of Bombay, laid it down as their considered and deliberate opinion that Kashmir was British territory, and the Government of India, in their despatch dated 16th April 1864, to the Secretary of State for India, recommended that the matter might be referred for final decision to two officials of the Crown, the decision was in the end decided unanimously. 212 States were newly created, leaving under 12 first and second class States which deeply caused. The principle followed in assigning a particular class to a particular chief was the number of villages he possessed, his income, and his other status. "Every headship was possessing one or two under villages were placed in the sixth and seventh class." It appears in the course of time, of the newly created 212 States three of the lower classes from fifth to seventh gradually disappeared through a process of sub-division of their estates.

1 Subject of the Constitutional Position of the States in India and Caste and the Central Provinces, By Mr. A. C. Lohani I.C.S. (1932) Part II.

2 See Warner's *Political History of India*, p. 504

among them were so numerous and they were reduced to mere prisoners. Some of them were found absolutely incompetent to exercise their powers, and they were all deprived of their powers. [Vide papers regarding King's Commission and paper book Percy Council in Shimla—Saharil (1935), appendices, P. 207.]

Now take the census. The total number of States in The Imperial Gazetteer Vol. IV of 1907 is given as 663. But the last of 1935 contains only 562 States, the smaller figure for 1935 being due chiefly to the reduction of States from 145 to 96 in Central India Agency, from 32 to 24 in Burma, and from 26 to 1 in Assam. Even the powerful Rages of Jodhpur, Bikaner, etc., we find, show a history of variations in their status that are startling.

Further instances can be multiplied. It will thus be seen that the statement that the Princes are an integral creation, is, in a very large number of cases one of the small 562 that comprise Prince's India, literally and humorously true. But the statement is true in another sense too. The Britance has deprived the States' people of their "natural right to have capable and vigorous rulers." The system of rule obtaining in the States today has neither the general confidence of nor the conventional maintenance of the popular system of government, but is, in general, a by-product and consequence of the Imperial system in India.

#### "Strong Arm"—an Illusion

The Maharaja Sahib in his speech referred to the "strong arm" of the successors of some of the present rulers of the States big and small to which, he contended, they owed their existence. Without working in the slightest way to detract from the glory of the house of Bikaner which is admittedly one of the most ancient in Princely India, one may be permitted to note the "is and was" of the Maharaja Sahib's statement. The long treaty between Bikaner and the British Government was concluded on March 9, 1925, the request for Treaty in 1925 being not passed. Under it the latter

"Engaged to protect the personality, state, the Maharaja and his successors agreed to act in collaboration co-operation with the British Government and authorities as necessary. By article 2 the Maharaja and his successors agreed not to commit aggression on anyone."

2. "Even the powerful Rages of Jodhpur and Bikaner etc. were called Rulers by the British Government, since in the latest period, and we know the nature of their tenure. They were bound to attend to succession on the person of the Emperor at the head of a fixed quota of troops, their own countries were and are still subordinated into the hands of their military commands or Thakurs or the revenue lands, on the same principle that prevailed under the Hindu Government in the Empire as a whole." [A Soldier—An Account (Narrative, Geographical and Historical of Orissa paper in Central.)]

By article 2 the British Government undertook to retain in subjection the Thakurs and other noblemen who had received and derived of his authority. The Maharaja undertook to pay all the costs. (Indian news.)

In 1930 the British Resident had made proposals to send forces to Bikaner to assist the chief in reducing the rebellious nobles. The chief was however given to understand that he had no right to call on the British Government for military aid against his disaffected subjects at any future period." (Anderson's Treaties vol. III, p. 317.)

"In 1931 discontent arose, the State was in debt, and conditions of the Maharaja by covering the revenue gave rise to acute unrest. The Thakurs led Bikaner and took refuge in British territory. A British officer was deputed to make enquiries and to adjust the differences between the Maharaja and his nobles."

In 1933, the officers of the State released prisoners, a resident Political Agent was appointed to Bikaner, and the Maharaja was required to conform to terms contracts so as to return to the released officer the power of managing the revenue and of controlling the administration. (Ibid.)

One wonders whether these changes would be welcomed by the Maharaja Sahib under the category of "gradualist historical facts" by which he reasons. But if they are any proofs, it would seem that the fortunes even of the illustrious house of Bikaner have depended less on the "strong arm" of its previous rulers than upon the shifting caprices of the Imperial policy. As the British Commissioner reports observed.

"It is not in accordance with historical facts that when the Indian States came into contact with the British power they were independent. Some were annexed, others were ceded by the British. Through generosity and partnership alone have grown up those strong relations, on which it all turns the States rely for their progress through the privations that are to come. Through generosity is gained such the danger of destruction and annihilation." (British Commissioner Report.)

Simla, 5-9-35

Prasadi

#### Home and Village Doctor

By Joseph Chandra Dasgupta

120 pages, 12 chapters, Calcutta India, of 12 pages, 12 chapters. Price Rs. 3 cloth bound Rs. 4 Indian bound. By V. P. P. K. K. 3 and Rs. 7 respectively. (Published by Khadi Production, 15 College Square, Calcutta. Available at (1) Raygata office—P.O. 9, (2) Raygata office—21 Queen's Road, opp. Marine Loan Station, Building 2 "Every village worker knows English will make it a point to possess a copy," says Dasgupta. Several municipal doctors have spoken highly of the book. "The book," says the author, "has helped in the emergency of war and showed more interest in the various techniques connected with the Khadi Production for the past seven years, according to the first published."

#### Educational Reconstruction

New edition, Price Rs. 3-4-0. Pages 144.

# *Harijan*

Apr. 26

1940

## DANGER SIGNAL

*( By M. K. Gandhi )*

The happenings in Agner are a danger signal, if the facts recited by me are correct. I have no reason to doubt their accuracy. The facts are these: There was a blood exhibition held during the National Week by known workers. The promoters had arranged a series of lectures on the importance of blood and other village industries. The National Flag was hoisted as a signal at these lectures. The audience arrived at a point that a flag having been erected on the campus of the firm had caused annoyance to some of His Majesty's subjects and should be hauled down within an hour. The promoters claimed that the ground was under municipal jurisdiction, and that they had authority from the municipality to hold the exhibition. The protest was of no avail. The flag was unconsciously hauled down by the police and audience prohibited. If the exhibition was held under the permission of the municipality, the workers with the flag was clearly illegal. But apart from the display, the hauling down of the flag was a highly provocative act. An insult made to the one easily led to unexpected conflict. I suggest that the matter is one for the Central authority to investigate. I hope that the Central authority does not want to provide a clash which is highly likely if measures like the Agner one are repeated. It would be deplorable if the non-violence happened.

The promoters telephoned to me for advice immediately the incident happened. Contrary to their expectation I advised the workers to submit to the order. Ordinarily I would not have a person's business in advancing disobedience of such an order. I am the author of the flag. It is dear to me as life. But I do not believe in flag waving. The flag represents unity, non-violence, and identification through the shedding of the highest with the lowliest in the land. Any insult to the flag must have a deep sting on an Indian heart. But today wary as I am, the Madras League has declared its hostility to the flag, those who honour it do not accept the provocative implications of the flag. And the nation is preparing for a vast struggle. In a situation such as this I felt that the best course was to suppress the impulse to answer the insult. I felt that the restraint would be a test of the discipline of the workers in Agner. It would be a lesson to all India in the non-violent technique, and an opportunity for the Central authority to undo what appears to have been a serious mistake.

man with the ordinary practical non-political accuracy of the Congress. It should be remembered that the exhibition had nothing whatsoever to do with the impending struggle. I congratulate the workers on their prompt compliance with my instructions. They have strengthened the Congress by showing their capacity for shrewdest discipline.  
Bengaluru, 26-4-40

## JAIPRAKASH'S PICTURE

*( By M. K. Gandhi )*

The following dash resolution was sent to me by Shri Jaiprakash Narain. He asked me, if I accepted his petition, to put it before the Working Committee at Bangalore.

"The Congress and the country are on the eve of a great national upheaval. The final battle for freedom is soon to be fought. This will happen when the whole world is being shaken by mighty forces of change. Out of the catastrophe of the European War, thoughtful minds everywhere are anxious to create a new world—a world based on the co-operative goodwill of nations and men. At such a time the Congress considers it necessary to state definitely the ideals of freedom for which it stands and for which it is now to create the Indian people to achieve the utmost reality.

The two Indian nations shall work for peace between nations and total rejection of atomism; and for the method of peaceful settlement of national disputes through non-violent means; freely established. It will endeavour particularly to live on the frontiers areas with its neighbours, whether they be great powers or small nations, and shall cover no foreign territory.

The law of the land will be based on the will of the people freely expressed by them. The utmost form of maintenance of order shall be the means and convenience of the people.

The two Indian States shall guarantee full value, dual and total liberty and cultural and religious freedom, provided that there shall be no freedom to overtake by violent the constitution framed by the Indian people through a Constituent Assembly.

The State shall not discriminate in any manner between citizens of the nation. Every citizen shall be guaranteed equal rights. All distinctions of birth and privileges shall be abolished. There shall be no interference either from selected social status or the State.

The political and economic organization of the State shall be based on principles of social justice and economic freedom. While the government shall continue to be the architect of the national independence of every member of society, national independence shall not be an sole objective. It shall not at leading being and the moral and intellectual development of the individual. To this end to secure social justice, the State shall endeavour to promote small scale production owned on by individual or co-operative effort for the equal benefit of all concerned. All large scale collective production shall be gradually brought under collective ownership.

and control, and in that level the State shall begin by nationalizing heavy transport, shipping, mining and the heavy industries. The textile industry shall be progressively nationalized.

The life of the villages shall be reorganized and the villages shall be made self-governing units, self-sufficient in as large a measure as possible. The land laws of the country shall be drastically reformed on the principle that land shall belong to the actual cultivator alone, and that no cultivator shall have more land than is necessary to support his family on a fair standard of living. There will end the vicious system of landlordism on the one hand and tenant bondage on the other.

The State shall protect the interests of the classes, but when there emerges upon the interests of those who have been poor and downtrodden, it shall defend the latter and thus ensure the balance of social justice.

In all State-owned and State-managed enterprises, the workers shall be represented in the management through their elected representatives and shall have an equal share in it with the representatives of the Government.

In the Indian States, there shall be complete democratic re-organization established and in accordance with the principles of abolition of social distinctions and equality between classes, there shall not be any ruler heads of the States or the persons of Rulers and Rulers.

This is the order which the Congress envisages, and which it shall work to establish. The Congress firmly believes that this order shall bring happiness, prosperity and freedom to the people of all times and regions in India who together shall build up their homeland a great and glorious nation."

I liked it and read his letter and the draft to the Working Committee. The Committee, however, thought that the idea of having only one manifesto for the Bangalore Congress should be strictly adhered to, and that the original, as framed at Poona, should not be tampered with. The reasoning of the Committee was unanswerable, and the draft manifesto was dropped without any discussion on matters. I informed Shri Japankhik of the result of my effort. He wrote back suggesting that he would be satisfied if I could do the work here thing, namely publish it with full concurrence or such as I could give it.

I have no difficulty in complying with Shri Japankhik's wishes. As an ideal to be reduced to practice as soon as possible after India comes into her own, I endorse in general all except one of the propositions enumerated by Shri Japankhik.

I have claimed that I was a socialist long before there I know in India had received their creed. But my socialism was natural to me and not adopted from any books. It came out of my unshakable belief in non-violence. No man could be actively non-violent and not rise against social injustice, no matter where it occurred. Unfortunately Western socialists have,

as far as I know, believed in the necessity of violence for achieving socialist objectives.

I have always held that social justice, even unto the least and the lowliest, is impossible of attainment by force. I have further believed that it is possible by proper training of the lowliest by non-violent means to secure release of the wrong suffered by them. That means is non-violent non-cooperation. At times non-cooperation becomes as much a duty as cooperation. No one is bound to cooperate in one's own enslavement or slavery. Freedom secured through the efforts of others, however benevolent, cannot be retained when such efforts are withdrawn. In other words, such freedom is not real freedom. But the lowliest can feel its glow as soon as they learn the art of attaining it through non-violent non-cooperation.

It therefore gladdens me to find Shri Japankhik accepting, as I read his draft, non-violence for the purpose of establishing the order envisaged by him. I am quite sure that non-violent non-cooperation can secure what violence never can, and thus by ultimate conversion of the wrong-doers. We in India have often been non-violence the end it has deserved. The marvel is that we have attained so much even with our mixed non-violence.

Shri Japankhik's propositions about land may appear fruitful, in reality they are not. No man should have more land than he needs for dignified existence. Who can dispute the fact that the grinding poverty of the masses is due to their having no land that they can call their own?

But it must be realized that the reform cannot be effected if it is to be brought about by non-violent means, it can only be done by education both of the haves and the have-nots. The former should be assured that there never will be force used against them. The latter must be educated to know that no one can really compel them to do anything against their will, and that they can secure their freedom by learning the art of non-violence, i. e., self-sufficiency. If the end in view is to be achieved, the education I have advocated has to be commenced now. An atmosphere of mutual respect and trust has to be established as the preliminary step. There can then be no violent conflict between the classes and the masses.

While, therefore, I have no difficulty in generally endorsing Shri Japankhik's proposals on points of non-violence, I cannot endorse his proposition about the Prisons. In law they are independent. It is true that their independence is not worth much, for it is guaranteed by a stronger party. But as against it they are able to assert their independence. If we come now our own through non-violent means as is implied in Shri Japankhik's draft proposal, I do not imagine a situation in which the Prisons will have affected themselves. Whenever sentiment is arrived at, the nation will have to

carry out to full. I can therefore only conceive a condition in which the big States will retain their status. In one way this will be far superior to what is at today but in another it will be limited as to give the people of the States the same right of self-government within their States as the people of the other parts of India will want. They will have freedom of speech, a free press and free action guaranteed to them. Perhaps Sir Jinnah has no faith in the Princes automatically surrendering their sovereignty I have. First because they are just as good human beings as we are, and secondly because of my belief in the potency of genuine non-violence. Let me conclude therefore by saying that the Princes and all others will be just and amenable when we have become true to ourselves, to our faith, if we have it, and to the nation. At present we are halfhearted. The way to freedom will never be found through half-heartedness. Non-violence begins and ends by turning the searchlight inward.

Bombay, 14-4-40

### C. F. A. — THE MAN

It was by his vigorous championship of the student victims of the Lahore Manual Law regime that I first came to know of him. I was then a student going up for my Bachelor of Arts degree, from the Government College Lahore and through students of our college escaped the worst indignities of the Col. Frank Johnson regime, when one saw around one was taught to choke the soul of any patriotic and self-respecting young man. What disappointed as students—and particularly me—most was the apathetic attitude of some of the religious leaders whom we had been taught to look up to and the ugly way in which they truckled to the mass commandments demands for the construction of a certain percentage of students in women colleges. The percentage was abominably fixed and the required quota had to be met, cost what it cost. "What sort of Gandhism is that," we asked ourselves, "which does not even enable one to cut out free and stand up for right and justice against oppression?" Instead of sympathy we got from "wise heads" counsels of prudence only. We were stupefied and awed at how hardy responsible for the country's troubles. There were dark days indeed, and darker checked at the heart of spring youth.

It was then that Charles Andrews' name was heard, clear, ringing, vibrant, opening their eyes and giving expression to their unmet feelings. His personality came to Lahore to do for him for them, and his residence became the Mecca of all renowned students. It was usual in those days to compare the illustrious English master with the masters of Greece. But that did not satisfy Charles Andrews' historical sense. "No. It is worse even than that," he explained, "considering the damage that humanity has travelled since this master Highland master."

It was a portrait. For an Englishman who loved his country it was too much to sit still over his country's misdeeds.

That gave one the key to his entire personality. Charles Andrews was, above all, a humanitarian, a servant of God who had made the whole world his family, and who recognized no distinction of colour, class or creed. None deserved better the title Dandadhara which grateful India affectionately gave him, in recognition of his countless labours of love for the woe of the poor. The cry of the distressed ever found him nearby. He had never deserved him. He was ready at a moment's notice to proceed to the ends of the earth in response to the cry of humanity whether it was from China or British Guiana, South Africa, Trinidad or Fiji. In fact the more isolated a case the greater was his sympathy for it. Like his master Jesus Christ, he never hesitated to push himself against persecutions and powers to champion the cause of the weak and the oppressed. In fact, he considered that to be the case of Jesus Christ's teaching, and identified the Christ's Kingdom of Heaven with the realization of his vision of social justice upon earth.

His Christianity was as wide as his humanity and the scriptures of other faiths were to him not less dear than that of his own. It was a fervent saying of his that, but for his Indian and non-Christian contacts, his own understanding of Christ would have remained incomplete. He loyally followed Christ's word, "Get thee no gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, no wallet for your journey, neither two coats, nor shoes, nor staff" sometimes with comic results. The only exception when as Gandhi's custom I carried him with a ten rupee note to pay off his baggage, was when Gandhi was convinced after his apprehensive question in the Landon Hospital, Poona. In the evening Charles Andrews returned and immediately told me to pay off the baggage as the ten rupee note had "slipped out" of his "open pocket." I shall never forget the transience which I got from Gandhi when I reported the matter to him, "Could you not borrow," he chuckled, "he would get it away in the next bagging, if he did not lose it? You might as well borrow a baby with cash."

Miss Agatha Harrison, Charles Andrews' gift to Gandhi and India, who stood sometimes in his secretary, used to tell us, "The first thing I do when he returns from India, is to empty his pockets, let important messages from Gandhi arrive should go to the laundry instead of their proper destination. Charles is a baby and needs to be mothered."

There it was, with all his depth and wisdom, his unmatchable wisdom and wide experience, he had the heart and innocence of a child of seven and was

"As the greatest only son  
In his simplicity sublime"

Yet with all the agonies and pain of his career, Dadasaheb was not devoid of humour. I shall never forget how at the time of the Second Indian Round Table Conference, during our stay together at 43 Kensington in London, he once sat the whole company of us round with laughter as he recited with remarkable gaiety his parody of the poem "Hissing the Shark", addressing his "thirtynine bishops" as the original "thirtynine venerable Bishops". Gandhiji loved him; he had a meeting with the Bishops at Lambeth Palace that day. 'Thirtynine Bishops all carefully packed, his name well written on each.' The adventure in the improvisation, however, proved to be well-born, because, as often happened in C. P. A.'s own case, the boys of the house were all left behind.

One of the last meetings that I had with him was in Gandhiji's company as he lay on his sick-bed in the Presidency Hospital, Calcutta. Again and again in the course of his talk he reverted to the "near universe", in which he had, during his illness, found ineffable peace. "As the outer sphere became interested, the inner universe unfolded itself to you. Although it is invisible, it is real, and embraces man's entire existence just now, when the whole world seems to be rushing headlong to its doom, the need has become all the greater to retreat just now to the discovery of and plunge into the inner universe," he remarked to Gandhiji. At the time to take leave from him, he gave more and more restless and general ideas unconsciously acquired whether his word-sweeper had occurred. We could not at first understand the reason for his anxiety, till I suddenly remembered how during Gandhiji's 21 days' fast for Hindu-Muslim unity at Delhi, he had brought to Gandhiji, by special arrangements, the composer of "Dillikhanda" (the name of Ravi Bahadur Saini Singh's hanglew, at the Ridge where Gandhiji was staying). He afterwards conceded in his personal style in Young India the ineffable joy of the poor man at the Ghatika, which the masses can still read with benefit. It was so characteristic of Dadasaheb, even in extremity, to be thinking of the "poor, the lowliest and the last".

Saigaram, 2-4-40

Pyaral

#### Jagan State and Pura Mandal

At last a settlement has been reached between the State and the Pura Mandal in Jagan. The credit for this happy compromise belongs both to the authorities and Shree Janadals. Let us hope that the settlement will lead to similar relations between the authorities and the Pura Mandal, and that the cooperation will result in progressive betterment of the people of the State in every respect. For this the State will have to show solicitude and the Mandal resistance in all its claims and demands.

Saigaram, 14-4-40

M. K. G.

#### Mahatma Gandhi

1 By E. Radhakrishnan. (New Edition) Rs. 2-12-5. Postage 7 As. Available at Marjani Office-Poona 4, and 47 & 48 Queen's Road, Bombay 2.

#### RASHTRABHASHA ADHYAPAN MANDIR, WARDHA

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When the Adhyapana Mandir, Wardha, was started three years back, there was no other arrangement in the non-Hindhi provinces for the training of Pracharita. But now several provinces have started their own Adhyapana Mandirs. Consequently the Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti, Wardha, has decided to re-organise the Wardha Adhyapana Mandir. This Mandir will now not train ordinary students. On the other hand, it will be a school of higher study in Hindhi or Hindustani for the non-Hindhi provinces. 15 candidates will be selected for the next session and ten of them will be awarded a monthly stipend of Rs. 15 each. Only those candidates will be selected who have passed either the 'Hindhi' examination of the Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti, Wardha, or the 'Vaidika' examination of the Hindhi Sahitya Samiti, Allahabad.

The aim of the Rashtrabhasha movement is not merely to teach a new language but to strengthen the bonds of unity between the various provinces of India. We hope, therefore, that only those who realise the importance and usefulness of the movement and who are fired with a desire to serve their country, will apply for admission. The candidates should have the standard general education up to the intermediate standard.

The next session will begin from the 15th June, 1940. All applications should reach the office of the Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti, Wardha, by the 15th May. Printed applications forms can be had free from the Superintendant, Rashtrabhasha Adhyapana Mandir, Wardha.

DR. RADHAKRISHNAN AGRAWAL

Secretary, Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti, Wardha.

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# REPRESSION IN JODHPUR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

News about repression in Jodhpur is depressing. The Jodhpur Lok Parishad, which according to the information in my possession has been before now held in respect by the local authorities, has suddenly been declared illegal. Several prominent workers are under detention without trial. Speeches and processions are banned.

What is worse is the speech delivered by the Maharaja Sahibji, justifying the order. It reads as if a situation was in labour. The following are extracts from the report of the speech:

'Unfortunately there is a small but vocal minority, who by their deeds and actions, have recently given ample proof of their determination to do bad, but everything which the Government do, and of their intention to handle and subjugate the Government by all possible means unless the state of Government are placed in their own unorganised hands.

I take it particular in a personal explanation, which has brought itself to undeniable prominence under the title of 'Lok Parishad'. Members of the 'Lok Parishad' have recently become extremely violent in their demonstrations of all prohibited and undisciplined. The members of this party ask us to believe that the only justice for the many wrongs suffered, which we to persons with all communication policy, is to give us and place ourselves unilaterally in the hands of the 'Lok Parishad'. We are asked to believe that with the advent to power of the 'Lok Parishad' there will be created a new heaven and a new earth and the Maharaja of Jodhpur, are desired to place the justice of my house and my people in the hands of the 'Lok Parishad' in order that peace may reign, and "justice" be supplied by all.

This is indeed a tall order and a bold demand, and I am not surprised that requests have poured in to me from the great men and influential majority of my subjects to put a stop to these extravagances and performances. If the 'Lok Parishad' consisted of men of political and administrative experience, men of ripe education, or of high professional attainments, we might be well advised to give to their words and suggestions that serious consideration which thoughtful citizens would undoubtedly accord. But we find, now that an innocent citizen has been put to prison on the subject, that the 'Lok Parishad' consists mostly of uneducated young men, who do not appear to have achieved much success in their various vocations.

They show no sign whatever of any cooperative spirit, rather do they seem bent on doing bad, whenever it is possible to do so. In their case few words has depressed only human, and they at a time when a terrible war devastates in the distance and a very bad famine is at our door.

I do not consider it consistent with my duty as a loyal ally of the British Government, to allow a

groundless political agitation to grow and spread in my State in time of war and am I prepared any more to allow to men compass of subversive activities manifestly designed to overthrow our present try to revolt and to disrupt our youth.

It seems that the move in the Maharaja's hand the hand that has prepared it is not his. The speech comes of palpable exaggerations. The Parishad has more than 30 branches in the State and has many experienced men as members. I have seen correspondence in which their co-operation has been desired and sought for. The Lok Parishad has never put forth the claim advanced in it in the questionnaire. It has responsible government within the State as its goal. It has carried on attention to the unemployed masses, I suggest that it is highly unjustified for the absence of the Maharaja to put me his mouth words that have no correlation to facts. They have not hesitated even to fight the war and the alliance with Britain to justify the high-handed action adopted towards the Parishad. The Parishad I am sure will come out unscathed, if the workers can stand the test of self-suffering. Those who are imprudent will be the only and serious of Jodhpur, for they will be treated by the people as their real servants. It is not right for the Maharaja and those advisers to ignore the same spirit and to resort to such statements and acts as cannot stand impartial scrutiny. I see from their letter that the Parishad have asked for an open trial. They deny all the charges that are mentioned in the Maharaja's speech. The least that is owing to the public is proof of the statements against the Parishad. Meanwhile and whether the Parishad goes forward or not, I hope that its members will peacefully and bravely stand the suffering they may be subjected to them.

Srinagar, 15-4-46

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# HARJAN

1193

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[ CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE ]

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gaudar)

Q.

The Muslim public need to be satisfied on a very important question. Will the Muslims be allowed to eat their national food—beef—under a Hindu majority Government? If you can satisfy the Muslims on this all-important question, a great deal of knots will be solved. You should give a straight answer to this question in your paper *Harjan*.

A. I do not know how this question arises. For whilst Congressmen were in office they are not known to have interfered with the practice of beef-eating by Muslims. The question is not badly answered. There is no such thing as a Hindu majority Government. If a free India is to live at peace with herself, religious differences must certainly give place to political divisions based on considerations other than religion. Even as it is, though unfortunately religious differences loom large, most parties contain members drawn from all sects. It is moreover not true to say that beef is the national food of Muslims. In the first place the Muslims of India are not as yet a separate nation. In the second, beef is not their ordinary food. Their ordinary food is the same as that of the millions. What is true is that there are very few Muslims who are vegetarians from a religious motive. Therefore they will take meat, including beef, when they can get it. But during the greater part of the past millions of Muslims, owing to poverty go without meat of any kind. There are facts, but the doctrinaire question demands a clear answer. As a Hindu, a confirmed vegetarian, and a worshipper of the cow whom I regard with the same veneration as I regard my mother (this no more on this earth), I maintain that Muslims should have full freedom to slaughter cows, if they wish, subject of course to humane regulations and in a manner not to wound the susceptibilities of their Hindu neighbours. Public restrictions of freedom to the Muslims in slaughter cows is indispensable for national harmony, and is the only way of saving the cow. In 1932 thousands of cows were saved by the sole and willing effort of Muslims themselves. In spite of the black clouds hanging over our heads, I refuse to give up the hope that they will disperse and that we shall have consanguine peace in this unhappy land. If I am asked for proof, I must answer that my hope is based on

fact and fact demands no proof.

## Death Sentence

Q. Do you consider death sentence to be against your principle of ahimsa? If so, what form of punishment would you advocate as a substitute in a free India?

A. I do regard death sentence as contrary to ahimsa. Only He takes life who gives it. All punishments in response to ahimsa. Under a State governed according to the principles of ahimsa, therefore, a murderer would be sent to a penitentiary and there given every chance of reforming himself. All crime is a kind of disease and should be treated as such.

## God's Will

Q. How can an ordinary man distinguish between God's will and his own will?

A. By not regarding anything as God's will unless he has positive proof to the contrary. Not every person can know God's will. Proper training is necessary to attain the power to know God's will.

## An Officer against Congress

Q. Some of the Congress demonstrators have an Adampur Danda during the last Independence Day celebrations got prepared national flags of unscrutinized cloth, and some of them got badge. One prepared from paper. They sold these to some friends. When questioned they pleaded that they wanted funds for the Congress and could not afford to sell badge that made out of cloth for one pice each and will cause something for themselves. As some places I even found national flags hoisted which were of soft cloth and even without the spinning wheel. I personally feel that the spinning wheel and cloth are the very soul of our flag; and a national flag which is prepared on unscrutinized cloth and without the spinning wheel mark on it, or a paper flag cannot be called a national flag.

A. Your objection is sound. The Congress demonstrators who used unscrutinized flag paper flags or those which were made of soft cloth or unscrutinized cloth or without the charkha, committed an offence against the Congress. They betrayed little respect for the flag. And my answer is that it is a flag. It has no uniform to the prescribed pattern, if we do not respect our own flag, we have no right to expect others to do so. You have made out a case for the central office having a stock of flags of a variety of sizes. Nobody should be permitted to use unscrutinized flags as national flags.

—Sargam, 25-4-40

## IN THE WAKE OF MECHANISATION

1

In the race for mechanisation going on in the West, America would easily stand first—not only in the mechanisation of industrial production in which every big country is a competitor, but of agriculture also, wherein natural conditions and existence of large plains have given her a decisive advantage over the Old World. "The farm tractor, the mechanical reaper-binder, and the other power-driven instruments of modern large-scale agriculture became the characteristic tools of the prairie farmer," and "over the past century the revolution in agriculture has taken on the same shape of the revolution in industry." (Cole) The capacity for mass production, both in industry and agriculture—in America as elsewhere in the West—has increased to such an extent that "if we consider only the mechanical power required, our contemporary world has the electric power, the engines and the skill to ensure, if not at once to its entire population, then at least to the peoples of Europe and North America, an adequate and varied diet, sufficient clothing, houses that safely cradle needs, and work all this to meet the cravings of their minds for books and music and visible beauty. The machine has made poverty an anachronism."<sup>1</sup>

But do their support these optimistic statements? The appearance of poverty still stalks the land, and the world is faced with the paradox of huge masses of men submerged in poverty in the midst of plenty both of agricultural and industrial goods. "The dwindling of the national income, the slowing down of the whole apparatus of production, the shortage of international trade, the waste and misery of mass-unemployment," are stark realities, and have led serious men in the West to ask "whether even in the Great War we experienced a complete deficit of coordination."<sup>2</sup> While millions of men have not enough to feed and clothe themselves, regions are kept idle and wheat and cotton crops are burnt. "The Brazilian Government," says an English economist, "shows that the Atlantic each season by the millions the bags of coffee that would make breakfast for innumerable brick-layers. During half a day last winter I journeyed in California through apple orchards that stretched as far as the eye could reach. The trees in every third or fourth row had been ruthlessly topped to the grub, to check the embarrassing bonney of nature for several years to come. There vanished our builders' dream." Apples of food and payment and bonuses are produced in gigantic piles, but what is to consume them? The will and the need for consumption among men are there, but they lack the wherewithal to buy the things. Thus there is a slump, production has to slow down, and the economic structure gets a rude shaking from the effects

of which it takes a long time to recover. "There has arisen an apparent deficiency of consuming power in relation to the capacity of the productive system, and the world's most pressing problem has come to be, not a further increase of the power to produce, but the drawing of means for the full use of the productive resources already at hand." There must be something radically wrong with an economic order which piles up masses of rapid and genuine production, then leaves the fruits thereof to men more in need of them, and a ultimately reduced to a state in which not only the engines of production are produced to be kept idle but their valuable products destroyed. Disasters may have even gone to the length of saying that "in our century a marvellous man who had perfected a transformer labour-saving machine might well record it." That is then the grim dilemma facing the present-day world.

Economies in the West have been sharply criticised as dangerous to the dream and suggesting starvation. There are a few among those who, though not even enemies of mechanisation, have been warning the tragic results it has led to, have been disillusioned, and have begun to doubt seriously its more transported heralds. For instance, says one of them—

"Of what use is it that machines should drive means of making human labour more productive, if the result is to be that the masses of productive power become a positive cause of unemployment and distress? Of what use is it to devise machines for the lightening of labour, if these machines will only drive men and women people out of work and unemployment? And what are we to say of a world in which the farmer, when he sows his crop, has to pray for a bad harvest in order to rescue him from his financial difficulties? We live in an odd world and an unstable."<sup>3</sup>

Says another—

"Machinery, then, has not brought mechanisation into our daily life, or rather it has brought numbers and order into one side of it, into our productive activities, and even there they are the overgrowth of petty longitudes, for each of the many units of production is isolated within its own walls. The other side of our daily life, distribution, we shudder to discuss, and the paths of essential forces. The result is that the machine, has brought us closer to full communism in thousands of details. It has torn whole populations from the relative homogeneity of village life, it has blasted our handicrafts, widened our towns and deepened our stresses, it has abolished the individual's pride in his creative skills: it has doomed the majority of us servants to a life of deadening monotony and strain. But for lack of an ordered market, we enjoy neither the security which its regular motions promise, nor the losses and shocks that attend it in its infinite capacity of production."<sup>4</sup>

A further point also—which should suffice to deepen the horror of those of us who cling

1 H. S. Brundage, *Property in Power*, p. 12.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 15.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

4 C. D. H. Cole, *World Change*, p. 82.

5 H. S. Brundage, *Op. Cit.*, p. 32-3.

with a childlike faith in mechanism and large scale industrialization. And change we not likely to change much so long as the economic world order remains substantially what it is today.

## II

There may be differences of opinion among economists about the diagnosis and remedies of the economic ill-health from which the world is suffering, but there is no denying the fact that mechanization leads directly to displacement of human labour and unemployment. "The first effect," says J. A. Hobson, "as shown by statistics, is to save 'labour'—that is, to create more unemployment." Once large scale mechanization is introduced and the wheels of high speed machinery are doing, there will be no halfway house or halting till human labour is slowly done over with and hidden robots take its place. This is the logical and inevitable culmination of the process which has come to be known as 'rationalization'. "Modern machinery not only dispenses more and more with the need for either physical strength or manual skill, but also goes further towards the positive displacement of labour... In the latest developments of industrialism the emphasis has been more and more upon the absolute displacement of labour... In these circumstances the obvious way of lowering costs is to get rid of labour altogether, or to use far less of it, and especially in America and Germany this form of rationalization has been pushed to less to extraordinary lengths... The displacement of labour through mechanization has been going on faster than ever. The chief means of reducing costs nowadays is the absolute displacement of human labour." C. B.

(To be continued)

## PRINCELY EXTRAVAGANZA

## II

## The Imperial Game and State

The policy has undergone several gradations at different periods of its history, but the one primary consideration that runs like a connecting thread through them all, as I shall presently show, has been above everything else the perpetuation of the Imperial hold on India. The three distinct phases through which it has passed have been described as those of 'Ring Fence', 'Subordinate India', and 'Subordinate China'. From the point of view of the States these may more fully be characterized as those of 'Britain's security', 'Ascendancy', and 'Empire'.

## "Safety First"

During the first phase (1858-98) the guiding consideration was the safety and permanence of Britain's position in India. The Company was on its struggling for bare existence. It was surrounded on all sides by powerful rivals and adversaries. It therefore naturally looked out for friends and helpers among local potentates. Its policy towards them led to the use of "fraternizing, cajoleries and diplomacy." Clive

(1758-67) "sought the substance of national power under the fiction of a grant from the Moghal Emperor." Warren Hastings (1772-85), "like other British administrators of his time, started with a conviction of the expediency of ruling with the aid of the Native Power." Both Cornwallis (1792-93) and Sir John Shore, who brought this period to a close, were advocates of the policy of "non-intervention." The idea was to create an insulating belt of friendly powers and, as far as possible, to restrain within a "ring fence" of powers that was over. There was a general dread of "continentalism." And so we find in 1784 an Act of Parliament declares that to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures "repugnant to the wish, honour and policy of this nation." The policy of non-intervention was repeated in the Charter Act of 1793. The trustees concluded at this period are based on the principle of non-intervention and abound in such expressions as "neutral unity", "friendly co-operation", "reciprocal obligation", "perpetual friendship", "firm alliance, etc."

## Power above All

It was, however, soon felt that unless the Company could draw the neutral Powers beyond the 'ring fence' to itself and induce them to subordinate by diplomatic negotiation, an advantage might be so and the security afforded by the 'ring fence' might be jeopardized. Without secondary there was no security. Domination thus became the key-note of the second phase of its policy (1798-1858). Lord Wellesley, who saw this, determined to establish the ascendancy of the British Power over all other States in India by a system of subsidiary treaties "so framed as to deprive them of the means of prosecuting war against or of forming any confederacy hazardous to the security of the British Empire, and to enable us to preserve the tranquillity of India by exercising a general control over the restless spirit of ambition and violence which is characteristic of every Asiatic Government."

Lord Wellesley's policy was carried a step further by Lord Hastings (Earl of Moira) (1814-21). He assembled and systematized the practice introduced by Lord Wellesley. "Opposed as he certainly was to annexation, he felt that the true position of the States in the interior of India was one of inferior and subordinate co-ordination." (Comment on p. 208)

1. Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. II, p. 428.

2. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 428. 3. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 428.

4. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 372.

5. The Foreign Policy of 1818 is a discussion of this policy. By Article 2 "The British Government engages to protect the principality and territory of Mysore. Article 3 lays down that "the Mysore will always act in subordinate cooperation with the British Government and acknowledge its supremacy and will not have any connexion with other chiefs and states." Article 4, again, prohibits any agreement with other States without the sanction of the British Government.

6. Private Journal of Marquis of Hastings (1814)

## NOTICE

The next issue (to be published on 4th May) will contain 72 pages and will be priced at 7 Annas 8 Pies per copy. Agents will please notify changes in their requirements, if any, by Thursday next.  
Manager

*Harijan*

Apr. 27

1940

## CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

The Working Committee adjourned passed no motion or new resolution this time. For there was no consensus before them. That of civil disobedience has to be evolved by us. But the Committee had useful discussions on many points arising out of the contemplated movement. I propose to give the reader the gist of what I told the members of the Committee, with the necessary amplification.

Civil disobedience is the last of the lastnesses that prevail in the country will only pass for the time unless it is beyond doubt recognised as something different in kind from the prevailing kind. Thus the Khilafat defiance is admittedly and openly violent. The issue who held up the train between Gora and Kail was violent under cover of non-violence. They were doubly guilty according to the non-violent conception. For they are supposed to be Congressmen. To hold up a train is a disobedience without doubt. And so far as the Congress is concerned, according to the Congress tradition Congressmen may not resort to civil disobedience except at its groups without my permission. I have already said that Prof. Raghbi's disobedience was also not civil. His friends have asked me to withdraw my criticism. I claim to be a special friend of his. We became friends probably before the postman knew him. And it is because he is such a close friend that I condemned his action without mincing words. I am sure he will not misunderstand me. In any event when a man of his learning chooses deliberately to violate an act of discipline it must come to me as a warning against my heavy action.

Now civil disobedience if it is really civil, must appear so even to the opponent. He must feel that the resistance is not intended to do him any harm. At the present moment the average Englishman thinks that non-violence is merely a cloak. The Muslim League think that civil disobedience is aimed at them more than at the British. I proceed with all the strength in my command that, so far as I am concerned, I have no doubt whatsoever as to embarking the British, especially at a time when it is a question of life and death with them. All I want the Congress to do through civil disobedience is to stop the British Government

the moral influence which the Congress co-operation would give. The material resources of India and her man power are already being exploited by the British Government by reason of their control of the whole of this sub-continent.

If by civil disobedience the Congress has no doubt to embarrass the British people, it has still less to embarrass the Muslim League. And I can say this on behalf of the Congress with far greater assurance than I can with regard to the British Working as the matter of discipline and orderly co-operation on the one hand and the prevailing lawlessness outside and inside the Congress on the other. I have to think a thousand times before embarking on civil disobedience.

So far as I can see at present mass civil disobedience is most unlikely. The cleavage lies between individual civil disobedience on a large scale, very restricted, or confined only to me. In every case there must be the backing of the whole of the official Congress organisation and the millions who though not in the Congress proper, have always supported the Congress with their mass but most effective co-operation.

I have repeatedly shown in these columns that the most effective and viable co-operation which all Congressmen and the mass millions can show is by not interfering with the course civil disobedience may take and by themselves spreading and used cloth to the exclusion of all other cloth. If it is allowed that there is a meaning in people wearing prisoners on Prisoner Day, surely there is much more in a people using a particular kind of cloth and giving a particular kind of colour to the cause they hold dear. From these emphases with the khaki suit I shall infer that they have shed unacceptability, and that they have nothing but brotherly feeling towards all without distinction of race, colour or creed. Those who will do this are so much stronger as those who will be needed on for civil disobedience.

Suratana, 22-4-40

## Committee for Preliminary Agreement?

The following note from London was received by Gandhi on 22-4-40

"London. Gandhi to receive an expression of your attitude to proposal that committee of Indian leaders representing all streams should try to reach agreement on essential preliminary to final constitutional settlement."—*Rev. Chavala*  
He has sent the following reply to me—

"Proposal concerning committee Indian reach preliminary agreement attractive, provided leaders elected, not nominated, according to acceptable procedure. That is my personal view Unconstrained colleagues."—*Gandhi*.

## NOTICE

The business hours of our Reading office will hereafter be 9 to 11 a.m. and 2 to 5 p.m. Readers will please note the change. *Manager*.

## AN IMPORTANT INTERVIEW

[The following interview was given by Gandhi to a representative of The New York Times, A. K.]

Q I have heard it said on behalf of Britain, "We cannot say what the new world is going to be at the end of the war, the Indian problem cannot be solved from world problems. Dominion Status, Independence, may mean something very different then, or nothing at all, if Germany should win. Therefore why should not India accept Dominion Status under the Statute of Westminster now and take her chance and her opportunity at the Peace Conference? Dominion Status under existing circumstances is the highest we can offer India." You yourself have said, "Of what value is freedom to India if Britain and France fail?" Can you throw some light on these points?

A. The legal status of India, whether it is a Dominion Status or something else, can only come after the war. It is not a question at present to decide whether India should be treated with Dominion Status for the time being. The only question is what is the British policy? Does Great Britain still hold the view that it is her sole right to determine the status of India or whether it is the sole right of India to make that determination? If this question had not been raised, there would have been no discussion such as we are having today. The question having been raised—and it was India's right to raise it—I was bound to there in my speech, such as it is, with the Congress. Nevertheless I can still repeat the question I put to myself immediately after the first interview with the Viceroy: "Of what value is freedom to India if Britain and France fail? If these powers fail, the history of Europe and the history of the world will be written in a manner to our disservice. Therefore my question has its own independent value. The relevant point, however, is that by doing justice to India Britain might cause victory of the Allies because their cause will then be acclaimed as righteous by the enlightened opinion of the world.

Q Have you any views about world federation? (Sri's scheme of 15 white Dominions with India excluded at present) or about a federation of Europe with the British Commonwealth and again excluding India? Would you advise India to enter such a larger federation so as to prevent a domination of the colored races by the white?

A. Of course I would welcome a world federation of all the nations of the world. A federation of the Western nations only will be an unhealthy combination and a source of trouble. In my opinion a federation excluding India is now an impossibility. India has already passed the stage when she could be safely neglected.

Q You have said in your lifetime more determined by me than there has been at any

time in the world's history. And yet, as you will believe is non-violence as the basis of a new civilization? Are you satisfied that your own countrymen accept it without reservation? You continue to harp on your conditions being fulfilled before starting civil disobedience. Do you still hold to them?

A. You are right in pointing out that there is unheard-of determination going on in the world. But that is the real moment for testing my faith in non-violence. Suspense as it may appear to my critics, my faith in non-violence remains absolutely undimmed. Of course non-violence may not come in my lifetime in the manner I would like to see it come, but that is a different matter. It cannot shake my faith, and that is why I have become unbending as far as the fulfilment of my conditions prior to the starting of civil disobedience is concerned. Because, at the risk of being the laughing-stock of the whole world, I adhere to my belief that there is an unbreakable connection between the spinning wheel and non-violence as far as India is concerned. Just as there are signs by which you can recognize violence with the naked eye, so is the spinning wheel to me a definite sign of non-violence. But nothing can deter me from working away as long I have no other method for solving the many baffling problems that face India.

Q You want a declaration that hereafter India shall govern herself according to her own will. You also say, "It is possible for the best Englishmen and the best Indians to meet together and agree to separate all they have evolved a formula acceptable to both." The British say, "We are really interested in defence, our commercial interests, and the Indian States." Are you willing to allow your best Englishmen and your best Indians to enter into a treaty to agree to these matters? "in a spirit of friendly accommodation" (the language of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936)?

A. If the best Englishmen and the best Indians meet together with a fixed determination not to separate until they have reached an agreement, the way will have been opened for the summoning of the Constituent Assembly of my conception. Of course this constituent body will have to be of one mind as to the goal. If that is put in the melting pot, there will be nothing but irreconcilable warring. Therefore self-determination must be the common cause with this constituent body.

Q Supposing India does become free in your lifetime, what will you devote the rest of your years to?

A. If India becomes free in my lifetime and I have still energy left in me, of course I would take my due share, though outside the official world, in building up the nation on a strictly non-violent basis.

Savagran, 23-4-40



## THEN AND NOW

The January issue of *The Asiatic Review* that has just come to hand contains the text of a paper read by Sir Alfred Watson at a meeting of the East India Association and a summary of the discussion that followed. Among those who participated in it were Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Mr F. G. Pratt and Lord Lansdowne. "What has shocked us in this country," remarked Sir Alfred, quoting Lord Salisbury's words in the House of Lords, "is that these Indian leaders have thought fit to use the international occasion in order to present a further step towards self-government." Sir Alfred proceeded to say that, though his own nerves were not so susceptible as Lord Salisbury's, he recognised that the latter did represent a point of view, and that "it was a gross misfortune to the Indian cause that those holding his (Lord Salisbury's) view should have been strengthened in their opposition to Indian aspirations by Congress action." The accusation has since been repeated in other quarters too.

The slowness of the British conscience is proverbial. It has shown itself to be fairly tough and shock-proof when Britain really meant business. Mr F. G. Pratt, who as an ex-Indian administrator knows both India and England well, was not slow to call attention to the fact. He reminded Sir Alfred and the house that it was in the middle of the Great War that the Dominion committee at the Imperial Conference of April 15 1917, had recommended "the full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous units of an Imperial Commonwealth, and of India as an important part of the war, and also as recognition of the rights of the Dominions and of India as an adequate voice in foreign relations." It did not shock British conscience then. Nobody thought of accusing the Dominions of "political harking".

The chief contention of the Dominions, it will be remembered, was, as voiced by Sir Robert Borden, in moving his resolution, was that the theory of trusteeship, in which the imperial relations as regards the creation of foreign policy, foreign relations and common defence of the Empire were based "was unable to prove not only actively inadequate to the needs of the Empire but incompatible with the aspirations of the people of the Dominions to the future," and that "it could not continue indefinitely in the future, whenever might be said of it in the past." Mr Massey remarked then, if the different parts of the Empire were to be kept together the bonds to hold them would need to be, "wider stronger than steel as light as silk that will not chafe and not seriously inconvenience British citizens in any part of the Empire." The readjustment of the constitutional relations of the constituent parts further, was not to be made contingent upon certain things happening or, certain conditions being secured by, the Dominions concerned, as it ought to be

done in the case of India today, but were to be taken up "as soon as possible after the termination of hostilities." Most significant was the note struck by General Smuts who observed, "If we have no other resolution at this conference than this one, I am sure that we will have done a good day's work for this Empire."

The resolution, far from proving a "stumbling block" to the recognition of their claims, paved the way for the Success of Westminster. From the operation of that Success India was, however, excluded, India has, therefore, a perfect right to demand that before she is called upon to defend the principle of self-determination in Europe it shall be applied in full to her case by Britain, as a test of her sincerity. To call this "cold calculation" and "erecting the high-altitude before reaching a blow", as some of the Imperial spokesmen at the East India Association did, is surely gross perversion of language which only changed tones and the changed scene could make possible.

Copyright, 20-4-40

Financial

## WHAT BIG EMPLOYERS CAN DO

(By M. E. Gandhi)

Shri Virbhadra Jeyaraj made me the following from Shri Shanmukham of the Scindia House.

"During the National Week every effort will be made to sell khadi by handing them place to place. Then why not approach the big offices and get them to agree to buy khadi for postal dresses? The postal dresses are always provided by the Government. Last year the Scindia Company provided khadi uniforms for the police, and this year also we are going to have the same. I have already sent circulars to the Directors of the Company to see khadi for the uniforms of police there. I am trying to push khadi uniforms in other Government Companies of the Scindia Company."

I am also trying to push the use of handmade paper in the office of the Scindia Company. I have been suggested to some extent in this case but not to my satisfaction. I am making every effort to secure the use of handmade paper."

I have no hesitation in whole-heartedly endorsing the suggestion made by Shri Shanmukham. I would go a step further in order that the people who have willingly to wear uniforms provided for them may not feel any inferiority, the big office staff should set the example by themselves voluntarily using khadi for their garments. Khadi is one of the greatest teachers. The people should be able to take pride in their uniforms. They will only do when they know that their employees use the same material as that of which their uniforms are made. The greater the approach to the part of employers to their employees, the greater the possibility of a peaceful solution of the difficult problem of class conflict. I therefore hope that Shri Shanmukham's effort will be appreciated by the other employers. Indeed the idea should be taken up by all public institutions such as hospitals, students' hostel, etc.

The use of handmade paper is a less difficult problem. For good handmade paper is very dry, more brittle than and superior to the ordinary mill paper, and there is not the same difference in the prices of the two varieties as in the case of hand and mill-made cloth. The big houses owe it to the millions of us as many handmade articles as is possible for them to do. *Surgeon, 22-4-40*

## ABOUT ZAMINDARS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A few days Deenan Maharaj propounds the following conclusions:

"You say on page 941 lines 4-6 of *Surgeon* of 19th February, that you put Europeans on the same footing as big Zamindars and capitalists. I presume that you include in the general word 'Zamindars' landholders, talukdars and big landholders."

1. Will you be pleased to say whether you remember and realise the fact that Europeans are Europeans and their concerns and profits are out of the country to enrich other nations and make them more powerful instruments to exploit India, while Zamindars and landholders, particularly of Hindu religion, are Indians, who have genetic blood running in their veins, and who will lay their bones in India, and all their earnings and savings, and even their extravagance will remain in the country and enrich the country? Many of these people have national interests fully at heart and are always prepared to help the national development.

2. What are the differences between a nation-loyal Zamindar and a nation-loyal non-Zamindar, in your opinion?

3. What exact position do you assign to Zamindars and landholders and the capitalists in a free and independent India? Will these classes be allowed to fully play their proper and active part in national development? Can these two classes expect profits and fair play in an independent India?

4. Have the Zamindars and landholders and capitalists any place in the present Congress movement with their landholders and capitalists?

Answer:

1. I make no difference between Europeans and Indians, if the former conform to the laws of Free India. I cannot consistently with my views on non-violence. Under my scheme, European soldiers will not be allowed to exploit the country as most of them are doing today. Peasants will have had their reward in the shape of freedom of their country. They are no persons who are working with selfish personal ends in view. If we create a State based on pure justice, real equality and genuine brotherhood, Europeans will cease to be Europeans. They will take pride in producing their talents for the sole good of the country of their adoption.

I gladly acknowledge the fact that there are many landholders, Zamindars and other capitalists

who are as persons as any Congressmen.

2. A nation-loyal Zamindar will try to be like a non-Zamindar. He will regard his tenants as his co-proprietors, in other words, he will hold his Zamindari in trust for his tenants taking a moderate remuneration for the use of his labour and capital. A nation-loyal non-Zamindar will not regard the Zamindari as his natural enemy but will seek redress of his wrongs by the process of conversion. I have shown before now that this is not a long drawn out story.

3. This is answered in the foregoing. Accompaniment between the classes will be required. I do not envisage a dual and artificial level among the people. There will be a variety among them as there is among the leaves of a tree. There will certainly be no hand-outs, no unemployment, and no disparity between classes and masses such as we see today. I have no doubt whatsoever that, if non-violence is its full measure between the policy of the State, we shall reach national equality without strife.

4. All who subscribe to the simple creed of the Congress can join it. As a matter of fact there are many named members of the Congress. To quote only one instance, Jinnah-ji is a capitalist and he is a member of the Working Committee.

*Surgeon, 22-4-40*

## Home and Village Doctor

By Kishor Chandra Dasgupta

128+ pages, 12 chapters. Copious index of 22 pages, 270 dissections. Price Rs. 5 cloth bound. By V. P. P. No. 2. Published by Kishor Publications, 13 College Square, Calcutta. Available at (1) *Surgeon* office—Page 4; (2) *Marathi* office—50 Queen's Road, opp. Market Lane Station, Bombay 2. "Every village worker knowing English will make it a point to possess a copy," says Gandhi. Several eminent doctors have spoken highly of the book. "The book," says the author, "has helped in the experience of over one thousand cases treated in the various institutions connected with the Hindu Foundation for the past seven years, according to the files collected."

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An English Suggestion

Reg. No. D 3092

# HARIJAN

1193

12 Pages

Liter. MANAGER: CHENNAI

Vol. VIII, No. 12

POONA — SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1940

[ ONE ANNA SIX PERS ]

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

No. Confession

Q. There is still a lot of confusion in the public mind about the Indian situation. How can we remove it?

A. Confession should have been removed as soon as the popular movement erupted. They were the chosen representatives of the people. They had applied themselves to their work with amazing industry and efficiency which was the unshared praise of the Government. They took on one themselves and allowed none to their responsibilities. They had set a definite programme before themselves which would have removed the confusion of the masses. It must have put them a bit to give up either. But they lived to their conscience that Provincial Autonomy, which Sir Samuel Hoare had declared from the horse-top to be real and complete, was reduced to a sham in the twinkling of an eye. The popular movement was to be seen rejecting efforts to carry out the will of the united movement as far as war measures were concerned. In the most vital matter they were not swayed by fear or otherwise. For the masses had no rings. That one act of theirs was complete in itself. Its importance is not felt as it should be because the Congress is unable to acknowledge it.

### Congress Not Responsible

Q. Many people believe that the attitude of the Congress has prejudiced the Muslim League resistance about partitioning India.

A. I do not think so. But if it has, it is a distant past. It is good that when war is started come out. It is never now to deal with the problem. It will solve itself. Our distant past is that momentary Muslims have become confused in a sense of their duty.

### Muslim Rule — Indian Rule

Q. Would you prefer Muslim rule or British rule?

A. The question is badly put. You, being British, cannot get out of the habit of thinking that India is fit only to be ruled by someone. Muslim rule is equivalent to Indian rule. You might as well ask me whether I would prefer English or Marathi to British rule. Marathi, Bengali, Sikh, Dravidian, Parsi, Chamar (Indians), Muslims — all will be Indian rule. It makes no difference to me that some Muslims regard themselves as a separate nation. It is

enough for me that I do not consider them as such. They are sons of the soil. Muslims considered separately have eight acres of reserved Muslims reserved over India as look to. But you have the whole British nation and your army of occupation is back in. You belong to the ruling race. You are less than one hundred thousand in the midst of 350 millions over whom you rule. It is a matter of shame look but you and so I need not weigh whom in the present scheme. The sooner we get out of it the better for the look of us.

You will now understand my answer when I say that I would say the people Muslim rule to British rule. I have no doubt that, if British rule which divides us by leaving one as the other as it puts the frontiers were withdrawn today, Hindus and Muslims would forget their quarrels and live like brothers which they are. But supposing the worst happened and we had a civil war, it would last for a few days or months and we would work down to business. In terms we are equal. With you it is different. You have disarmed us. Those of us who have been trained by you really belong to you rather than to us. We are no match for you in military power. You do not know how the rule has created the nation. Immediately British rule is really ended, we shall grow as never before in spite of all drawbacks.

### Why This Partiality?

Q. Both Prof. Ranga and Mrs. Jeyapalan Nairan have been punished under the law. But while you were asked by the latter's committee you have denounced Prof. Ranga, and this in spite of the fact that Prof. Ranga's offence was, if anything, a technical one, whereas Mrs. Jeyapalan by characterising the war effort against the people of the law upon himself. I agree that Prof. Ranga should not have broken the law. But then does not your attitude betray partiality on your part towards the one and sympathy towards the other?

A. You are hopelessly wrong. Your statement that Prof. Ranga was wrong in breaking the law shows that your sense is not just. Prof. Ranga is as good a friend to me as Mrs. Jeyapalan. I should have expressed the same opinion about the latter's attitude if he had done what Prof. Ranga did. There is no room in public life for personal friendships. Indeed, and friendship is in no need of partiality. I have

ness for Shri Jajprokash. Nor have I any antipathy towards Prof. Ranga. I have perhaps less difference with Prof. Ranga than with Shri Jajprokash, but that makes no difference to me. Shri Jajprokash committed no breach of an order. He delivered a speech which was regarded as contrary to law. In Prof. Ranga's case there was a deliberate breach of an order served on him. The two things are different. I have answered your question, because I attach importance to the breach. I also want to warn those who accept Congress discipline against such breaches.

#### A Municipal Chairman's Duty

Q My father is the Congress Municipal Chairman of a certain place. In a recent by-election for a ward the official Congress candidate was defeated. A local youth organisation gave a tea party in honour of the successful non-Congress candidate. My father was invited and he attended. His view was that since a candidate is elected, no matter in what party he belongs, as Chairman it was his duty to welcome him and get the best of co-operation from him in the interests of civic welfare. Some people feel that attending a function given in honour of an opponent is harmful to the party's cause.

A Your father, I am sure, was quite right. He would have been wrong, if he had not attended the function. An opponent is entitled to the same regard for his principles as we would expect others to have for ours. Non-violence demands that we should seek every opportunity to win over opponents. And what can be better than that we share their joys and sorrows? Moreover your father as Chairman was bound to be impartial. It was, therefore, doubly his duty to attend the function.

Savarnam, 29-4-40

#### Green Sewak Volaplays

The first season of the Green Sewak Volaplays of the A. I. V. I. A. Wadhwa will be from 1-7-40 to 30-4-41. Admission will be closed on the June 1940 and students must present themselves at the Volaplays not later than 1st July 1940.

Applications for the admission and further particulars can be had from the superintendent, Green Sewak Volaplays, Magdhab Wadhwa, C. P.

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#### PRINCELY KETRAVAGANZA

III

#### " Divide and Rule "

And so the policy of "subordinate union and co-operation" was launched. "The Prince was devoted possession and administration but not sovereignty, and his possession was made conditional on his remaining faithful in allegiance and subordination to the Crown." Treaties hereafter were no longer concluded on terms of equality. Older treaties were not renewed or abrogated. "Instead, the ruler and his successor device of constructive interposition was relied upon." Difficulties and apparent contradictions involved in this policy were vividly described by Lord Elgin who succeeded Lord Curzon (1862):

"If you attempt to crush all opposition, you make the native population in a homogeneous mass against you. If you foster pride of rank and position, you encourage passions which you cannot gratify, partly because you dare not abrogate your own functions as a Paramount Power and partly because you cannot control the aspirations of your subjects of the dominant (sic) race. Scindia and Holkar are hostile to us in proportion as they are weak and conscious that they require our aid to support them against their own subjects and neighbours. My own opinion is that Curzon never intended to let the chiefs get the key into their pockets as to how far hold over them. It is true that he took them with a loose rein, but the pain was so killing that it took the life out of them and a light hand and often forced with all that was required. The policy of deference to the authority of the Native Chiefs was a means to an end, the end being the establishment of British Rule in India, and when the means and the end came into conflict, he would likely to do so, the former went to the wall."

#### A British Assertion

Here we have an authoritative statement of the non-homogeneous British policy of "divide and rule" propounded with a Machiavellian skill and fineness that almost takes away one's breath. Lord Curzon's insistence on "efficiency" and his doctrinaire manner with the Princes, however, introduced a 'rift' in the line 'at a time when "the Government of India was beguiled under political pressure to compromise without these services to create revolutionaries!"' When Lord Minto, his successor, to Lord Morley (May 25, 1866) "I have been thinking a good deal lately of a possible counterpoise to Congress aims. I don't see any real & serious in the Council of Princes."

The latter demanded their price and had to be appeased.<sup>1</sup> Lord Minto and his successors,

1. Kish. A Constitutional History of India, p. 227.

2. Ibid. p. 227.

3. Ibid. p. 228.

4. Curzon the following in support of the claim got "ruined by the Governor Dufferin for the withdrawal of the primary jurisdiction, which, it was complained, the British authorities had entirely with-



## THE HAND OF THE DEVIL?

Now that the Madras League has gone beyond even the imperfections of the slogan in the policy of 'divide and rule', Lord Dufferin describes the partition as "constructing something not far short of a crucifix of despair", and says that its acceptance would be "an admission of failure of the devoted labour of Indians and Englishmen alike over a long period of concentrated effort". If by 'the devoted labour of Indians and Englishmen' he means the labours of Indians who built up the Indian National Congress through more than fifty years, and of Englishmen like Mr. A. C. Munn, Sir William Wedderburn, and the late but by no means the least of them, Dornachandra C. V. Andrews, his words are absolutely true. Partition would not only be an 'admission of failure' of those devoted labours, but it would be a gross distortion of the slogan of unity they have patiently wrought to erect. But Lord Dufferin's words have a specially acute ring when one thinks of the endurance that has been made "over a long period", not to unite the two communities, but to divide them, by those who were concerned with the work of consolidating the Empire.

One wonder of Lord Dufferin knows that the principal authors of the two extreme theories were the Empire-builders of Britain, his predecessor in the office that he has now and or other occupied. We cannot be the gods either of the monarchy or the empire, but the suggestion on Jewish faith it was conceived and defined by the "rulers". The first of these was Lord Dufferin — there were earlier ones like Sir Basil Frere, but they had not embraced the theory in such definite form — who warned the Muslims against any identification with the Hindus as a political objective and propounded the two nations theory in these terms:

"But perhaps the most potent characteristic of our Indian census is its division into two entirely political communities as distinct from each other as the polar opposites of their religious faith. Their historical antecedents, their social organisation and their natural aptitudes, on the one hand the Hindu numbering 150 millions with their polytheistic beliefs, their temples adorned with images and idols, their reverence for the sacred cow, their elaborate caste distinctions, and their habits of seclusionism in numerous communities — on the other hand the Mohammedans, a nation of 50 millions with their monotheistic, their monarchical traditions, their strict seclusion, their social equality, and their open-mindedness of the days when centred at Delhi they repulsed conquest from the Hindoos to Cape Comorin.

It would be difficult to compress in a brief paragraph more mischievous half-truths than Lord Dufferin did. Lord Minto and Marley went a step further by helping to permeate the apparent division Lord Minto declared any electoral representation in India as "doomed to

unsuccessful failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent". It was a clever way of suppressing the theory, but Lord Marley was hardly fresh: "Only let us not forget that the difference between Mohammedanism and Hinduism is not mere difference of articles of religious faith as dogmas. It is a difference in life, in conduct, in history in all the social things as well as articles of beliefs that constitute a community. Do not let us forget that in talking of Hindus and Mohammedans we are dealing with and not brought face to face with human races".

Some of the Muslims of those days were very deceived by these British rulers, and even posed themselves. Sir Syed Ahmed appealed to the Mohammedans to look to their communal interests as against national interests which were illusory. But it was reserved, in the words of Mirza Asadul Mahomed Ali, "the General Dyer to break down exactly the banner that Sir Syed Ahmed had for temporary purposes created over that their race previously, and to convince the Mohammedans of India to the Congress held at Amritsar in 1919 as the unifying herald of India's awakening. The failure of his military made an distance between Hindu and Muslim, and clearly Providence had no designed thing that a community even more loyal than the Mohammedans namely our brave Sikh brothers should also live the second end of being religious capital in Amritsar with their own blood along with that of Hindu and Muslim martyrs. There is the hand of God".

But let me correct Mirza Asadul Mahomed Ali in one or two respects. Even Sir Syed Ahmed had not thought that the largest he had regarded — it had been viewed not by him, but by the English masters as we have seen — could in any way be permanent. In a speech at Gorakhpur in 1884, he said:

"From the oldest times the word 'nation' is applied to the inhabitants of one country, though they differ in some particulars which are characteristic of their own. Hindu and Mohammedan nations. Do you people any country other than Hindustan? Do you inhabit the same land? Are you not born and buried in the same soil? Do you not tread the same ground and live upon the same soil? Remember that the words Hindu and Mohammedan are only names for religious distinction — otherwise all persons, whether Hindu or Mohammedan, even the Christians who trade in the country, are all in that particular respect belonging to one and the same country. Thus all these different communities can only be described as one nation, they must seek and all unite for the good of the country which is common to all."

In a Lahore speech he went even further and said:

"When we do see it that we inhabit the same land, we subject to the rule of the same government, the interests of benefit for all are the same, and

the point of human life. In human society, there are the different grades, upper, middle, I will not then name which would help, by one word, Hindu, meaning to say that they are children of Hindustan.

And it must be remembered that it was Sir Syed Ahmad who used that famous words—Hindus and Mussulmans being the two eyes of the same human body, each indispensable to the other—which later Jinnah Sahib himself adopted in one of his speeches.

And Madans Mahomed Ali was less than far to the Muslim leaders of pre-Jinnahville days. There were men like Justice Mahomed Taji and Mr. Rahmatullah Sayani who whole-heartedly supported the Congress. But there were men like Mian Muhammad Shafi who, though they had not joined the Congress, were anything but supporters. That is what the Mian Sahib and as the All India Muslim League meeting in 1913.

Now the Indian Mussulmans consist of two sections. Firstly those who themselves being descendants of the pre-Jinnah champions and of the Agha section in India, were converted to Islam during the last centuries of Muslim ascendancy in that country, and usually those who are descendants of the Muslim conquerors from the West. It is obvious that the former are as much Indians as our Hindu brothers, and the latter having settled in India centuries ago and, having made it their permanent home, have as valid a stake in the material prosperity and political progress of their homeland as any other section of the Indian population. But there is, in this connection, a fact of great political importance which must not be lost sight of. The majority of Indian Mussulmans belong to the agricultural or quasi-agricultural classes, and are therefore relatively more identified with the permanent Indian interests than the other classes of our population. Under these unfortunate circumstances, it is not casual that the worst kind of Indian patriotism courses through the veins of Indian Mussulmans with the same vigour as in the case with those aristocratic classes whose parents spend their good expenses from the public exchequer and in the purse.

There were others like Mr. A. Barel, Syed Hassan and Syed Ali Imam, and later Madans Abdul Kalam Aini in 1915 the Ali Brothers came in their lot with the celebrated Mussulmans Jamshid Sahib, whose conversion of an earlier day we mentioned the other day, was a disciple of those Mussulmans who stood for a united nation. But in a now mounting his studies professions, desiring his Muslim name and evidently going back to the teaching of the Koran rather. He forgot that he is first in the face of those represented Muslim leaders who like Mian Muhammad Shafi had previously argued out and rejected the separatist theory.

As for Lord Zetland, one would respectfully remind him that the tribe of Duffrins and Giffins and Marjor is not eastern. Lord Hailey supports the two nations theory as much as Lord Zetland professes to disown it. 'The

Muslims," he said recently, "you never forget that until our arrival in India they ruled the whole country. They are deeply conversant of our political developments which may place them under the control of a Hindu majority. They are not merely a political minority as we understand it, there are deep-seated social and cultural differences between them and Hindus. It is upon a fact which counts for much, that they have religious connections with the worldly Mohammedan peoples on the frontier and beyond it." If, as Madans Mahomed Ali said, "the hand of God" had worked in Jinnahville may it be that the hand of the Devil is working today? *Servant, 28-4-40*

M. D.

### Example Rather than Precept

The Junior Mahomed of Deras has expressed his sincere sympathy for black—and all village industries we presume—in a manner which will leave no room for doubt in the minds of large employers and the people of the State. The Maharaja, speaking at the Mother Exhibition on the 30 of March, said:

"I take a proposal to place before you regarding black. First your then should be a stall in the exhibition exclusively devoted to black, black goods, and give my time and figures showing the advantage of black. First you I had met Sir. Subraman Chaudhry to receive guidance in the process of black manufacture, and, I am glad that he has returned with all the training that he could get. But I want to extend the work as a wife study, and of necessity I may need more people for training. I also propose to spend an adequate amount on this object.

I would appeal to the Exhibition Committee to support themselves in the use of black for all the cloth that may be necessary in the construction of the exhibition. The black should be woven in, and prepared from year ago in, Deras, and everywhere in the State should aim at exhibiting here members of his or her own manufacture. I propose to place an exhibit myself, and as well as the members of my family. I hope all people will co-operate in the fulfilment of this object and will make of the black exhibition as good a success as they made of the fruit and vegetable show.

I approached a few matter after Sultan in Central India, but I am sorry to say there was no response. I therefore have decided to do the thing myself and set an example."

Before then, on our 20th January 1940, the Maharaja had issued the following appeal in *Albion Standard*, a local paper.

"Make black your own."

"There is an English proverb which says, 'Clothy Deras of home' and everyone is familiar with the proverb 'Support Home Industries.' Acting on these words I would ask all the State officials to dress themselves in clothes made of black, white or natural, manufactured in our State. I am applying both experience. I use home-made black. I shall be delighted if my example is followed. It will bring to the people, and it will give a kick to the cottage industries in the State."

We commend the Deras Maharaja on the thoroughness of the way in which he has taken up the matter, and we hope others will follow his example.

*Servant, 28-4-40*

M. D.

# Harijan

May 4

1940

## OF WHAT AVAIL IS NON-VIOLENCE?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An Indian friend writes

Yesterday Britain in public has related her own confidence of Norway under the rule of bombs and machine gun bullets was being torn to shreds completely demolished and is gone. It is shocking to us who good people should be suddenly be reduced to the helpless condition simply because they had neither the will nor the resources to develop the technique of destruction into a fine art. The failure of violence, and also, I fear, an temporary efficacy, is being proved. Of what avail was the valiant defence of Norway? And yet for the time being the biggest violator of Germany seems to have succeeded! Let us hope eventually everyone will see the futility of violence and a new era may dawn. But are we really making a non-violent contribution towards the world problem? Of what avail is our non-violence in Norway, Sweden and Denmark? Virtually, are we not giving a handle to Germany? True, we are doing nothing beyond substantiating Great Britain, and perhaps we may say that such an endorsement is reasonable and is not moral delinquency. But the fact remains that England is so defenceless by our action we are endorsing not only England but all other great nations who have been victims of aggression. We are not likely, it seems, to succeed in changing England's heart. And nations like Norway etc. can never appreciate our attitude. In the light of our present attitude, the international world now with justification mediates our just help to victims of aggression like China and Spain. When they were desiring of our help, that the present volume? And if not, then why the destruction? Simply because an imperialist power, even for the sake of its own interest, happens to decide to do something which is noble and moral? You have never repeated your action during the last war when you vigorously recruited people for military purposes. This was your attitude appears to be in sharp contrast, although you say that both attitudes are right.

My correspondent is not alone in questioning the lot of most cultured and noble people like the Danes and the Norwegians. This war is showing the futility of violence. Supposing Hitler becomes victorious over the Allies, he will never subjugate England and France. It will mean another war. Supposing the Allies are victorious, the world will live no better. They will be more polite but not less ruthless, unless they learn the lesson of non-violence during the war and unless they shed the guns they have made through violence. The first condition of non-violence is peace all round to every depen-

dent of life. Nothing is so far away as respect of human nature. I do not, however, think so. No one should despise them the capacity of human nature for degradation or violence.

Indian non-violence has brought no relief to the coloured Western powers because it is still poor stuff. Why travel so far to see its efficacy? We in India are torn asunder in spite of the Congress policy of non-violence. The Congress itself is shattered. How could the Congress or a smaller group of people represent the non-violence of the strong, will the world watch the infirmity.

India's aid to Spain and China was merely moral. The material aid was less an insignificant token of it. There is hardly an Indian who does not feel the same sympathy for Norway and Denmark who has their freedom overnight. Though their case is different from that of Spain and China, their case is more complex perhaps than that of Spain and China. Indeed there is a material difference even between China and Spain. But there is no difference so far as sympathy is concerned. Proper India has nothing to add to these countries except her non-violence. But as I have said that is not yet a sensible community. It will be, when India has gained her freedom through non-violence.

These few persons disagree that The Congress has ceased to endorsement, I have declared already that I shall do nothing to endorse Great Britain. She will be undermined if there is a war in India. Thus, the Congress as long as it is under my discipline, will not support.

What the Congress cannot do is to lend its moral influence to Britain. Moral influence is never mechanically given. It is for Britain to take it. Perhaps British government do not think the Congress has any to lend. Perhaps they think that all they need is material aid in this warring world. If they do, they will not be far wrong. Morality is irrelevant in war. My correspondent has given up the whole of his case for Britain when he says, "We are not likely to succeed in changing Britain's heart." I do not work all to Britain. I shall prove if Britain goes down. But the moral influence of the Congress cannot save Britain unless she makes her hands clean of India. It works under an even untenable condition.

My friend does not see the difference between my protesting in Rhoda and my attitude now. During the last war the moral issue had not been raised. The Congress was not pledged to non-violence. It had not the moral hold on the masses it now enjoys. I was acting on my own as all I did. I had even attended the War Conference. And it is true to my declaration I had been retreating at the cost of my health. I told the people that, if they wanted arms, military service was the usual way to get them. But if they were non-violent like me, my appeal was not to them. There was no non-violent

that among my audience, and he said I began. Their silence was loud as a storm towards Britain. That was gradual, giving place to an unbroken determination to throw off the foreign yoke.

Things have changed since then. In spite of the unanimous support that Britain got during the last war from India, the British attitude was translated into the Rowlatt Act and the like. The Congress accepted non-violence, non-cooperation to meet the British message. There is the memory of the Jallawalla Bath, the Simon Commission, the Round Table Conference, the assassination of Bengal for the sake of the candidates of a few. The Congress having accepted non-violence, I do not need to go to the people to give orders. Through the Congress I can give something infinitely better than a few cash decrees. Of that evidently Britain has no need. I am willing but believe.

Servants, 30-4-46

## AN ENGLISH SUGGESTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An English friend wrote that

"It is still reasonable at present to proceed on the assumption that the Muslims would accept something a good deal less than 'Pakistan'. But the trouble is that the longer the time that elapses without any compromise scheme being reached, the stronger and more insistent will be the cry for 'Pakistan', so that in the end and not at present will be the only alternative. I think the view held by some that there is nothing to be done but to wait upon events is fatal. It is up to the British now to use all their powers of persuasion and statesmanship to compel the parties to settle."

The crux of the matter is who is to control power at the Centre—Hindus or Muslims? One day the Congress must be prepared to make great concessions. The principle of parliamentary democracy and majority rule must be jettisoned. They are not applicable when two distinct civilizations have not to be done together. Majority rule from the Muslim point of view will mean or, at any rate, contain the essence of the dominance of one civilization over the other. If the Congress do not recognize this quickly, I am afraid that partition will become, if not the only alternative, the best one—which will give you as ple as if how bad the other alternative will be!

If the Congress can be brought to see the need for great concessions at this point, I am sure compromise schemes can be found. I hold this necessity to be vital."

Of course the British Government can do much. They have done much by force. They can make the parties come to a solution by force. But they need not go as far. What they have done hitherto is to prevent a proper solution. In proof of my statement I commend the esteemed correspondent to the columns of *Morning*. The only thing the British Government have to

do is to change their attitude. Will they? They are ready, they told us India only by a policy of divide and rule. A living unity between Muslims and Hindus is a fearful work danger to their rule. It would mean an end of it. Therefore it never so me that a true solution will come with the end of the rule, potentially if not in fact.

What can be done under the threat of Pakistan? If it is not a threat but a desirable goal, why should it be prevented? If it is undesirable and means only for the Muslims to get more under its shadow, any solution would be an unjust solution. It would be worse than no solution. Therefore I am anxious for waiting till the message is gone. India's independence is a living thing. No make-believe will suit. The whole world is on the threat of a new birth. Anything done for a temporary gain would be tantamount to an abortion.

I cannot think in terms of narrow Muslims or narrow Hindus. I am wholly uninterested in a partition solution. India is a big country, a big nation composed of different cultures, which are coming to blend with one another, each assimilating the rest. If I were wait for the completion of the process, I must wait. It may not be completed in my day, I shall have to die in the faith that it must come in the fullness of time. I should be happy to think that I had done nothing to hamper the process. Subject to this condition, I would do anything to bring about harmony. My life is made up of compromises, but they have been compromises that have brought me nearer the goal. Pakistan cannot be worse than foreign domination. I have lived under the latter though not willingly. If God so desire it, I may have to become a helpless witness to the creation of my dream. But I do not believe that the Muslims really want to dismember India.

Servants, 30-4-46

## Waste Destruction in Bihar

A correspondent is proved that I have been wrong about the shocking tragedy in Bihar (Hydrabad State). I have before now read an another conversation that because I am content in public about certain wrongs it is not to be thought that I am oblivious to them or that I am doing nothing. I must be allowed to judge what is best under given circumstances. If all I have heard about Bihar (not all has been published in the papers) is true, nothing more like it has happened anywhere in all India. If Hydrabad State is not to be given over to lawlessness and Hindu life and property not rendered valueless, there should be a thorough and impartial judicial inquiry commanding confidence, and full compensation should be given to those who are rendered suddenly homeless. It is to be hoped that Muslim spokes outside Hydrabad will ask for full investigation into the happenings.

Servants, 30-4-46

M. K. G.

## THE AJMER INCIDENT

(By M. K. Gadhvi)

Having published the gist of the case of the Khadi Exhibition organisers about the national flag incident, I am in duty bound to publish the following communication of the Commissioner of Ajmer Mirwan on the incident.

"A feature of the exhibition by the Ajmer Congress of what is known as the 'National Flag' has been an advantage opened by a committee known as the 'Khadi Gana Udyog Exhibition Committee'. For this a number of temporary structures have been erected adjoining the fort on a plot of owned land, which is under the control of the Municipal Committee. Advantage was taken of the fact that the exhibition attracted large crowds of people to hold political meetings on a vacant plot between the exhibition grounds and the entrance to the city bazaar. At two of these meetings speeches of an extremely objectionable character were delivered, and it was evident that the organisers of the meeting, who are members of the local Congress were planning under the pretext of promoting the use of Khadi and village industries as a means to bring the Government into hatred and contempt. The fact that these objectionable utterances were made at a place adjoining a bazaar occupied by considerable numbers of the Indians was an additional provocation.

Further, the organisers of the exhibition set up a flag-staff on an adjoining bastion of the fort from which the Congress flag was flown. This bastion is on Government land and is a part of the fort of the Police Station. Permission was neither sought nor obtained for this act. Apart from the unbecomingly of a party emblem of this nature being displayed from a Government building, the flying of the Congress flag from the top of an ancient Mughal fort, which is a protected monument, cannot prove edifying to certain sections of the public.

After satisfying himself by personal inspection as to the facts, the Commissioner decided to issue two prohibitory orders to prevent a breach of public tranquillity. The first order was addressed to the organisers of the exhibition, by name, and it directed them to remove the flag and flag-staff within one hour and to refrain from repeating it within ten yards of the fort ramparts. The second order was a general one prohibiting political meetings under the Municipal limits for a period of ten days. The issue of this order was rendered necessary by the manner in which certain persons of the Congress had placed the apparently which the holding of the Khadi Exhibition presented.

As far as the first order is concerned, the rule forbids in which it was addressed contained no warning that refusal to comply, whatsoever the policy were directed to remove the flag and the flag-staff. Action is being taken separately regarding the refusal of the organisers of the exhibition to comply with the order.

If the above version is true, the case of the Exhibition Committee falls to the ground. I may state that a correspondent claiming to be impartial made a letter supporting the version of the Ajmer exhibition. I refrain from expressing any opinion till my investigation is complete. One thing, however, is clear, the Commissioner has done everything he can to keep the Muslims against the Exhibition Committee. Pasopada against it pours out through a portion of the Commissioner's liver if the facts are as he has stated them, the Commissioner could have avoided the unnecessary

reference to the 'Mughal Fort'. He knew that the Exhibition Committee could have no intention of wounding Muslim susceptibilities.

I have further information that more trouble is brewing in Ajmer, but of this more when I have full facts.

Meanwhile let me draw attention to the reported model act of a Commissioner in the Frontier Province who, when a Congressman went to his office to hoist the Congress flag, straightaway hoisted it himself, and hoisted the Muslim League flag as well, taking care that the Union Jack flew the highest of all. But for the sake of harmony and rest of the Commissioner it is difficult to say what would have happened.

Srinagar 30-4-49

### An Unofficial Dictum

A correspondent sends me a print cutting containing a report of an Allahabad judgment of two English judges sitting as appellate court in delivering their judgment allowing the appeal their Lordships are reported to have said:

"The case is unsatisfactory because we have no less than five persons who were in effect, if their evidence can be relied upon, eye-witnesses and yet, having regard to the slight value placed upon truth in this country, we have scarcely to supply our minds as to whether they can be believed."

This is an extraordinary pronouncement from a bench of judges. What legal basis had these two judges for the sweeping statement made by them as to the character of a whole nation? The inference is that in other countries a higher value is placed upon truth. Now if this was a universally accepted proposition, perhaps the judges would have been justified in taking legal notice of it. There is, however, not only no such acceptance but experienced observers have testified that, on the whole, greater value is put upon truth in India than elsewhere. But no judge should be influenced one way or the other by such observations as have no legal value. I would go further and say that such observations ought not to be made by any responsible person, even on political platforms. They can never be proved. But when they are made by judges they create their judgments and may lead to miscarriage of justice. As it stood that the Allahabad judges have made use of them has in coming to their decision and have thus proved their incapacity to hold responsible posts. The case in which the observation was made affected poor people. But the fact that only poor persons were involved makes it all the more necessary to take public notice of the judges' statement. Who knows in how many cases this line of theirs has resulted in deferring justice?

Srinagar 3-4-49

M. K. G.

### NOTICE

The business hours of our Reading office are now 10 to 11 A. M. and 2 to 7 P. M. Readers will please note. HARJAN



## HINDU MUSLIM TANGLE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The passage proposed has shown the face of the Hindu-Muslim problem. I have called it an *intricate*. There can be no compromise with it. At the same time I have said that if the right course of Machine does it, no power on earth can prevent it, notwithstanding opposition evident or non-evident. It cannot come by humanistic agreement.

That is the political aspect of it. But what about the religious and the moral which are greater than the political? Far at the bottom of the cry for paradise is the belief that Islam is an exclusive brotherhood, and *non-Hindu*. Whether it is against other religions it is not stated. The newspaper contents in which parody is practised describe Hindu as *politically* unsoundable. Nothing good can come out of Hindu or Hinduan. To live under Hindu rule is a sin. Even just Hindu-Muslim rule is not to be thought of. The contents show that Hindu and Muslim are already at war with one another and that they must prepare for the final battle.

That was when Muslim thought that Machine was the natural enemy of Hindu. But as it is the case with Hinduan, ultimately a compromise with the enemy and make friends with it. The process had not been completed. As if destiny had overruled Hinduan, the Muslim League started the same game and taught that there could be no blending of the two cultures. In this connection I have just read a booklet by Sir Auckland Clarke, which shows that ever since the advent of Islam with Machine, there has been an attempt on the part of the best mind of both to see the good points of each other, and to recognise inherent similarities rather than marking dissimilarities. The author has shown Islamic history in India in a favourable light. If he has stated the truth and nothing but the truth, it is a revealing booklet which all Hindu and Muslim may read with profit. He has secured a very favourable and reasoned preface from Sir Shafiq Ahmad Khan and several other Muslim notables. If the audience collected there reflects the true evolution of Islam in India, then the partisan propaganda is unnecessary.

Religion binds man to God and man to man. Does Islam bind Muslim only to Muslim and categorise the Hindu? Was the message of the Prophet peace only for and between Muslims and war against Hindu or non-Muslims? Are eight crore of Muslims to be fed with the wheat I can only describe as poison? Those who are unwilling the poison into the Muslim mind are rendering the poison themselves to Islam. I know that it is not Islam I have lived with and against Muslim not for one day but steadily and almost unintermittently for twenty years. Nor are Muslim worse as this Islam was an *anti-Hindu* religion.

Swrajyam, 23.4.46

## IN THE WAKE OF MECHANISATION

III

OF THE increasing displacement of human labour and as due results an example has just come to light from America where, as we said before, mechanisation of agriculture is proceeding at a very rapid pace. It is described in an article which appeared last year in an American Christian weekly, *Christian Herald* and was reproduced in the Christian quarterly *World Christianity* (now defunct) towards the end of that year. It is reproduced and particularly in some statements, in America the success of having "share-croppers" obtained all the growing mechanism disturbed it badly and brought "to its end the displacement of share-cropper families and the consequent human misery".

"Every day towards mechanisation, ever advance in the utilization of electricity and the automatic machine disturbed the consequences of the existing life and experience about each year for a little less. His numbers are everywhere in areas of the demand industry still require large, though diminishing, numbers of unskilled, or semi-skilled, 'hands', but the expert master mechanic has fallen on evil days."

Exactly the same thing happened in the case of these share-croppers whose story has been narrated by Mark A. Dawber, the author of the above-mentioned article. "The condition," says the writer, "has been the subject of radio, news, and press, surveys and reports have been made." "General pronouncements concerning America's economic problem number one have been released, but the share-cropper situation, has continued our improved but growing worse with every passing day."

The share-croppers and share-tenants, as their names suggest, are those skilled cultivators who do not own the land but earn the crop, a part of which they receive in return for their labour from the landowners. The magnitude of the problem may be realised from the fact that one of about two million farm families dependent upon the cotton crop for a livelihood, 1,500,000 are share-croppers and tenant-farmers. The share-cropper family earned a \$1 to \$2 a person per year and a share-tenant family an average of a \$3 a person per year. Most of the share-croppers are Negroes most of the share-tenants are whites. Since 1935, thousands of these have been forced off the land and are trying to live out a living as day labourers and migrant workers, and the end is not yet."

"The sharecropper's condition has been made more difficult," says the writer, "by the introduction of machinery. As a result, thousands of sharecroppers have been displaced with and expelled from the land and the miserable release in which they have lived."

And what is the prospect that the future holds out before them? The narrative goes on.

The labor displacement of sharecroppers when the mechanical cotton picker shall have been perfected is well recognized. The present displacement now in progress is the sale of the all-purpose farm tractor has been equally noticed. Yet tenant farmers, share croppers, and farm laborers—along with Negroes also—are being swept from the land and all its value is gone of the most important agricultural sections of the country. Farmers are depending with their croppers and tenants, receiving the few centimey to operate the tractor and pay for them to the day when they work. A planter in the Mississippi Delta is cited as extraordinary example, purchased ten tractors and sixteen hundred mules, and he let go 150 out of his 160 cropper families, and retained the thirty for day laborers.<sup>1</sup>

The mechanical tractor and cottonpickers are shortening three quarters in the tedious seasons on these helpless folk, and are bringing in their wake destitution and despair.

"The rural landscape is covered with abandoned houses, or, as in sections of Kansas with which I am personally acquainted, the farm houses are being pulled down to avoid taxes. Residents in western Texas explain as they pass: 'There used to be ten cropper families on that farm. The tenant got sick or died. That farm has made a living for a dozen families ever since the land was broken, and only three are living on it and two are getting just enough to get by.' The croppers are leaving the land for good making a living."

The story proceeds in an ominous pathos.

"Rural schools decline. Village merchants fail. Drought and poor cotton prices have undermined them, and mechanized farming has taken them. Once instruction is stopped, and even the government program intended to benefit the farmer has become an obstruction of study. This is the story of those who have been displaced from the land, the story of the students crying pathos over the loss of people, lacking instruction and degree. Others not yet displaced are facing the same loss in stark fear."

Even a worse time, and it is no wonder that "three families, described as the 'victims' of increasing mechanization of agriculture and of government over-adjustment specialists", make occasional mass protests, however feeble, against what has deprived them of not only their livelihood but of even the opportunity of honest labor. Here is a description of one of such groups.

"There are conditions that reduced the sharecropper to a displaced worker, with no value to sell his own, has created a people in certain sections of the country. In January, during a bitter winter storm, hundreds of these trapped sharecroppers, in Madison, moved along the highway to give demonstrations against the new economic system to which they found themselves. Under the leadership of Owen H. Winfield, a Negro Baptist minister, more than a thousand men, women, and children started along the first main highway. The march in the highway was called as a protest against the growing movement in the cotton country to eliminate share cropping in favor of day labor. The leader of the movement contended that some landowners had evicted their tenants in order to avoid having to share the crop benefit payments received from the Government. Men, women, and children marched in the open. They halted around camp first at midnight, then along the Jackson route at five, during the darkness of the stormy night. Most of them were Negroes, but there was a tailing off of white people. Men

fetched with age, and women as old as had to be carried to the highway on a cot, and below crying from hunger and danger, all presented a deplorable picture."

Some philanthropic organizations are now trying to derive some measure of relief and to find a solution of these problems by way of rural rehabilitation and cooperative farm progress.

IV

It would not be surprising if happened like these begin to shake the back of people in machine economy and its so-called benefits. Thus, for instance read against the background of the above, a little paragraph that appeared in the American weekly, *The New Republic* on 23d September 1939, under the heading "Back to Handwork":

"The Public Security Administration has an interesting policy which it proposes to apply to 15,000 poor farmers in the northeastern section of this country. According to Philip Hunsinger, regional director of the FSA, these farmers will be taught to share their own land, grow their own food and weave their own cloth. He believes that substantial savings can be made in the governmental assistance going to these farmers, who now call their problems by what they can get and buy their necessities in the open market."

The Twentieth Century Fund revealed the other day that, on the average, the problem goes only to pay out of the consumer's dollar the other 60 per cent goes to middlemen. Mr. Hunsinger's 15,000 farmers are paying prices based partly on the many small retail stores, on cheap economy, delivery service, elaborate packaging of staple products, competitive advertising that is consumer wasteful. He is very likely right in saying that they will be better off financially to share their own labor and grow their own food. But what a new necessity is also indicated! When the machine-powered country was created, when flour and textile mills grew in gigantic proportions, they were based on distribution toward cities for income. Along with it went creation of related, industrial and sustaining that of a few cities and many machines. Here we see the great spread technological efficiency revealed because we haven't enough collective intelligence to use our machines to set us free.

The movement may be confined to a small number of persons, but there is considerably a swing of the pendulum, and maybe it will gather momentum with the passage of time and greater disillusionment following more economic disaster. Or so it seems unemployed due to mechanization is not an unknown thing, even as those reported from the West should have a relieving effect, and should make us pause and ponder before we make a plunge towards unbridled mechanization of machines and into wide industrialization. Let us count the cost in human misery the country will be made to pay as the bargain, let us at any rate proceed with open eyes and look before we leap.

C. S.

#### NOTES

The Philadelphia Friend Service, Winfield, has decided to open a capital stock Shortland close in Winfield from 1st July 1940. The machine will be adjusted for economy. Further information can be had from the Secretary of the Service, Winfield.

## OCCASIONAL NOTES

## A Speck of Speculation

In the course of his speech during the recent India debate in the House of Commons—which, as Mr. Wedgwood Benn hinted, was aimed primarily for the benefit of the nearest world—the former Secretary of State for India indulged in speculative guesswork. One of these was that Dominion Status of the Westminster variety was one and the same thing as and identical with Independence, and since it had satisfied even ardent separatists like Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari and Gen. Herring it ought to satisfy India too. What Mr. Benn did not say in his speech but which was the nearly relevant part of the matter was that the status—whatever its name—which was accepted was actually determined by the associated representatives concerned without any pressure or interference from any alien vote-brokers within the country or from outside. As Sir Thomas Inskip pointed out when the question of the status of the Dominions was discussed in the House of Commons, every single clause in the proposed draft bill was so to framed "word for word and letter for letter in the schedule to the Report of the Imperial Conference of 1930." "It would be a matter of very grave responsibility," the Solicitor-General added, "to insert any Amendment in that Bill which would be contrary to the expressed desire of any of our Dominions overseas." As I pointed out last week, the Dominions protest of "transcending" its inter-Imperial relations in the middle of the Great War. In the case of South Africa, although its constitution was framed after what was claimed to be a victory over the Boers, the British Parliament did not share the right even to propose a modified version in the draft Bill embodying the Union constitution, if South Africa chose to be ungrateful. By the same token India under asks for self-determination which is every nation's birth-right, and refuses to listen to her any political suggestion that Britain might be inclined to concede it is for India and India alone to decide what her constitution shall be and by what name her status shall be described.

## The Past Recalled

Regard being had to what is going on at present it is interesting and instructive to recall what Lord Selkirkhead did thirteen years ago.

The occasion briefly was, the ten years limit fixed by the authors of the Montagu scheme for determining the next movement of political reform was about to expire. Lord Selkirkhead, to whom it was "frankly inconceivable that India will ever be fit for self-government," had on December 4, 1931, already written to Lord Reading: "My present view is that we ought rigidly to adhere to the date proposed in the Act for re-examination of the situation, and

that it is now likely, unless matters greatly change in the interval, that such a re-examination will suggest the slightest extension. In the meantime, briefly as I have bled already, obviously it must be given a chance."

In January 1932 Lord Selkirkhead wrote to Lord Reading the following memorable words:

"It is almost useless to dispute the strength of the British position in that we are in India for the good of India. The most striking illustration of the truth of the position is supplied by the intense opposition of nationality, cast and religion in the sub-continent. The more it is made obvious that these antagonisms are profound and affect moment and considerable sections of the population, the more completely is the fact illustrated that we, and we alone, are giving the part of ourselves." (Indian notes)

But developments had in the meantime taken place both in India and England, and there was in the offing a chance of the Labour Party being returned to power in the next election. A strange thing then happened. In July 1932, Lord Selkirkhead pompously declared in the House of Lords that he was "in favor of delay" and was prepared to anticipate the day fixed for the revision of the constitution. On November 5, 1932, Lord Irwin announced the appointment and composition of the Simon Commission. This was obviously done in response to "Indian political pressure to secure recognition of the cause." The next move, however, as is now established by the publication of private correspondence then passed at that time between Lord Selkirkhead and Lord Reading, was that the former shrank from the prospect of the appointment of the Commission being left into the hands of a possible Labour Government to come in a letter dated December 15, 1932, addressed to Lord Reading. His Lordship delivered himself as follows:

"When I made my speech in the House of Lords suggesting that it might be possible to accelerate the Commission of 1934, I was conscious of an opinion was forthcoming in India, I always had it clearly in mind that we could not afford to run the slightest risk that the constitution of the 1932 Commission should be in the hands of our enemies. You can easily imagine what kind of a Commission as so proposed would have been appointed by Col. Wedgwood and his friends. I have, therefore, throughout been of opinion, that it would be necessary for us, as a matter of elementary prudence, to appoint the Commission not later than the summer of 1933. I should, therefore, like to reserve your advice if at any moment you desire an opportunity for making this a useful happen counter to my brother denigrating the Swaraj Party. ... The Swaraj Party at this moment is undoubtedly now by divided councils. The responsibilities of the attitude declared in your speeches and mine has clearly defined many important members of that party to advocate co-operation. Surely these members would be greatly concerned if it were known that they could obtain what the other Swarajists

cannot suddenly come upon us—suddenly. I shall regard them as making any speech which is in the least definite upon these lines until I hear from you. And you would, I think, be well advised to do the same.

But I am sure that, having regard to political consequences in this country, we must keep the submission of the proposal of the Commission in our own hands. In this matter we cannot run the slightest risk. My present view, therefore is—and I believe that the Prime Minister shares it—that we shall in any event, pending the reply, be done up ourselves the Commission in the middle of 1951. If such an evasive attitude offends you any I suppose you will be supported by the Government—[*Reichsbund: The Last Phase, p. 136-8*] [*Index: none*].

The Congress reply to the appointment of the all-white Commission was to pass a resolution (Madras, 1952) imposing a "at every stage and at every turn." This was a discouraging prospect. In a private letter to Lord Irwin dated 16th January 1952 Lord Reichsbund wrote:

"I wrote to you just before making the journey to Victoria Station to say farewell to the Simon Commission. I have persuaded the Prime Minister, Field and the Attorney-General to come with me, so that the journey will be attended with as much importance as we can give it.

I had a long talk with Simon yesterday, and once again covered the ground which seemed useful. I told him, and I am sure that you will agree, that on the first visit, and until the second decline, it would be waste to give as few people as possible the opportunity of studying the Commission. This is a guarantee with which I am sure you will agree, but one aspect, of course, is the other, because the development of events with my chairman. But I had it in my mind that as far as possible people should see on this visit, be asked to meet those who are likely, in the first place to refuse to do so, and so the second to publish such a refusal with as much effectiveness as they can command. A friendly attitude of understanding willingness to accept information and make friends, seems to me clearly indicated. I do not, of course, mean that where the response is likely to be friendly prefer any discussion might set this place.

We have always relied on the overhanging shadow, on the depressed economy, on the lawless courts and on every other in fact, upon the attitude of respect, love and honour upon the judges whether or not it is expedient to show deference to try to make a breach in the wall of suspicion, even in the course of the present visit." [*Reichsbund: The Last Phase, p. 134*] [*Index: none*].

Finding, however, that the Commission had been successfully boycotted despite all official efforts, in February next he again wrote, this time in both directions:

"I should advise Simon to see at all stages our poorest people who are not boycotting the Commission, particularly Muslims and the depressed classes. I should highly advise all his interviews with representative Muslims. The whole policy now is obvious. It is to verify the common Hindu population by the apprehension that the Commission is being got held up by the Muslim support, and having Jewish high and dry." [*Reichsbund: The Last Phase, p. 133*] [*Quadrant: was then appeared in the Commission.*] [*Index: none*].

Many readers will remember how every interview was advertised and how departures were escorted and magnified through the favoured Press.

Further loss of cleavage was suggested to the Viceroy by the Lordship in the course of the same letter.

"You will remember that in dealing with the question of the Independence of the Indian Army, the Majesty's Government were wrong from among the phrase 'Dominion Status' to develop over the obvious and acute need of Indian political development, because it has been laid down that Dominion Status means 'the right to decide (our own defence)', and the right we were not prepared to accord in India, at present, or in any way to prejudice the question whether it should ever be granted. I think it is fair to infer from this that separation should be regarded as a logical movement, and if that is so, the representation might not be treated in the same way as the representation of other political movements, which though they may be unreasonable or ill-ward are not dishonest. It is a constant complaint of our friends in India that they are regarded unjustly by the arrangement that is given to our and how common."

Severham, 28-4-49

Pymond

### Madama Gandhi

By K. Reichsbund. (New Edition) No. 3-10-6.  
 Pages 7 An. Available at Morgan Office-Pages 4,  
 and 17 & 18. Ganga's Road, Bombay 2

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# HARTJAN

1143

Editor, RAIPUR DEER

VOL. VII, No. 10.]

POONA — SATURDAY, MAY 11, 1940

[ ONE ANNA

## A ONE-SIDED INQUIRY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I had hoped that I would not have to say anything on Justice Nagpure's letter's report into the allegations of disloyalty of Aryyagada prisoners in Mysore. But the gross caricature of the action of the State Congress in withdrawing from participation in the inquiry demands an explanation from me. If it was wrong for the State Congress not to participate in the inquiry, the blame was mine. The inquiry was a result of Mahadev Datta's visit to Mysore at the instance of the [Dewan and the former's confidential report to me of which a copy was given to the Dewan. Mahadev Datta had recommended an open judicial inquiry presided over by a judge of known integrity brought from outside. Indeed there was only a departmental inquiry by a Mysore judge. I have been for some time guiding the Mysore Congress, and the Congress acted upon my advice in not leading evidence before a Mysore judge who would not, I felt, be wholly impartial in judging the conduct of officials with whom he must have come in close official contact. It was too much to expect so impartial scrutiny by one who had risen to the rank of a judge from being a Government official.

The allegations were of a most serious character, and they were reported in the presence of Mahadev Datta and before officials occupying the positions of Deputy Commissioner, District Superintendent of Police, Superintendent of Jail and so on. Those who made the allegations were volunteers, not officials, and a few of them held high social positions. It is impossible to treat them as hazy, as the report seems to have done.

I am not yet in possession of the judge's report. What I have before me is a highly tendentious summary of the report published by Government, transcribed by Government's own statements of certain paragraphs and Justice Nagpure's letter's comments on them in his report. It passes comprehension that the inquiry was continued when the complainants refused to appear before the officers. The judge should have dismissed the case for want of evidence. How he could have arrived at definite conclusions in the absence of material evidence is as difficult to say. The judge admits that "most of the persons who made accusations of insults and threats did not attempt to establish those charges," but that he "had a large volume

of oral and documentary evidence" submitted before him. What this "documentary" evidence was we do not know. The oral evidence was of people who had nothing to do with the inquiry but were dragged by the police before the judge to prove the Government case. The judge says he has based his conclusion "on such materials and local probabilities". This is hardly the language of a judge. No judge of integrity and impartiality would have dared to do so. The extensive evidence that Justice Nagpure's letter went into, and made available for consideration against Aryyagada, he refused to give evidence before him, when he knew that their reason in doing so was that they questioned the competence, independence and impartiality of the judge. Two paragraphs in the memorandum are devoted to proving that the leaders of the movement adopted questionable methods of seeking out witnesses known from jail. What else left to do with allegations of serious case is at a loss to know. It would thus appear that, far from the inquiry being into my allegations by Government, it became an inquiry into allegations by Government officials which the judge has supported without giving those against whom the allegations were made an opportunity to rebut them.

My point, however, in referring to the authorities is that the Mysore Congress acted under my advice. The judge's biased finding confirms me in the wisdom of the advice I gave them. Aryyagada, the members of the Mysore Congress were not unaccused in the dirty game being conducted. They were accused in the track being known. The golden rule of the accepted inquiry covers the track, but they should have the track that the bid will be that one day and the track will be found. The execution of the affairs may result in the hardening of their hearts and greater maintenance of the prisoners than before. If such is the case, the prisoners should reject in their sufferings and know that, if they bear them without making, they will bring the local Congress nearer its goal.

(Continued T.O.C.)

### Two New Books

Geometry and War Crises—(Published by A. L. C. C. India). Price Rs. 1 + 2 As. Postage.

Snatcha Mathematics—Posthumous work of Dattatraya Andhara. Price Rs. 1 + 2 As. Postage.

Available at Marathi Office—(1) Poona 4, and (2) 31 Queen's Road, Bombay 5.

## OUR CASTES

I happened to preside over a conference of my comrades at Surat the other day, and friends who surprised that I should have consented to do so in spite of my life being a flat contradiction of any kind of belief in "caste". By caste, by the by, I do not mean caste as the four functional and occupational divisions of Hinduness, but the multitude of sub-divisions of these castes which may originally have had some correspondence with public, but which later were associated with all manner of restrictions and limitations on marriage, social intercourse, and eating and drinking together. The caste I was born in, as one of the numerous sub-divisions of the original division of Hinduness, and a few among us will observe, as against other sub-divisions and other Hindus, the restrictions I have mentioned. Before I consented to preside over the conference I made it clear to the friends who pressed me to do so that I held very strong views on the matter, and that I should be of little use to a conference of comrades. But I was told that it was to happen in those very views that they had invited me, and that I was free to say to them whatever I liked.

There were, therefore, certain things I made absolutely clear in my address. I said that even now as it obtained today, was a variety of the original conception, and that the numerous sub-divisions were still worse mistakes, that even the original caste was a functional social division, that there was no superiority or inferiority attached to the various functions, and that in ancient India there was plenty of intercourse by marriage and there was no restrictions on intermarriage. I also explained that caste seemed to me to have sprung out of the economic conditions of the time, that it was essentially feudal in character, and that it certainly had nothing to do with religion. I also explained that, whilst we called ourselves Hinduness, few only performed the functions of Hinduness or had any of the qualities of the head and heart that are said to be the natural attributes of Hinduness, and that Hindus of all castes and creeds could be fitly described only as Hinduness, if indeed they cared to apply the label of a caste to themselves. I also told them that, so far as our present position went, many of us presently and some even publicly were infringing all the restrictions on intermarriage and even to a certain extent the restrictions on intermarriage. It was therefore no use pretending that any restrictions were being observed. All caste was, therefore, no better than convenient social groups. Those groups existed in all societies even in the West where there were no caste and some kind of groupings will continue to exist until the end of time, but then it should not be allowed to come in anything but a social grouping. Sidney Low has said in his *Peace of India*: "The

craftiness and craftiness of the caste system need not blind us to its other aspects...It provides every man with his place in society, his education, his circle of friends. It makes him, at the outset, a member of a corporate body, protects him through life from the onsets of social jealousy and unbridled egotism, it secures him companionship and a sense of community with others in like case with himself. The caste organisation is to the Hindu his club, his trade union, his benefit society, his philanthropic society." This is true, and so the answer that it serves as a club or a benefit society or a philanthropic society is wrong a useful function and shoulder part of the social burden of India if Bharatya, for instance, looked after the social, educational and medical needs of their own group, that meant so much the less burden on India. And it came took upon themselves the task of self-perpetuation by passing themselves of all ugly customs and practices, it would mean fulfilment of part of the duty that Hinduness owes to itself and India.

The corollary from this was the obvious one that caste could exist only in the extent that there were no antagonistic and to the extent that they achieved the national ideal and remained only as convenient social groups. They may have their own educational institutions, but they should be kept open to all Hindus including Harijans, restriction as the number of those outside the group being allowed. They need not convert themselves into political groups and adduce themselves, as such, to political activities any more than Labour Groups, or Kisan Sabhas, or such other groupings, but even their existence in a restricted character would be futile if they did not support the activities of the Congress, especially its constructive programme. At our rate I could serve no useful purpose as their president if our members could not decide to make their contribution.

For two days we discussed the position, and I am glad to be able to say that the Conference passed two resolutions of a far-reaching character so far as the institution of "caste" goes. I have gone into the question in some detail because what I read at Surat applies to all the thousands and one caste in Hinduness which are today so many separate pools or existing wells and have got to be digged and merged in order that they may be so many sources contributing their share in the ocean of Hinduness. Here are the two resolutions:

"1. Whereas all the caste in Hinduness, though claiming to be based on religion, have really nothing to do with religion but are only convenient social groups, the conference resolves that it should be the goal of the Avaraj community to purge itself of all the ugly practices obtained through and to merge itself into the great community of Hinduness. This conference also resolves that it accords the Congress goal of the elimination of inequalities by means of unity and non-violence, and that all the activities of the community will, far from being

propelled to the goal, contribute to the achievement of that goal.

3. This conference accords its hearty support to the constructive programme of the Congress, viz. think and village industries, abolition of untouchability, communal unity, prohibition, and appeals to all the members of the community to make a solid contribution to the cause of the Congress, of unity and not all these items in their daily life.

Though these resolutions were passed by an overwhelming majority, there being only two or three dissenters to the first resolution, I do not pretend to believe that the conference in any way represented the 50,000 odd people describing themselves as *Ambedkar* and living in a few hundred villages of the Deccan district. But they strike a new departure and, if every village can adopt the resolutions it would mean a great step forward. Whatever may be the aim they indicate the direction of reform for all the groups known as "castes" in India.

There were a number of other resolutions also dealing with the particular social abuses in the community—dowry system, forced gifts of money and material by parents of the bride to the parents of the bridegroom, both before and after marriage and so on. The conference labelled these as barbarous and shameful, and appealed to young men and women, not yet married, to sign pledges to have nothing to do with these practices. There were resolutions appealing to the members to preserve the religious character of various ceremonies by refusing to burden them with pomp and wasteful expenditure, and also appealing to parents and guardians to encourage marriage of child-widows, and to afford all facilities to grown-up widows remarrying in many cases. There was, however, nothing destructive about these resolutions, and all communities do have traditional knowledge on these or similar lines.

Savaran, 7-3-40

M D

### GANDHIJI'S STATEMENT

When Gandhiji was shown Raman's article of Sir Hugh O'Neill's statement, he said his position was absolutely clear. The only weakness that can possibly cripple a preliminary conference of elected leaders in the British Government, and they will do so and fail, they the men and women who they have made up their mind to part with power and recognize the right of India to frame the charter of her own freedom.

Savaran, 3-3-40

### NOTICE

The Central Office of the Harijan Sevak Sangh will send a few scholarships to Harijan girls from Bales, U. P., and Nagpur studying in high school classes. A few scholarships are also available for Harijan students going in for vocational and industrial study from various provinces and states. Applications for the same will be received at 10 before this June 15th on prescribed application forms which can be had from the Office of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, Congress, Delhi.

MUNJALAN,

Asst. Secretary, Harijan Sevak Sangh

### QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Hindu-Muslim Unity

Q. You can do Harijan work, you can improve Hindu and village industries, but when it comes to Hindu-Muslim unity, you feel sorry because he was organizing it.

A. The change has been brought about by several Hindu organizations unknown to me. But lately it has been repeated with considerable vehemence by one who knows me intimately. The complaint challenges me to do work like change in Harijan. There can be no comparison between Harijan and Muslim. I owe a debt to Harijan in need of any assistance that can be given to them. Harijan work is humanitarian work. Muslims stand in need of my humanitarianism. They are a powerful community standing in no such need. Any work done for Muslims after the Harijan style will be misused. To use Hindu and village industries against me is thoughtless. There can be organized and are organized for all who will come to profit by them. As a matter of fact both Hindus and Muslims, and indeed others too, profit by these services. Hindu-Muslim unity means an end to the feeling I have read and an end to the work I may have suffered on viable system, but I have no doubt that the direction in which I am working is the right one and is bound to lead us to the goal.

Bihar and Bihar

Q. You feel kindly about Bihar. You ask for justice about it and you want Muslims outside Hyderabad to see their justice is done. Do you feel equally kindly if Muslims are ill-treated as they were in Bihar?

A. I do not know what the exact reference to Bihar is. All I can say is that one single case of mistreatment of Muslims by Hindus having been reported to me, has been investigated by me. That has been my practice since the days of the Khilafat. I have not always succeeded in finding the truth or of giving satisfaction to the aggrieved parties that I had done my best. The Bihar case is too vague to be answered more fully. If a particular instance were mentioned, I should be able to say what I had done about it. But suppose that I had failed in my duty to do justice, supposing further that I did not feel equally kindly about Hindu mistreatment of Muslims, would that justify indifference about Bihar? I have said that there is nothing like Bihar in all the previous cases of Hindu-Muslim clashes, occurred of course that the allegations we made were true. All I have asked is that full justice and reparation should be made through a tribunal mutually respected. My proposal is the case of Bihar should be applicable to all such cases.

Savaran, 6-3-40

Mohammed Ghannai

By S. Radhakrishnan, (New Edition) Rs. 1-10-0  
Postage 7 As. Available at Narayan Press, 4, and 47 A. D. Queen's Road, Stanley S.

# *Harijan*

May 11

1949

## ATMER

(By M. K. Gadhvi)

As soon as I read the extraordinary communication of the Commissioner of Agartala, I asked for proof from the workers in Agartala in my part of their charges. It seems to me that in every single particular the charges are supported by documentary evidence. I have now in my possession copies of the relevant documents including a blue-print showing where the so-called Agartala flag is, where the wall on whose bastion the Congress flag was flown, is. The document giving a categorical denial of all the allegations of the Agartala Commissioner is published below. From it, it would appear that the Commissioner is prejudiced against the Congress.

1. The ground including the wall and a portion behind it is in the possession of the Municipal Council as lease.

2. Permission was duly received by the khaki workers for the use of the ground for exhibitions.

3. No separate permission for flying the flag as it has already been considered necessary.

4. The Municipal Council even voted Rs. 51 towards the expenses of the exhibition.

5. The Agartala flag is a well-defined structure. It is at present used for the barracks, etc. It is undoubtedly a protected monument and in possession of the Government. The water wall is demolished and is included in the ground leased to the Municipal Council and is going to be demolished by them.

6. There was no complaint brought before the workers against the hoisting of the flag on the wall. It could give no offence to anybody. The Agartala Council contains Muslim members. The division to give permission to hold the exhibition on the ground was unanimous. Muslims freely raised the objection. Well-known Muslims attended the party given to both communities although they knew that the flag was hoisted on the water wall.

I have read many demands by officials of uncomfortable popular charges sheets. But it is hard to beat the well-founded denunciation by the Commissioner of Agartala. He has now added to British prestige. If ever a case was clearly made out for civil disobedience, surely the Agartala case is such a case. I refrain because of the racial atmosphere and because I wish to take no action that will perpetuate a crime. The workers in Agartala have done well to exercise self-restraint in the face of the greatest provocation. This case demands serious notice by the Central authority. In my opinion nothing short of the removal of the Commissioner from the high

office he occupies will meet the requirements of justice.

It may be argued that the Commissioner of Agartala is no worse than many such officials who do such worse things with impunity. The argument is valid. But many thieves escape with impunity because of want of conclusive evidence. When, however, one is caught and handed it is well to deal with him and give satisfaction to the injured public. Lord Curzon had his great luncheon. But he behaved as justice being done and therefore had no hesitation in acting sternly and promptly when a proved case came under his observation. Nevertheless of civil disobedience, I believe, is common cause between the Government and the Congress. The latter will accept it as what it is clearly inevitable, if that is to say, the Congress is ready. I am leaving no stone unturned to prevent it. But if the executive officials behave as the Agartala Commissioner seems to have done, no effort on my part may permit a conflagration.

On the 28th ultimo, being the last Sunday of the month, all over the country there was *Jhanda Day*. In Agartala too the Congress had arranged the festival to take place in the Town Hall compound. But this time the Commissioner, who is also the District Magistrate, prohibited the use of the Town Hall compound for the purpose. It is debatable whether he had any legal right to prohibit the use of the municipal ground is the matter he did. But for the moment it is not relevant. The fact of the case of the strike is relevant to show the line the Commissioner has against the Congress. The matter was referred to me by the telegraph, and I advised the Congressmen to obey the order and not attempt to hold the meeting even elsewhere. But if the Commissioner is taken upon providing a quarrel, I suppose he will not be happy till he has succeeded.

Srirangam, 8-5-49

[The following is the statement referred to in the foregoing Ed. Harizan.]

1. The exhibition was organised by the Rajanikantha Charitra Sangh and not by the Agartala Congress as suggested in the communication. The grounds on which the exhibition was held are in possession of the Municipality. Whether they are Hindu or not is irrelevant. Permission was duly taken from the Municipal Commission for the use of the ground. A petition was ordered for the exhibition proper and the remaining portion was filled with local speakers for holding public meetings in connection with the exhibition.

2. The Commissioner, who is also District Magistrate, has throughout been hostile to communal activity. For instance, he demanded money even for issuing a khaki permit, a procedure never adopted anywhere. He would not allow the use of the Anagar Band for a party to be held in honour of Seth Jhansilal Baid,



3. Only three public speeches were made in connection with the exhibition and not for political purposes. The first meeting was in connection with the opening ceremony performed by Seth Jemshid Bhai Saigal spoke on Akshai and also pointed out the unhappy position of Aghar Mirwan. He criticised the minority of the Communes, who is also the District Magistrate, in demanding amnesty for publishing the Akshai papers. I also spoke I drew attention to the editorial note published in *The Hindustan Times*, and said that it was established beyond doubt that Mr. Haldewar was suffering from nervous. I criticised the two acts of the Communes. Next day, another meeting was addressed by Shri Ram Parvat Devi Deshpande, a prominent Congress worker of Delhi and an ex-president of the Delhi Congress Committee. She spoke on Akshai generally but made a particular reference to the happening of the Jallianwala Bagh and exhorted the audience to attain freedom for India. I drew that the speeches were unobjectionable.

4. The exhibition grounds were situated outside the boundaries of the police bazaar but adjacent to it. The police bazaar was also situated inside the bazaar.

5. The flag was at first hoisted on a building on an old wall surrounding the Mughal Palace. This wall is a Government land, but this land, including the wall, has been leased by Government to the Municipality and is under the possession of the Municipality. The Municipality has been leasing its use to different committees for holding tournaments and had allowed the municipal staff club to utilize it as their sports ground. This last step was objected to by the Communes act on the ground that the land was not in the possession of the Municipality but because it "was made over to the Municipal Committee by the Government for the purpose of a public garden." Mr. Haldewar himself were in this letter. "There are the terms on which it was leased to the Municipal Committee." As far back as 1931, the Municipal Chairman (who was Mr. Bhai, Superintendent Engineer, Punjab, nominated by the local Government) suggested that the wall should be demolished in order to enable the Municipality to extend the museum garden. His suggestion was accepted by the Commissioner who, after consulting the Superintendent Engineer, New Delhi, informed the Committee that the request could be demolished.

6. The wall does not form part of the bazaar police station. It is situated as corner wall outside the main wall of the Mughal Palace and wholly unconnected with it. If demolished, it will not expose the bazaar which is surrounded by the main wall as shown on the plan. Even the police station have not said that the wall is a part of the bazaar.

7. No separate permission for hoisting the National Flag has been ever received. The

National Flag is a component part of all national activities. The flag was hoisted in the previous Akshai exhibition held on months ago on the Town Hall grounds which are also under the control of the Municipality. The question of seeking permission from Government for hoisting the National Flag on the wall, therefore, does not arise.

8. The wall on which the flag was hoisted is not at all the remnant of the "ancient Mughal Fort" as has been claimed. As a matter of fact, the ancient Mughal Fort was not a fort but the fortified palace of Emperor Akbar. It was converted into an arsenal by the British Government and was fortified during the tenure of 1857. It is at present used as Tehsildar's court, S. P. C. A. College, veterinary hospital, and museum, etc. No security attaches to the wall, otherwise Mr. Bhai would never have requested the Government for permission to demolish it on the ground that it was "of no historical importance." Had it been considered a "protected monument", the Superintending Engineer, Government of India, would certainly have taken objection to the suggestion and would not have agreed to its demolition. The opinion of the Superintending Engineer was endorsed by Mr. Haldewar himself (as mentioned in (1) above). The fort itself is a protected monument, but not the rampart wall whose demolition has been allowed by the Government.

9. The flag itself could not cause any offence to anybody. The National Flag has been hoisted in Aghar on many occasions, several times on the Town Hall grounds, but no objection was ever taken on the pretext of unobjection.

10. Muslims attended the opening ceremony and visited the exhibition in very large numbers. Some prominent Muslims attended the dinner party given by Seth Jemshid Bhai. The National Flag was flying on the wall all the time. No complaint was received from the Muslims or from anybody by the organizers of the exhibition about the National Flag. Among the Muslims who attended the dinner party were Mulla, Akshai Bhai, Junior Vice-Chairman of the Aghar Municipality and a Municipal Commissioner elected on the Muslim League ticket, and Mulla Zahid Hassan and Akshai Ash Khan, both Municipal Commissioners.

11. The Municipal Committee unanimously passed a resolution requesting Rs. 50 for the Akshai exhibition. The Muslim League members of the Municipality also supported the resolution. The relations between the communities have been generally better. It is wholly wrong for the Commissioner to suggest that the flying of the flag from the "remnants of an ancient Mughal Fort which is a protected monument" caused grave offence to a certain section of the public.

KANINDA GORAL GARG  
Secretary, Khadi & Village Industries  
Commission, Aghar

## OCCASIONAL NOTES

## The Crisis of the Matter

The latest issues of the *Hindustan* received by our mail bring to light several aspects of the recent India debate in the Parliament of which our carefully edited summary edited by Rector gave me an idea. For instance, it is interesting to learn that a thinking and by no means unfeeling member of the House has begun to show a growing appreciation of the Indian demand for independence. Sir George Schuster made it quite clear in his speech that the only reasonable course for Britain was to leave it to India alone to decide as to how her future constitutional status shall be known. Not only that, it should be England's concern to set India on her own foundations in the world. "I say very little," he observed, "as to whether the words used by the Indians are Independence or Dominion Status, because, if we face reality, it must be clear that if India creates a state in her own development when she is strong enough to stand on the foundations of her own strength in the world, then nothing can keep her bound within the British Commonwealth. If the sacred wish of the Indian people is to walk free. What meaning has Dominion Status as a barrier? I am quite prepared to face that and more than that, I am prepared to say that we should do all we possibly can to help India to secure the strength to stand on her own foundations in the world." "But of course," Sir George went on to remark, "having said that, Indians cannot expect us to say we look forward to the independence of India as a goal, because our hope must be that, though capable of independence she should remain of her own free will a member of the British Commonwealth." Sir George claims himself to be a shrewd reader. But one cannot help feeling that for once, at any rate, old Homer has been found wanting! Nevertheless India has never held that independence excludes free association with Britain, on the contrary our common aim along has been that it is a necessary step towards a Britain, by identifying herself with India's cherished national aspirations will not be negating her own ideal of a free Commonwealth of nations, as Sir George fears. On the contrary, that alone can be found bonds which, as a British statesman remarked at the Imperial Conference of 1926, had need to be "wilder stronger than steel or light as silk" and which alone can hold Britain and India together. The crux of the question that faces Britain today really is not whether India is to have her independence or not but whether Indian independence is to come through the willing recognition of Britain or in the teeth of her opposition.

## A Warning Note

Sir Stanley Benda's speech while containing several observations that merit a challenge,

struck the right note when he remarked:

"I urge with all the emphasis I can that we should not be lulled into a sense of false optimism by the comparative consensus of political feeling in the last few months, but rather seize this opportunity to press on with any considerable scheme which will bring the parties together and lay down the principles of a concordance which can be worked."

"It is essential," he continued, "that the House should make up its mind that this work must be done in India, by an elected body, carrying the confidence of all classes and all larger interests."

Really welcome was the admission that the initiative in this respect had to come from Britain. After referring to the various alternative proposals for setting up a machinery to apply the principle of self-determination in India, Sir Stanley proceeded:

"I would urge that no stone should be left unturned to get together some body in India, representing all wide interests in general, to sit down and grapple with this matter. I think we should say that we are not in the least frightened by the boom of independence although we are Indian politicians in both East and West and North, and say what 'Independence' would be worth without association with the Commonwealth, and to give the definite assurance that if there is a substantial amount of agreement in India on the basic changes in the constitution, the Parliament will not hesitate, even amid the preoccupations of the war, or with a time limit of not more than 18 months after the termination of the war, to implement these changes in an Act of full confidence and with the hope that it will lead, as we believe it will, to the greater prosperity and contentment of that land."

## Scepticism Answered

It was, however, left to Mr. Sorensen to check the same with regard to Indian independence. A spate of scepticism had been indulged in, during the debate, by the former Secretary of State, Mr. Wedgwood Benn, and others. The former had even tried to make the general world believe that Dominion Status of the Westminster variety was identical with independence, and that it was sheer unbecoming obsequy on India's part to have rejected the same. Mr. Sorensen challenged the honesty of that statement. It was a question of plain reality, so far as England was concerned, to substantially concede India's claim to full independence.

"The Under Secretary of State said quite categorically that India could never expect independence—I am not a lawyer, but I rather understand that from the days when the Statute of Westminster was passed it has been possible for some of our Dominions to claim such sovereign rights that they can actually secede from organic connection with the rest of the Empire. If there is that possibility under the Statute of Westminster, will the Under Secretary say so?—I quote some of the words that he used to mean, 'either or neither'—Some people use the word 'Independence' as a far less rapid word than others, and 'Dominion Status' as an indication that it may mean something to the House and something else to people outside. I think it should be frankly recognised that Indians will insist on securing independence according to their own interpretation, and surely we wish for nothing else. If we wish for anything else, we are acting wholly unbecomingly with our pretensions as the war."

He gave no answer to those who were inclined to explain the emotional problem. "It must be recognized," he proudly pointed out, "that there are some people who are a little green-eyed as soon as the emotional emotional difficulties in India are an excuse either for refusing any further development towards Indian self-government or for justifying their claim that independence can never be granted to India because of internal disruption and other dangers." Applying the criterion of India's status with regard to the War to the question under debate, Mr. Swenson proceeded:

"Whatever may be our views, and even though we may have profound regret that India is not acting in the way we would like her to do, that is not the point. The point is that India is a free people in her own mind, if not legally. Rightly or wrongly, she has come to the conclusion that she was not consulted at the beginning of the war and yet was involved in it, and that whatever may be the big secret we pay to freedom in India, we do not intend to send India on a message unless this by her own volition to decide, as other Dominions do, her own course of action in the future. We have to go a long way yet in order to appreciate what that message means. It is wanted for us, because we are British and not Indian, to feel that India should not have taken the course, but if we knock India over on one side merely because it is not our opinion, virtually we do the same thing as has been done in Germany, Norway, Finland, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. These countries have been dominated by us since war and have been told that they must accept the position for their own good, or because it is a natural necessity of the situation. These countries resent that.

The Indians are in the same position. They say that whatever the English say that about the nation and whatever plausible or genuine explanation the English may advance, the fact remains that the Indians are under us since war, and the British are determined that they shall remain under it. Judging from certain statements made by the Under Secretary this afternoon, it would seem as if we are going to say to the Indian people, 'You shall be free provided you agree with us, and so long as you do not claim the right to decide from the Indian Empire, when you do or intend to do that, you shall not be free.' We would not please such words by Germany towards Denmark. I have a natural interest in Denmark as my home country. Denmark will overtake Germany before ultimately. You shall be free provided you do not wish to break away from our dominion over you. That is certainly the position in India, and for more we appreciate it the better."

There were the assurances of no responsible freedom with extra-national freedom, or a fifth statement otherwise. Underlying them was a burning patriotism and love of democracy which was evidenced only by an abhorrence of Nazism and all that it stands for. It was the consciousness of a patriot who sincerely believed that it was a war of principles his country was engaged in, and that to defeat Nazism abroad it was necessary that England should renounce Nazi methods at home first.

"It may be said," continued Mr. Swenson, "that I ought not to say these things because they will be said by the enemy. But surely we have not

come to the point where, through fear of our voice being misunderstood or misinterpreted by the Germans, we should not let it be heard in the rest of the world. We have today to raise our voice in behalf of democracy more vigorously than ever before. We have to say to the world what we know and what we believe, even though it may sometimes mean the exposure of our weakness. In the long run, honesty in the best political policy. The Congress has declared that it is preparing for civil disobedience and non-cooperation. It is not less for the Under Secretary to say that we shall not be deterred by threats of that description, for Indians can also say they too will not be deterred by threats. People with high principles are prepared to go through whatever suffering for what they believe in. In the U.S. at the time when democracy was challenged, we are prepared to confront our enemies that maintain freedom and independence in India, we shall be doing more than anything within compass of our India and against the people of the world to the nations of democracy and freedom. Inspired as we are in this struggle for democracy and freedom of nations and peoples, we must of necessity demonstrate our own strength. Our enemy makes a great deal of our weaknesses, but surely the best answer is not to evade what he says or to abuse him, but to remove the weaknesses."

Scratchers, 5-1-46

Pyramid

# UNWORTHY OF WARDHILA'

It was a rainy night and our carriage was crowded to suffocation. Those who could not sleep lay against the sides of the house by sitting, and their restless chatter kept awake those who did try to sleep. There need have been no suffocation while the train was in motion, but there were some near the windows who said that they would rather be suffocated than have the rain-drops I would open the window when I found that the other fellow was half asleep and he would shut it when he found that I was too sleepy to notice it.

We had about an hour's sleep until about 2 o'clock in the morning, and out of sheer exhaustion we fell off to sleep. But at about 3 or 3-30 came a lady Sikh shouting and screaming. He managed to find some room on the upper deck, but was too bulky and long to be comfortable there. So he got down and shouted to one of the passengers to get up and make room for him. This friend, a Parsi, made room for him without the slightest reluctance. But the Sikh said, 'You better get right up.'—he was still scratching himself half-brother—'you have been sleeping all night. It is nearly four o'clock, and you must have me enough room to be down.'

The evidently the other friend was not willing to do, as he had no sleep until 3 o'clock. The Sikh shouted, 'But will you get up or shall I remove the British Master?'

The Parsi young man remained quiet without budging from his seat. But the Sikh friend had now attracted others who joined him in the shouting, and the hubbub brought a station official in. He saw the situation in a moment and very politely began to ask everyone to move

down a hole and to make some more room for the Sikh. That, however, was not enough for the Jager. He wanted to make an impression. He looked, significantly at the Parsi friend and asked him: 'How far are you going?'

The Parsi friend greatly replied: 'To Bombay.' 'Where are you coming from?'

'From Wartha.'

'Have you got a ticket? Let the Station Master find out first if you have got a ticket. I will show you how you stick to your seat.'

The conversation was going on so far as Hindi. The Parsi friend, who had kept amazingly quiet, now said in English: 'What do you want? What business have you to ask me to show my ticket? What right have you?'

The Sikh, feeling that this friend was civilized enough to talk English, slightly lowered his tone now, and said: 'I did not ask you to show me your ticket. I wanted the station official to find out if you had a ticket.'

The Parsi: 'But you asked me first if I had a ticket. And even if you wanted the station official to find out if I had a ticket, what business had you to suggest that I might be travelling without a ticket?'

The Sikh friend offered a struggle like an expression: 'You and you were travelling from Wartha. You have no bad-mill. You are laid down as a reasonable guest. From your looks I suspected you might not have a ticket.'

With perfect composure the Parsi friend said: 'You are now adding much to the injury, sir. All you will judge a man from his hat dress and his looks?'

'No, I do not,' said the Sikh. 'You are travelling from Wartha. If you had cheap khaki on, I should not have questioned you.'

'Then what do you see on my person? Don't you see that every bit of the cloth on me is khaki?'

He was wearing a coloured coat of khaki cloth, but the Sikh friend having never worn khaki evidently did not know that there could be coloured khaki. But he went to his feet, and said: 'But what about you are lying down on a mill-cloth and not khaki?'

The Parsi roared and: 'I realize it is not, but what has that to do with my having a ticket or not?'

'No,' said the Sikh, but how can a man perform a long journey without a good bedding? And seeing that you had just a sheet and nothing else I suspected that you might be like many of those who travel without a ticket on the train.' The Sikh friend again forgot that in the last season a rush would not think of having anything more than a sheet to spread on the seat. But he now shifted his ground. 'You,' he said, 'being from Wartha, how can you afford to lose your respect? You are a proud man. I

am much older and so I asked you to make room for me, but you flew into a rage!'

'Is that correct?' asked the Parsi friend. 'I actually made room for you. It is you who stomped and roared and even suggested that I might not have a ticket. Don't worry what a man from Wartha should wear and how he should behave. Think of yourself and please don't forget that a blow with a word sometimes cuts deeper than a blow with a sword. That is the blow you gave me.'

The Sikh was surprised but he still insisted that the Parsi friend's behaviour was unworthy of one coming from Wartha. There was no one else in the compartment wearing khaki, and so the Sikh was in 'good' company. His neighbor now took up the cudgels on his behalf and said: 'You are perhaps coming from Gandhi's school?'

'What if I did?'

'If you do, you ought not to lose your temper. They practice silence there.'

'I see,' said the Parsi friend, greatly. 'I was on a visit there and do not belong to the school.'

The last was first of Wartha, chief of the Gandhi Ashram, the first change was that the youth was not wearing khaki then that he was not using a khaki shirt, and since that he had lost his temper. The Government expects satyagrahis to suffer hunger, abuse, kicks, licks blows without a word. If they do so, they are expected to bear everything without flinching. If they fail to do so, they are no satyagrahis. Even so it is Wartha that has to keep the whole code firm, wear khaki, lose all temper, possess words and non-violence in thought, word and deed. These 'non-Wartha-men' thus were the 'Wartha-men' as was Independence for them. They will enjoy it all right, but the code has to be kept by Wartha, and no one else!

SEVENTEEN 6-5-40

M. D.

# To Correspondents and Manuscripters

In view of my absence in Europe at Dehra-dun I find those who can spare me continue to write and ask for answers. I would refer them to the notes by fuller explanation. I know several business friends have not received acknowledgments or answers. They will forgive me. I have to burden my head if I am to cope with the responsibility I am carrying. And what can be better than that I should commence with known friends?

SEVENTEEN 15-5-40

M. K. G.

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# HARIJAN

(Non-cooperative India)

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POONA — SATURDAY, MAY 10, 1942

[ ONE ANNA

## QUESTION BOX

(By H. K. Gandhi)

### Democracy and Non-violence

Q. Why do you say, Democracy can only be moved through non-violence? (The questioner is an American friend.)

A. Because democracy is long as it is opposed by violence cannot prevail. In its progress the world. My notion of democracy is that under it the weakens should have the same opportunities as the stronger. That can never happen except through non-violence. No country in the world today shows any fair patronage except for the weak. The weakest you say, go to the wall. Take your own case. Your land is owned by a few capitalist classes. The mass is now of South Africa. These large holdings cannot be measured except by violence, ruled if not open. Western democracy is a function today, a diluted Nazism or Fascism. As long as it is merely a cloak to hide the Mass and the Fascist tendencies of imperialism. Who is there the war today, if it is not for the maintenance of the desire to share the spoils? It was not through democratic methods that Britain begged India. What is the meaning of South African democracy? In very circumstances has been driven to protect the white man against the coloured man, the second occupation. Your own history is perhaps blacker still, in spite of what the Northern States did for the abolition of slavery. The way you have treated the negro presents a discreditable record. And it is to use such democracy that the war is being fought! There is something very hypocritical about it. I am thinking now now is some of non-violence and trying to expose violence as its antithesis.

India is trying to evolve true democracy, a a without violence. Our weapons are those of non-violence expressed through the shakti, the village industries primary education through handicrafts, removal of untouchability, communal harmony prohibition, and non-violent organisation of labour as an *Ashram*. These mean more effort and more education. We have lag against for maintaining these activities. They are purely voluntary, and their only sanction is service of the Indian.

This is the permanent part of the non-violent effort. From this effort is created the capacity to offer non-violent resistance called non-cooperation and civil disobedience which may culminate in mass refusal to pay rent and taxes. As you

know, we have tried non-cooperation and civil disobedience on a fairly large scale and have succeeded. The experiment has in it promise of a brilliant future. As yet our resistance has been that of the weak. The aim is to develop the resistance of the strong. Your mass will never create safety for democracy. India's experiment can and will, if the people come up to the mark or to put it another way, if God gives me the necessary wisdom and strength to bring the experiment to fruition.

### Hypocrisy

Q. I agree with you that those who do not believe in the truth led down by you for involvement in satyagraha should not hold office in the Congress organisation. What is, however, happening is that, while perhaps upon debated has been effective, hypocrisy is entered a poison. People who have nothing to connect with your programme are coming forward with the satyagraha pledge in order to capture power, their only qualification being lack of scruples. Can you as General of the satyagraha army shut your eyes to this? If not, what remedy do you propose?

A. I suppose Cawpore has known how to deal with the hypocrite and has a qualification for saying that "hypocrite was an old to water". And so it is, but the position where you refer to will soon discover their error either by my seeing the hypocrisy and not wanting the struggle, or by their being used of a role which requires labour from them. Meanwhile I must take everyone at his or her word, and believe that those who have taken the pledge have done so in good faith. I have no right to question anybody's motives unless I have good grounds to the contrary.

### Defence of India Act

Q. The resolution passed at Ranchi says that "Congressmen and those under the Congress influence cannot take on the preparation of the War with men, money or materials". Every prohibition of the Congress has to be explained to the people by Congressmen and Congress committees. If we do that, we are sure to offend the provisions of the Defence of India Act, i.e. we will be committing an act of civil disobedience before you as General have given the word. What are we to do under the circumstances?

A. I am not quite sure that you will commit an offence against the Defence of India

Act merely by following the resolution to the people. But you can shift, put yourself under it by adding 'subject to your explanation and delivering a few clear messages about British rule. In your place I would not do it. Sufficient education has been given to the people as to what British rule is. But you should lay stress on what the people have to do to get out of British rule. Therefore everything depends upon how you say it. You will offend some of my constituents when you deliver explicit orders served upon you.

#### Self-determination

Q. Are you able to consider the right of self-determination to Muslims in a matter so widely affecting others also, viz. Hindus, Sikhs, etc.? Supposing the majority of the Muslims decide to break up Pakistan in view of the Muslim League resolution, what happens to the self-determination of Hindus, Sikhs, etc., who will be minorities in the Muslim States? If you go on like this, where will be the end to it?

A. Of course Hindus and Sikhs will have the same rights. I have simply said that there is no other non-violent method of dealing with the problem. If every component part of the nation claims the right of self-determination for itself, there is no end to it and there is no independence. I have already said that Pakistan is such an outbreak that it cannot stand. As soon as the nation begins to work it out, they will find that it is not practicable. In any case mine is a personal opinion. What the vast Hindu masses and the others will say or do I do not know. My mission is to work for the unity of all, for the sake of the equal good of all.

#### What Should Be Done?

Q. In the last meeting of the Working Committee the Committee have resolved that all Congress members should either be considered as satyagrahi committee or the office-bearers, who for any reason cannot sign the pledge, should resign and make room for others who have signed the pledge. Now, if any Congressman has no faith in your technique but has accepted it only to carry out the Working Committee's resolution and is spending only because he wants to remain in office, is he entitled to become a satyagrahi and remain in office?

A. Surely the office-bearers should resign. The pledge taken merely to remain in office is of no value. Such a person should not hold office.

#### For Non-performance

Q. If anyone signing the satyagrahi pledge does not observe the rules laid down in it, what action will be taken against such a satyagrahi?

A. He is liable to be removed from the position he may hold.

#### If A Committee Refuses

Q. If a Congress committee refuses to transform itself into a satyagrahi committee, what is the position of that committee?

A. That area will be unrepresented unless

there are other Congressmen to take the place of the delinquent committee.

#### Can They Take the Pledge?

Q. Can the following persons take the satyagrahi pledge?

(a) A pleader who has given an undertaking to the court that he will not join any civil disobedience movement.

(b) A person who though he wears khadi himself has not cloth for others and uses silk cloth for his bed sheets, etc.

(c) A person who though a khadi-wearer has not made in foreign cloth.

A. These persons cannot take the pledge.

Savagan, 13-5-40.

#### BASIC EDUCATION

The annual meeting of the Hindustani Tahsil Sangh was held at Savagan on the 2nd and 3rd May, Dr. Zakir Husain presiding.

The following members were present:

1. Dr. Abul Hasan, 2. Rajkumar Anand Kaur, 3. Shri Shrinubachar Jaji, 4. Acharya Kaka Kaldhar, 5. Shri I. C. Kumbhar, 6. Shri G. Ramaswamiyer, 7. Acharya Radhokh Varna, 8. Acharya Vinoba, 9. Sant Ashadevi, 10. Shri K. W. Arjunaiah.

The following are some of the important resolutions passed:

1. The Sangh expresses its agreement with the opinion of the Basic Conference of Basic Education that steady and encouraging progress has been made during the last two years, and that basic education leads due to being about a healthy revolution in the existing unsatisfactory system of primary education, with special reference to rural areas, and that it has brought a new sense of self-confidence into the life of children and a refreshing sense of healthy disciplined freedom into the school.

2. The Sangh is definitely of the opinion that, in spite of its larger material expenditure, the basic system will in the long run be more economical than the existing one. There will, in addition, be such advantages as cannot be measured in terms of money.

3. The Sangh is of opinion that in the choice of basic crafts for schools the predominant occupation of the locality should be taken into account, provided that it is rich in educational possibilities. In order to ensure a sound economic market for the products of basic education, each Government should set up a department to make the necessary local survey for a proper selection of basic crafts and regulate the disposal of the products of the schools.

4. The Sangh requests the Government in the various provinces to select some basic schools in their areas for intensive work so that results worked out under controlled experimental conditions may be available in the shape of data for the whole country.

5. Necessary steps be taken to induce local bodies in the various provinces to open basic

schools and to make necessary arrangements for the training of teachers.

6. A Basic Craft Sub-Committee be appointed to assist the Sangh in the following matters:

(a) The preparation of detailed standard work syllabi for both workers and students.

(b) The revision of the existing syllabi in the light of two years' experience.

(c) The preparation of standards and tests for testing the efficiency of craft work at the training schools and basic schools.

(d) The preparation of technical literature and the revision of lectures already produced.

(e) The preparation of a vocabulary of technical terms.

7. In view of the need for craft experts on the staff of the training centres and supervisory staff of basic education, the Maharashtra Charitra Sangh be requested to make special arrangements for the training of such experts and Shri Shrikrishna Jey be requested to prepare a suitable scheme.

8. The secretary of Dr. J. B. Kher Prasang, Basic Training College, Alibabad, be held the Second Conference of Basic Education in Alibabad was accepted.

9. The secretary of Janta Mitra Mandal be requested to make arrangements for a permanent residence of basic education students in their training centre at Janta Nagar, Delhi, and an extension of Basic Education may also be organised in connection with the Khasi and Village Industries Exhibition at the annual session of the Congress.

10. During the coming year efforts be made by the Sangh to prepare suitable literature for the people and workers of basic education.

#### Added

#### Parasitism

On reading my note in Harijan of 9th March earlier Sant Khas School a correspondent writes:

"The school may perhaps be asked to follow the Government curriculum. But even at its worst it could not be worse than the large numbers of local private schools which have received Government grants. It looks, therefore, as though the question, 'What is to be done?' is all on the face that the boys in the Government are not only at private schools, and are inevitably by any one Christian school. But it is a fact that all the people with influence in the Education Department, as far as I know, education is concerned, are Christians, and the schools are equipped very heavily in favour of Christian schools, and against such non-Christian schools as the one referred to by your correspondent, which is seeking a means and practically able to preserve the national culture and raise the State from the degrading influence of the British Colon and Colonisation."

This is a matter for the Asian Government to attend to. Whatever may have happened before, the scandal such as the one referred to by my correspondent should come under a Government which is responsible to the people.

Dravida, 13-5-48

N. K. G.

#### A CRY FROM SOUTH ORISSA

(By A. V. Mishra)

For over a year I have been working incessantly in the backward areas of Orissa, now called 'Previously Excluded Areas' and almost neglecting my Harijan work. Two such extensive Orissa-speaking areas, comprising the Koraput district (or Jajpur Samalpur) and Ganjam Upstate, were transferred to the newly formed Orissa Province by Madras in 1936. Both are inhabited by aboriginal tribes such as Khonds (or Santals), Savaras, Parajis, Kayas, Gonds and Gonds, led by Harigan like Dandab (or Dandab and Pando). The proportion of non-aboriginals and others in these areas is about 30 per cent and 40 per cent respectively. The tribe of Savaras, which takes its name from the Shalini a tributary of the Godavari, is the same as that mentioned in the Ramayana, a female member of which first went along with Rama here to Shri Ramachandra.

It is a real tragedy that the British Government has done very little in the past for the moral, material and intellectual betterment of these people. Over a century has gone by and these areas are more or less inextinguishable and unknown to the man in the street. Even the money from special grants given for these by the Central Government seems to have been wasted. The Labour Commissioner's Department, which has worked well for the Scheduled or Harijan Classes, has ignored the existence of these people who have been in charge of Agents of the Madras Government. As a result of this neglect even primary education, sanitary work and drainage, expenditure and agriculture are rampant. The primitive method of cultivation by means of burning areas from the forest and sowing on manure formed by the ashes thus obtained will provide evidence to the degradation of hygiene and sanitation on a large scale. These backward areas have been handed over to the Government of Orissa which is practically the poorest province in the country. Rs. 3-5-8 per head in the revenue income of Orissa, and in addition to the cost of an expensive machinery of government, money has to be found very often for relief from famine caused by floods or drought. How can the Orissa Government find money to develop these areas?

Another obstacle is the fact that these areas yield very little revenue to the Province. The Koraput area is under the Midland of Jajpur under the Permanent Land Settlement, and the people of Ganjam were exempted from payment nearly a century ago by the then irresponsible India Government. Two to three lakhs of rupees per annum would go a long way to improve the lot of these backward people. It is not a large sum for the Central Government to find, and the rescue and development of these poor people is surely a duty which may not be neglected.

As, however, these areas very little hope of the requests financial and money from the

Congress, it would be a great thing if welfare work could be organised on a large scale. Workers with the necessary zeal and devotion could go and settle among these poor people and raise them educationally, morally and economically. Will organisations like the Arya Samaj, the Brahmo Samaj, the Hindu Mahasabha, and other Social Service Leagues help? All efforts to reclaim these backward classes will be a real service to the country.

It is interesting to note that under the Government of India. Out of 105,000 these two areas are the only ones to whom the status of communists will attach. There is no system of allowing to the Assembly, and even those nominated to represent them are not always members of the tribes themselves. To the other backward tribes does this rule apply?

## Harijan

May 18

1946

### NON-COOPERATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following is from a God-fearing editorial found where everybody knows.

"You must have shuddered for responsibility of making difficult decisions every a time in your life, but the responsibility which the Congress Government has entrusted you with is far greater of all. The future of India, nay of the world, depends upon it."

You are far above me in wisdom and experience. But I feel you are very hard upon yourself. The experiments that you sometimes carry on in your search of truth, whatever proved and thousands of others, make me pause.

I have been deeply influenced your experiments in ahimsa and non-violence, and feel terribly every time that you were. You feel that these weapons are effective for establishing the right and putting down the wrong in the world. But, I tell you these weapons of yours have been and are being abused in the world. The reason for it, I think, is that this time these people began to feel the strength of these weapons the latest lesson in their lesson comes to the surface and, armed with them, become too strong, even if they did lose, some lesson for mischief. That is brought to the great harm to the country, and it may also apply to India. If non-cooperation has become a weapon in party-day life. Its all effects are seen in family, circles in organisations, in business, in between and in Government offices.

The most unfortunate part is this that those who use it the wrong way stamp the weapons against those who are in the right. In country and in so severely disregard a father of the wrong path, a morally inconsistent, or dishonest, a dishonest action all these result in non-cooperation to defend their unfavourable conduct. No, non-cooperation is that there is no use in the right and peaceful and pardoned by your weapon. Non-cooperation has not been behind and in a manner more deadly than the deadliest weapons. Twice I have seen it used in discussion with political movements in India, and it brings tears to my eyes whenever I see you about to apply it to, having learnt for me from

you, whole people who I in your name in order to join that which is right and bring misery upon thousands of people. Therefore I beg of you not to employ this weapon in politics. It may feel so very right, but it surely backfires when used, not here. We are too imperfect. You are a man now, you are a man of God. Pray God that he may show you another way.

I request you not to withdraw the British in any way while they are engaged in this life and death struggle. But I know, by itself, the Congress will not have the patience to do so, though it may under your advice. The ahimsa and the hatred that would be the basis of non-cooperation is moral and the emotional business in which a very good man, would have an adverse effect upon the war and upon India in greater degree.

If Congressmen must influence the British, I feel they should go back to business in the provinces and should leave the British Government with a dilemma at every step in the Provincial and the Central Assemblies. This is the only right course and it talks upon the British guide.

Again we have to solve the Hindu-Muslim problem. For that we should call a conference of all the communal leaders and party leaders. If we make no effort beforehand, we might become misled by the time the Government is willing to call the Constituent Assembly. No time should be lost. The demands of the Moslems will come up as soon as you go on. I am certain God will help us to make easy of us any law it is right, honest and without delay. God has put the reins of the country in your hands, you alone can make or mar her fate."

The matter is one of the main matters among us. He has presented one side of the picture, but like all one-sided pictures that also is misleading.

Every powerful thing is liable to misuse. Opium and arsenic are most potent and useful drugs. And they lead themselves to great abuse. No one has for that reason suggested the stopping of their good use. If non-cooperation has been used to abuse in some cases, in many cases its use has been purely absolutely efficacious. A thing has to be judged by its net effect. The net effect of non-violent non-cooperation has been of the greatest benefit to India. It has brought about an awakening among the masses which would probably have taken generations otherwise. It has prevented bloodshed and anarchy and on the whole improved the relations between the Hindus and ourselves. There is a better mutual understanding between them a better mutual respect than ever before. And yet our non-cooperation has been indifferently non-violent. I hold that non-cooperation is of universal use. Well applied, as we in politics can wholly dispense the use of India, some weapons of moral destruction. The thing to do, therefore, is not to continue as we have to avoid it, care being taken that it is used in accordance with the known laws governing its use. Kipling of course has undoubtedly to be read. But with the increase in the knowledge of its right use, the rule can be minimised.

One safe thing about non-cooperation is that in the end it shows itself more upon the wrong than upon those against whom it is used.



Its abuse is the greatest — an injustice — relation because those against whom it is used are not strong enough to resist the abuse. It becomes a case of unappetised affection. Young parents or women are the greatest victims. There will have wisdom when they realise that affection does not demand yielding to weakness in any form. On the contrary such affection will resist it.

The writer suggests the usual parliamentary programme with objection. Its failure, when it is not backed by readiness for non-cooperation and civil disobedience, has been fully demonstrated.

So far as the British are concerned I have already said that I will do nothing to embroil them. I am warning every nation to avoid a conflict. But they may make it inevitable. Even so, I am preparing for a mode of application which will be effective and will not embroiling in the sense of violent outbreaks throughout the country.

Here I mean say that, while it is true that active co-operation on the part of Congressmen is not yet much an evidence of passive co-operation on their part there is no lack. Violent sporadic eruptions on the part of the people would have paralysed my effort to gather co-ordinated forces of non-violence in an effective manner. As it is the contrast which they have exercised fills me with hope for the future.

Hindu-Muslim unity is a moral by itself. But my friend is on the wrong track when he suggests that unity should be demanded for fear of Muslims raising their demands. Demands against whom? India is as much there as anybody else's. The way to unity lies through just demands made for all, not through unreasonable demands, whether just or unjust. The demand for persons just as said in all effort we make for the time being. I hold that communal understanding is not a pre-requisite to the British doing justice, on their part. When they feel that they want to recognise India's right of self-determination, all the difficulties that they put forth as obstacles in their path will melt away like ice before the sun's rays. The right of self-determination means the right of determination by every group and ultimately every individual. The demand for a Constituent Assembly presumes that the determination of the group and individuals will coincide. Should it happen otherwise and partition become the fashion, order will have partition or partition rather than foreign rule, as we shall continue to wrangle among ourselves and refuse to foreign rule, or else have a paper and war. Against the present response cannot continue. It has to end one way or the other. I am an optimist. I have every hope that when we come to give Hindu, Muslim, and all others will throw in their weight in favour of India which all will claim as their own.

Bengaluru, 13-5-46

## OCCASIONAL NOTICES

### The Muslims' Question

There is no doubt that during the present crisis there are more Englishmen alive to a sense of justice and to the justice of India's case than ever before. The India debate in the Commons is a very index that an even more index is the opinion in the British press. That The Spectator had an interesting controversy on the Hindu-Muslim and the Frontier questions between Mr. F. Barton Leach and Prof. A. Bernardi Koch. The former maintained that the Hindus and Muslims differed more widely than the Protestants of Northern and Catholics of Southern Ireland.

"The Hindus and Muslims," he said "represent two civilisations and cultures, which are diametrically opposed to one another in nearly every way. While not ignoring the misapprehensions made by some Muslim leaders, it is useless to shut our eyes to the facts and to demand 50,000,000 Indian Muslims to renounce a religious minority, who ought to be treated with the respect of their religious. Seriously for their religious interest, has never been threatened for two good reasons — one that Hinduism is not a proselytising faith, and the other that to undermine the religion of the Muslims would be utterly impossible and even undesirable, as it would give rise immediately Civil War, in which the Hindus in spite of numerical majority would stand very little chance, because the Muslims would have Afghanistan and other Muslim countries behind them."

It is curious to note how close language is put in echo of Lord Malet's and Sir William Barrington Leach's language which serves the two nations theory which, as we have seen in these columns, was originally conceived in the British mind. Prof. Koch makes their work of this argument.

"There is no work in Mr. F. Barton Leach's argument that I compare the Hindus and Muslims of India with the Catholics and Protestants of Ireland or regard their divergence as purely religious. The main point is that just as we allowed a political minority in Ireland to refuse us to drop home rule and that brought about a rebellion which led to the independence of Eire and the liberation that year to English troops against the King, so we shall bring about division in India if we allow a political minority to deny responsible Government to the majority. That loss of Government was prevented with the accession of Parliament in 1917 the province has been repeated time after time with the appeal, and the same reply is, 'As we go to republish our promises and to justify Civil Disobedience and strikes.' The Leach claims that there is no desire to Muslim separatism from the Hindus, which shows that their claim to deny responsible Government runs contrary to their demand of the principle of democracy majority rule. We are therefore to govern India in consideration to the wishes of the majority of the people to possess a majority. We did so in Ireland and the result is peace to all. Can't we have such ruling?"

### The Frontier Question

Mr. Leach employed the usual arguments of the Treaty Obligations with the Frontier and argued that the Frontier

"is not at all arbitrary and that autonomy is not necessarily bad. A hereditary authority may be a better form of Government in some instances than a so-called democracy which might in practice be only

an oligarchy. England was not the whole lot of governed under the authority of the Tolans then under the corrupt oligarchy system of the eighteenth century which declined to have overbearing authority. Many of the larger States have adopted a considerable measure of responsible Government and several distinguished Congress politicians are serving as Ministers under the Purnas. The policy of some new Viceroy has been to encourage the absorption of the independence of the States. Prof. Kish's argument that "autocracy in India is now supported by British arms only as a complete counterpoise to the influence from the point of view of the Indian masses and of the British Government."

This is blowing hot and cold in the same breath, praising autocracy and yet trying to maintain that responsible government is being overthrown. One would like to know the Congressmen serving as Ministers in States and also to know for how many days the States could function if the support of the British arms were to be removed. But Prof. Kish's reply to a constitutional authority is worth noting.

"Mr. Lush is perfectly aware that the States are all subject to the paramount power of the Crown to be exercised in the interests of India as a whole. Does anyone really believe that to ask a few more of rules to absorb absolute power and to accept the rule of constitutional monarchs, with all their wealth, prestige and the right to influence the Government is to break any oligarchy of the Crown or a gateway to democracy?"

Then he adds:

"Mr. Lush is indeed aware that even more by admitting that every of the larger States have adopted a considerable measure of responsible Government. They have done so because they know that such a limited extent autonomy—and many rules have not been borrowed and still more have been grossly misapplied—leads to a better type of Government to self-government. To ask responsible Government previous to federalism with autocratic States is an unreasonable demand. We should note it clear at least that if the States prefer to remain autocratic, Federalism will go on without them. Last time that will be a failure in duty no less than a policy. The time for strong India is passing, short. Those of us who followed the Indian States with cannot do not wish to get a big hole for India."

But the demand for independence ought to make the case simpler. Let the people of British India get their right to self-determination, irrespective of what the Purnas may or may not like to do. Perhaps it would be easier for them to make their choice if the British Indian people's right to self-determination were recognized.

#### The Law

The Church Times publishes a long interview by an special representative with an Indian Christian. His name is not given, but the space devoted to that important interview indicates the importance of the source. On the national question the spokesman said:

"The difference is as far as they exist between Muslims and Hindus were seriously not caused by Great Britain, but for its own reason. These differences have been fostered by the Imperial Government. The British policy has been to divide and rule, and a law has been directly responsible for widening the gap that already existed between the Muslims and the Hindu community. It is the Muslims of the cities of British India who have made the conditions and

have demanded partition. They have been given police and economic power out of all proportion to their numbers, influence education and culture. They are loaded up with the British arms, and have everything to lose if British withdraws in the villages, on the other hand, where British influence has not so fully penetrated there is no Muslim problem at all. Muslims live side by side with Hindus and have nothing to fear. The Purnas naturally fear for themselves at the withdrawal of the British. They give their power to the Imperial Government and, they mean, will take it back into their own hands upon if Congress comes to demands. This is only an empty threat. These power would immediately collapse if British troops were recalled. It is necessary to note that the depressed classes have not asked for special protection. Dr. Ambedkar speaks for only two depressed out of every million. But have the Indian Christians the same largest minority, put forward any special request?"

The interview ended if Dominion Status would not be the first step to full independence. The answer was:

"Dominion Status would have been the proper guarantee for freedom once upon a time. For my part I believe with many other Indians that that time has passed. Dominion Status should have been granted before, it is now too late. Such status would give Indians the right to decide all affairs, except defence, foreign policy, minority problems and so on. But there are the very questions that India wishes to decide for herself, though she would probably welcome advice about defence—as in Egypt—and make special arrangements with Great Britain. If even Dominion Status is proposed at the end of the war, Indians feeling will be hopelessly alienated, and the result in India and among the Mohammeds of South Africa will be similar to that seen in the East."

#### No Love of Mass Germany

Mr. Stansmore, the Labour M. P. for West Leyton, in an article in the London Tribune exposed the hollowities of the pretensions that the Muslim League represented the whole Muslim opinion and showed how the reference to the eighty million Muslims opposed to the Congress was the plea "advanced prominently by the best known notorious propagandists who laugh even the India Act every map of the way." This is how he speaks to the British Government to face the reality:

"With this he followed by Lord Dunsford? That remains to be seen, although this is possible. In my own Hindu, Muslim, Indian, and other circles, or suggesting the Congress have made it abundantly clear that there can be no disposition with Great Britain under and under there is the recognition of mutual respect and dignity which can only come through the admission by Britain that India is a free nation, united and able to work her own destiny and chosen by her own unqualified voters as a recognized independent nation within the shell or shell not cooperate with the British empire. Our Government may accept this as a plan, but the reality of the same reason. And for Britain and the Labour Movement to then then by India a man of the highest value that our parliament should then be put to control her. It is through my love of Mass Germany that India stands on her national rights. It is through love of the same freedom wanted above independence movement that India now represents her national challenge: 'Do you fight for freedom? Be so we. What about it?'"

Swagman, 15-5-40

M. B.

## A HIDEOUS EVIL

A thread from Vaynapanam comes as follows:

"A few days ago I was at the Car Festival of Maray — the sacred Vaynapanam — which annually draws thousands of men and women, young and old, from all over these parts. I noticed various boys constructed upon their temples' shrines on the side of the temple yard. A woman was standing at the entrance of each but each showed intent to attract me. The sight being unexpected and so being I captured of other visitors what it meant. I was told they were brothels and therefore registered. Deeply shocked I turned away, but as second thoughts hit I ought to bring the fact to the notice of the public. There were a dozen here each with 5 or 7 women in them. The proprietors charged a little extra as special treat for the special site. Who knows if they did not collect a professional tax too?"

I was told by one of the crowd that such dens are a national feature of Travels. But even my utterance was stopped at the assembly and systematic suppression of these brothels under the very nose of the police. The Temple Committee, and the Police and Health Departments are jointly responsible for the happenings and arrangements at the fair. It may be that other bodies are also. The President of the Madras Board of Deities is also the President of the R. P. C. C. There is a Congress Committee under 7 miles of the place where a Congress of I. A. as well as the President reside. I expressed my horror to some prominent Congressmen who were there, but none appeared to feel as deeply as I did. The girls were mostly from the Northern Canons.

That various traffic may be a hideous evil. But why should depredations meet the presence of human women because no women? Can society demand to women depredation?

I wish you would read your book in prison.

These brothels are more often than not organized at fairs and during religious festivals, and that even and where there are women who be in wear to working women young women, as no news to me. Two years ago when I was President of the Women's Conference, I raised flags for a band of women workers to go to Banars for the Kumbh Mela and see what they could do to combat the evil. When our Branch came our Standing Committee members do try to see that steps may be taken by the authorities to stop this hideous traffic. But we are really powerless to do much. As for putting a check on immoral traffic in women are not really efficacious, and we women have not yet done anything substantial towards crossing police stations in the matter. I do not differentiate between men members of any political party whose codes of morality are concerned. In all sections of social reform my experience has been that very little help can be had from constituted authority. Our system of Government is not of the real and therefore not 'human enough to feel for the sufferings of the poor. That religious bodies should expect religious females to such kind deeds is a travesty of religion and a another proof of the lack of the humanitarian religion often works.

I hope women workers will realize to avoid these fairs and festivals not only to protect

unsexed girls but also to expose the existence of these brothels. If Congress committees will help us, it will make our task easier. But I am convinced it is we and we alone who can get rid of this evil in society. It is hard work, it is difficult, it is almost thankless, but if we feel the shame of it enough we shall see come the cost. If public opinion is strong enough, the help of the district authorities will also be available. More persons are not enough — because it is strange how many contemporaries the world were are regularly dead where such matters are concerned. I am sure Gandhi will once again take this opportunity of condemning those concerned in an unambiguous terms.

Servants, 1-5-40

A. K.

[I am sure that Congressmen must not believe this and M. K. G.]

## KHAND WORK IN TAMIL NAD

I

The Tamil Nadu Branch of the A. L. S. A. has brought out a little brochure embodying the report of khand work done in Tamil Nadu in the year 1939. The year is described as one of trial for khand work — with accumulation of large stocks, a small balance of working capital, and continuance of deplorable conditions throughout the year. Production had to be cut down; and when, though increased by special efforts, did not come up to expectations and could not help to tide over the crisis. It is worth noting that the increase in sales was not due to increased demand in nature (where there was actually a decrease by Rs. 1,000) but due to greater purchases of khand by villagers — particularly by women. On the top of these difficulties came the devaluation five in the Madras Exchange causing a loss of Rs. 30,000 to the A. L. S. A. It is obvious to the credit of the workers of the League that, undeterred by these setbacks, they sustained their fight and efforts and in August last raised the spinner's wages from 1 As for a day of 8 hours to 3 As 4 Ps. i. e. by 12 per cent, without raising the price of cloth — meeting the difference from Government subsidy.

Here are a few figures, culled from the tables given in the report, which show at a glance the volume of work put forth through the agency of the A. L. S. A. in the year under report.

|                             |           |
|-----------------------------|-----------|
| A. L. S. A. Centre          | 48        |
| Spinners on rolls (average) | 31,524    |
| Average monthly production  | 10,778    |
| Yarn produced (Mds)         | 11,04,214 |
| "    Wings (Rs)             | 1,83,268  |
| "    Value (Rs)             | 4,30,510  |
| Khand produced (Sq. yds)    | 21,75,170 |
| "    Value (Rs)             | 1,24,037  |
| Khand sold (Urban) (Rs)     | 5,71,121  |
| "    (Rural) (Rs)           | 1,71,442  |
| "    (Other provinces) (Rs) | 1,21,876  |

The khand production gave employment to 51,382 spinners, 2,083 weavers, 74 shobas, 30 dhars, 42 printers, 21 tailors, 1 carpenter and





# HARIVAN

Editor: HANDESH CHAKRAVARTY

1173

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POONA — SATURDAY, MAY 25, 1940

[ ONE ANNA

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Replying Regularly

Q. What do you mean by 'spinning regularly'? If one spins for a couple of hours during a month or for half an hour once or twice a week, would he be deemed to have satisfied the condition about spinning regularly?

A. 'Regularly' was put in the place of 'daily'. This was meant to provide for accidental or unavoidable omission. Therefore spinning every week or at fixed intervals will not mean the same. A satyagrahi will be expected to spin daily except for valid reasons such as sickness, travelling or the like.

### Satyagraha Camps and Unavoidability

Q. Satyagraha camps are being organised for the training of volunteers all over the country. But the principle with regard to the observance of unavoidability is ever sharp and does it not being rigorously enforced. Don't you agree that it ought to be made an absolute rule in the camps that no one who regards the cause of Harijans as political and does not fully live with them should be permitted to attend them?

A. I have no hesitation whatsoever in saying that he who has the slightest unavoidability in him is wholly unfit for entrance in the Satyagraha Camp. I regard unavoidability as the main cause of our downfall and of Hindu-Muslim discord. Unavoidability is the cause of Hinduism and therefore of India. The wrong is so pervasive that it hinders a man even after he has changed over to another faith.

### Pardons and New Madras

Q. You have said in Madras that "if the eight crores of Madras share prisons, no power on earth can prevail it." Does it not strike you that 25 crores of non-Madrasi too might have a say in the matter? Does not your statement imply that you put a premium on the opinion of the Madras while underwriting that of the Hindus?

A. I have only given my opinion. If the majority of Hindus or Christians or Sikhs or even Parsis, small though their number is, stubbornly insist on the extreme view of the duly elected representatives of eight crores of Madras, they will do so at the peril of a civil war. This is not a question of majority or minority. If we are to solve our problems non-violently, there is no other way. I say this not because the eight crores happen to be Madras. I would

say the same of the eight crores were any other community.

### Legal Practice and Satyagraha

Q. Knowing as you do how lying and deceit have become the stock-in-trade of the legal profession in this country would you permit practising lawyers to enter as active satyagrahis?

A. I am unable to subscribe to your sweeping proposition. The fact that a lawyer wants to become a satyagrahi presupposes on his part a certain standard of purification. No doubt there may be, to my knowledge there are, black sheep in the Congress. This is inevitable in any big organisation. But it would be unbecoming of a satyagrahi to condemn a man because he belongs to a certain profession.

### Satyagraha and Obstructionism

Q. Is the policy of obstructionism compatible with satyagraha? Can a satyagrahi, who is supposed to stand for principles rather than party, adopt one attitude with regard to a measure when it is sponsored by his party, and another when the same measure is sponsored by the opposite party? Would you approve of this policy in Ministries and District Boards as is being done by some Congressmen at present?

A. I have always opposed obstruction as being anti-satyagrahi. Congressmen to be correct in their behaviour, should always give co-operation to their opponents when the latter are in a majority and adopt any wise measure. The object of Congressmen should never be attainment of power for power's sake. Indeed such discriminatory co-operation will enhance the prestige of the Congress and may even give it majority.

### Training Harijans as Cooks

Q. Don't you think that if the Congress started a plan for training Harijans as expert cooks for Hindu homes and made it a rule to man every kitchen as a man means for Congress workers with Harijan cooks thus trained, it would prove a short cut to the removal of untouchability?

A. Our ambition should be to enable Harijans to rise to the highest rank. But while that may be the ideal, it will be a good thing to train some Harijans to become accomplished cooks. I have observed that the more we draw them into the domestic work, the quicker is the pace of the reform. Harijans who become absorbed in our homes lose all sense of inferiority and become a living link between other Harijans and Brahamas Hindus.

Satyagraha, 19-5-40

## KHADI WORK IN TAMILNAD

## II

The other feature of the work that deserves special notice is the expansion of the self-help co-öperation scheme and the efforts to add to the efficiency and productive capacity of the workers by introducing improved implements. Thus during the year 535 thousand lbs. of lint were used, of which—except 15 thousand lbs.—the entire quantity was spun by the spinners themselves on hand spindles. This happened for the first time since the inception of the khadi movement. The spinners are reported to have realised the advantage of hand-spinning, and some who have heard of this even have taken to growing their cotton also. The spinners in Tamil Nad generally do their own carding. Improved implements were distributed to them at half the cost price as follows: 762 spindles, 370 spinning wheels, 1,761 speed wheels, 8,032 carding bays, 221 carding looms. The cost was collected in easy instalments. Many spinners were not only given the implements free of cost, but were paid daily wages even during the period in which they learnt spinning. To encourage better spinning 50 cents were introduced in which 439 spinners participated, of whom as many as 113 showed a speed of above 400 yards per hour, and about 65 per cent showed an efficiency which would enable them to earn over 1 Rs. per day.

Referring to the progress made by the self-sufficiency scheme, the report says:

"The weavers of Madh have reaped more bonus this year. Rs. 2,082 were valued at Rs. 4,12,618 woven from yarn collected back by back from the spinners every time they delivered yarn to us, have been distributed among the spinners during the year. Besides, khadi cloth too was valued at Rs. 1,12,412 was also distributed for the use of the other members in the spinners' families. It will also be noted that the best law of production, i.e. that the producer should be the first consumer of his produce, has been well kept in view. Of the total yarn produced, i.e. 60,76,380 yards the spinners have deposited for their own use 19,41,769 yards, i.e. nearly 32 per cent of the total output at 97 per cent of the price sold. 123 handlooms in Tamil Nad got their own run weaves and cloth through our various branches. 4,000 sq. yds. of cloth valued at Rs. 1,116 was thus woven. The total weaving margin paid under this head was Rs. 391."

During the year under report the 2,033 weavers working under the A. I. S. A. earned Rs. 1,24,430. Their average attendance was 24 weeks in the year, and the average weekly earnings amounted to Rs. 4.2-3—by no means a negligible amount. Whereas most of the mill yarn weavers begin their careers with debt and could never get free from that burden, the hand yarn weavers could not only make the two ends meet but were able to make a little saving also—the amount deposited by them being, at the end of the year, Rs. 27,714-3-8, or an average of Rs. 13-6-0 per weaver. A

comparative study of these two classes of weavers is likely to yield revealing results, and will prove to the hilt the truth of Gandhi's dictum that "those weavers who do not take to wearing handspins are cutting their own throats," and that "khadi is the weaver's sole salvation."

There is yet another feature in the report worth noticing. The total turnover during the year was about Rs. 30 lakhs. The salaries paid to 385 workers amounted to Rs. 61 thousand, i.e. 21 per cent. This figure would easily compare favourably with the corresponding figure of any other business concern, and it is creditable for the workers engaged in the service. The fact that the Branch could carry on its work with a working capital of Rs. 8 lakhs and still derive the distinct advantage enjoyed by khadi over mill production which would have required a much greater capital.

We shall look forward to getting similar house-to-house reports from other branches of the A. I. S. A., for these reports, besides being authentic records of the progress made by khadi, are of great value as additions to the growing volume of literature useful to students of khadi economics.

G S

## CHARKHA V. TAKLI

The Secretary of the Tamilnad Branch of the All India Spinners' Association writes as follows:

It is not necessary that the charkha alone should be used for spinning. Spinning on the takli is as much a training as on the charkha. The takli alone is the handloom spinning implement that can be used on a mass scale at a short notice. The reasons are as follows:

1. It will take a long time to provide all those who register themselves as weavers with the charkha and its component accessories. With the help of others it will take at least six months to complete the equipment. But thousands of taklis can be provided at a very short notice.

2. The charkha can be used only in the houses of the spinner and does not have much of demonstration value. But the takli can be used anywhere and at any time. Takli spinning does not interfere with any other work. One can be sitting or walking as he or she is spinning. It is easily carried about, being small enough to go into a pocket, and when others are on going about spinning they too fall under the spell and a spinning atmosphere is created.

3. It will be difficult for everybody who takes to the weaver's plough to learn quickly the antecedent processes of spinning such as ginning and carding. They will have to depend on others made ready for them. It will not be possible to provide everybody with spindles if everyone takes to charkha-spinning. Takli-spinning will require less other capital. Moreover, whatever Dye houses are available, can be easily passed by hand and made into dyes.

4 The cheapest chairs, grade B, 2. It may not be within the reach of all to buy one. But the table costs only two annas. One need not enter even this much of expense. A table can be improved with a bamboo sock and a cane weight.

5 Spinning on the charkha requires more standing than the table. The charkha often goes out of order and requires adjustment. The table rarely goes out of order.

### A FEAST FOR THE EYES

Shri Dillipch Dhangra is an M. A. of the Bombay University, and might have been a professor as a collector if he had chosen an academic career. But he chose to work down in a village and show the hard life of the villagers. He chose Kenda, the little village where Gording was arrested at the end of the Dash Month, the last of autumn and a conducting a khadi depot there which I purposely visited on my way back from Sonat. The work that he is carrying on, the atmosphere he has created, the smiling faces not only of the children who surround him but also of the old women who flock to the depot—all this was a feast for the eyes.

For he has made himself one of them. He lives in a plain bamboo thatched house he owns where they eat, cooking for himself, and lives and dresses himself like them.

A group of old women—some of them very old who could hardly see any less clearly—had gathered in the depot from a neighboring village. These ages must be anything between 50 and 80. Each one had a little bundle of yarn with her which she had come to deliver at the depot. Each had a little pocket-book in which every little detail of her yarn was shown—the weight, the count, the quality, the wage, etc., was shown, the yarn deducted for her own khadi, and the due. Everyone referred to Shri Dhangra as "son", and the one with whom we began to talk addressed me also as "son". This "son" Dhangra had descended as a "god" among them; they had no work, they had been put on the shelves, now they had work and they earned two to three annas per day. They were proud of their income whenever they could make small purchases, including tea, which they confessed was bad but which nevertheless had become a need!

Everything in the depot was up and up—the books, the books containing yarn according to their quality and the kind, the socks of cleaned and uncleaned cotton, and the socks of yarn. There was a method and orderliness about everything. When the work was started in 1936 there were only 12 wheels, and the wages given amounted Rs. 27-3-0. In 1937 there were 44 wheels, and the work has since increased by leaps and bounds. The following figures are eloquent of the progress.

|                             | 1937       | 1938         | 1939           |
|-----------------------------|------------|--------------|----------------|
| Wheels                      | 42         | 126          | 265            |
| Yarn                        | 175 lbs.   | 575 lbs.     | 1,000 lbs.     |
| Wages Rs.                   | 1,125-12-0 | Rs. 2,220    | Rs. 14,700-4-0 |
| Khadi                       | 934 yards  | 2035 yards   | 10,150 yards   |
| Khadi { Good Rs. 135-0-0    |            | Rs. 625-11-0 | Rs. 1005-13-0  |
| Khadi { Outside Rs. 127-4-0 |            | Rs. 519-13-0 | Rs. 1015-1-0   |

These are the details of the work done during 1939.

Yarn spun 135 mds. 30 oz.

Shirts 112 "

Khadi 18198 Yds.

Work 1400 Rs.

Khadi { Spinning cost Rs. 1446-8-0

Khadi { Other customers Rs. 2148-7-0

to { Outside customers Rs. 1005-1-0

Spinning wheels sold 314

Other articles sold Rs. 103-8-0

Wages distributed in 1939

117 Cotton classes Rs. 46-14-0

4 Classes Rs. 19-11-0

22 Classes Rs. 1074-12-0

650 Spunners Rs. 7150-6-0

8 Weavers Rs. 146-1-0

Others Rs. 258-8-0

7 Workers in charge of Depot Rs. 634-0-0

The boys in the Local Board school at Marwad have their spinning hour with Shri Dhangra. There is half an hour's silent spinning and half an hour's talk on the topics of the day. They asked me intelligent questions. They are all free from drink and the "poor voice" of smoking, tea-drinking, etc. There is no midnight amusement among the village-folk of the work that is going on, and I should not be surprised if the boys who are coming under Shri Dhangra's influence were to develop into workers in the cause of the uplift of their community.

Savatana, 14-5-40

M D

### Handmade Paper

We stock handmade paper in about 75 varieties made in 12 different producing centers in India—Ahmedabad, Annapur, Baroda, Hyderabad (De.), Jaipur, Kolga, Mumbai, Nagpur, Ootancha, Seelam, Solapur and Sholapur—from the Ganges to the sea and on small paper to the largest paper, and in many different colors, to suit various tastes and requirements. It is sold in the form of whole sheets, letter paper, envelopes (over 50 varieties), blotting paper, cards, account books, office files, tag labels, and pocket books. Samples are sent on receipt of two annas postal stamps. A sample file (which is a suitable exhibition in itself) is sent on receipt of Rs. 1 (per V. P. R. Rs. 1-2-3). It is up to patronize persons to save handmade paper a chance whenever they require any of the things mentioned above. (1) Mumbai Office—Pooni & (2) Nagpur Office—Dhangra—81 Queen's Road, Opp. Marwad Local Station, Bombay 2.

### Hands & Machines of India

By Anandachari Chakravarti

Gording has said of the book: "It is the best of the trade and nothing but the truth, it is a revealing booklet which all Hands and Machines may read with profit." Price Rs. 2-0-0 Postage 5 Annas. Available at (1) Harjan Office—Pooni & (2) Harjan Office—81 Queen's Road, opp. Marwad Local Station, Bombay 2.

# *Harijan*

May 25

1946

## OUR DUTY

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

"In view of further ruthless aggression by Nazi Germany and the fact that Britain is hard pressed and going through deep waters today, does not our conscience demand that we should say to her that, while we do not renounce in the very least from our position nor withdraw an iota of our demand so far as her relationship with us and our future are concerned, we do not desire to embroil her in this dispute and will definitely, therefore, defer all thoughts and all talk of a civil disobedience movement for the time being? Do not our minds rebel against the very idea of a democracy such as England is a cowardly standing for today? Is not the whole future of a humane existence at stake? It is true that our independence from an alien rule is also a matter of life and death to us. But what Britain is up against is aggression with a definitely wrong barbarous method, should we not make a timely and humane protest which should fit the end and was the heart of our appeal? Even if such a protest makes no impression on her and an honourable withdrawal is impossible, will it not be to her better and something that fits us to offer non-violent battle when she is not bent on all sides? Will it not require greater strength in us and therefore make greater and more lasting benefit, and will it not be a glorious example for a warring world? Will it not also be a proof that non-violence is powerfully a weapon of the strong?"

Perhaps this correctly represents the sentiment of several non-violence who have written to me since the Norwegian attack. It is evidence of the nobility of the hearts of these correspondents. But there is some apprehension of the policy. These letters inspire British nation-British people stand in no need of sympathy from subject people. For they can command all they want from them. They are a brave and proud people. They are not going to be demoralized by even half a dozen such attacks. They are well able to cope with any difficulty that may face them. India has no whatsoever in the manner in which she is to take her part in the war. She was dragged into the war by the mere wish of the British Cabinet. Her resources are being utilized at the will of the British Cabinet. India is a dependency, and Britain will drive the dependency dry as the tea does in the past. What pressure has the Congress to make in these circumstances? The greatest pressure is its power the Congress is already making. It cannot do so in the country. It refuses to participate of its own policy. I have said and I repeat that I shall do nothing wilfully to embroil Britain. It will be contrary to my conception of Satyagraha

Beyond that it is not in the power of the Congress to do.

Indeed it is the duty of the Congress to promote as demand for independence and to continue the preparation for civil disobedience to the fullest extent it can. The nature of the preparations should be appreciated. To promote khadi and village industries, communal unity, removal of untouchability, prohibition, and so that and to select and select Congress members to the preparation to be suspended? I dare say that, if the Congress body becomes non-violent and in pursuance of the policy of non-violence a materiality cannot see the constructive work I have mentioned, it will be able to have independence without doubt. There will be the time for India as an independent nation to decide what and she should give to Britain and how.

The Congress contribution to the cause of the Allies is as far as it may be good, and to the world peace, as an active pursuance of non-violence and truth and the prosecution of its goal of Complete Independence without shirking and without delay.

Britain is really damaging her own cause by persistently refusing to estimate the Congress position and measures on justice and on raising like issues. The Constituent Assembly of the land proposed by me provides for every difficulty except one, if it is a difficulty. It does not provide for British interference in the sharing of India's destiny. If that is put back as a difficulty, the Congress must wait till it is acknowledged that it is not only no difficulty and that self-determination is India's indisputable right.

In this connection let me refer to the letters I have received among me of unwillingness to declare civil disobedience under some pressure or other. These friends must know that I am more concerned than they in the successful demonstration of the weapon of non-violence. I am not giving myself a secret's run from the pursuit of the search. I am confidently praying for light. But I cannot postpone civil disobedience because of outside pressure, even as I will not refuse because of such pressure. I know that this is the time of our greatest trial. I have overwhelming evidence to show that there is much violence in the hearts of many Congressmen and that there is much selfishness. If Congressmen were infused with the true spirit of non-violence, we would have had independence in 1931 and our history would have been written differently. But I must not complain. I must work with the tools I have. Only let Congressmen know the state of my working machine, Saragpur, 20-2-46.

## OLD ISSUES

Issues of Vol. I to VI of *Harijan* can be had from us for 25 Rs. per copy (including postage). Issues of Vol. I will be had at the published price plus postage. MANAGER



## GOD-SPEED

A band of Muslim volunteers about 30 strong, led by Akid Ali Sahib and Ali Bahadur Khan Sahib returned from the Azad Muslim Conference held at Delhi, called at Sonapatra the other day. They travelled all the way from Dausary to Delhi and back in a motor-bus taking at important places to carry on Hindu-Muslim unity propaganda, and the account of their experience was quite thrilling and refreshing to all one with hope. The ideal way to do this kind of propaganda is to perform such a tour on foot, but the way adopted by these Sonapatra friends was certainly a second-best, and perhaps the most expeditious and least for people who have not the time a previous so first demands. They held big mass meetings wherever they halted, talked with people dispelling their doubts and fears, and did some painstaking work too. Thus at Jawahpur, they met the volunteers between Hindus and Muslims were the from good and there was even fear of a riot. After these friends went there and had a talk with leaders of parties a reconciliation was brought about with the result that a meeting was held in the mosque and it was attended by hundreds of Hindus. At some places there were slight disturbances, but as the friends were determined to do nothing by way of retaliation the disturbances were confined to one side only and were futile. The friends had composed a song *Brade* under rule *Agarwa* specially for the note which they sang wherever they went and worked in persistence. It was an simple and musical and so full of words of every day usage among both Hindus and Muslims that it caught on, and lots of people took it down to commit to memory.

It was plucky and remarkable to have planned this excursion. I dare say it was much less expensive than a radio-party and obviously most fruitful. For 27 to 30 people to travel miles on end in an ordinary Ford motor bus with all their belongings, at the height of the summer, was no joke. But they bore all the discomforts cheerfully and looked none the worse for weather or war.

As they left Sonapatra after a few minutes' talk about their experiences with Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal who was here that day, they asked for Gandhi's message. "My message has been already given, and I have none now to give you," he said to them. "All I will say is that now that you have seriously taken up this great mission, you will not cease from your effort until Hindu-Muslim unity is achieved. I would ask you to forget that you have any quarrel with the Muslim League people. Your object differs from theirs but they also are our brothers and you cannot concern them unless you treat them as such and defend them from all personal attacks. You have to carry *admission* to them, for unless you or we can

win them over there is no Hindu-Muslim unity. I wish you god-speed."

Sonapatra, 12-5-48

H. D.

## THIS PICTURE AND THAT

"Telegraph.—The spirit of Government policy... has been based on the policy of perpetuation that very separation of the mass and encouraging those very actions of conflicting nationalities which it ought to have been the first and chief aim of Government to check and extinguish. From the period of conquest to the present time, the conduct of the Government has approached the void, and the signs of the present serious disorder may be found in the intention by which the character of the colony was destroyed. The Imperial Government has shaped its policy so as to aggravate the disorder. In some instances it has actually created the *unpleasant* *provision* of nationality in order to create popular class. The ultimate consequence is the increasing mass have only spiritual help, and impaired the authority of the Government." (Indian press)

This is not an indictment of the separate electorates or of the 'Divide and Rule' policy of the British India Government but only extracts from Lord Dufferin's Report on Canada. Canadian disunity are today being aggravated and exploited by British to keep India out of her own. All this is a replica of what happened in Canada. A cursory review of the story of Canada and the striking parallels to our own case with which it is replete, therefore, would not be unusual by at this juncture.

## Divide and Rule Policy in Canada

The first settlement of the Canadian was made in the parchment of 1763, some after their surrender from the French King by the Treaty of Paris. Close upon its heels followed these documents which resulted in the independence of the States of America. To prevent the further dismemberment of the Empire, however, became the primary object of British statesmen, and "an especial anxiety was calculated to adopt every expedient which appeared calculated to prevent the remaining North American colonies from following the example of successful revolt." For this purpose the distinct national character of the French colonists of Canada, and their ancient hostility to the people of New England, prevented the easiest and most obvious line of demarcation. "To isolate the colonists of the French from those of the revolted colonies, because the policy of the Government, and the misunderstanding of the French Canadian was therefore coloured, as a means of perpetual and entire separation from their neighbours." It also became the "considered policy of the British Government" to govern its colonies by means of division, and to break them down as much as possible into petty isolated communities, incapable of combination, and possessing no sufficient strength for individual resistance to the Empire." The language question was not left unexploited. Further to separate the

France, or Canada from the French emigrants a plan was adopted "to confound the former by the retention of their languages, laws and religious institutions" in Prince Edward's Island a condition was annexed to the grant of land which may fully be described as a Canadian prototype of the People's Land Abandonment Act. It stipulated that the Island was to be settled by "French Protestants", "as if they were to be kept in order to separate them from the people of New England, and Protestants in order to keep them apart from the Catholics and American Catholics."

The Indian reader will not fail to find in this picture the familiar fragments of the present day "Divide and Rule" policy that is being pursued in India. In fact almost every one of the divisive expedients which finds its analogue among the high priests of the British ruling class today will be found stripped of its camouflage and exposed in its nakedness in Lord Durham's Report.

#### Canada's Reply

Not was the reader's demand from 1837. On his arrival in Canada Lord Durham found himself confronted by "a jealousy between two races, as long habituated to regard each other with boundary enmity, and so differing in habits, in language and in laws." "I expected to find a conflict between a Government and a people, but I found two nations, warring in the bosom of a single state: a scrutable set of principles, but of ages." Previous to this, in 1830, the Lower Canada Assembly had put forward the suggestion of a "Convention" for the revision of their provisions, the request being repeated in the petition which was sent by the Assembly to the King soon afterwards. It was in the effect that "delegates freely and independently chosen by all classes of the community so as to be in harmony with the interests of the province should recommend the proper modifications in government." "A general Assembly of the land," it was said, "would prove to be a faithful representative of all the interests of the colony taken collectively." (Kennedy, *Sumner, Trevelyan and Documents of the Canadian Convention*, 2nd Edition, p. 384) The reply of the Secretary of State for the Colonial Department is derived to that petition might as well have dropped from Sir Samuel Hoare's or Lord Dalhousie's during a debate on the Indian demand for a Constituent Assembly. "The object of the address," it ran, "is to pray her Majesty to sanction a National Convention of the people of Canada, for the purpose of superceding the Imperial authorities. Her Majesty can never be advised to assent, as denoting a contempt with the very existence of monarchical institutions." Nor did Canadian insistence on "consentance of the people" in the *Westminster Resolutions* of 1834 gain much support with the British Cabinet. In disputation the Assembly had recourse to the only weapon known to and recognized in the last resort by British constitutional practice, viz. threat of rebellion.

#### Durham's Purpose

It was to propose a remedy for the state of things that Lord Durham was sent to Canada. During the same India Debate, it was unanimously agreed by some speakers, in their anxiety to combat the Indian demand for a Constituent Assembly, notably by Sir George Selkirk that in India the democratic system on which political life in the West is based cannot, owing to the communal situation that prevails here, "really function as we know it", and that some distinctive type would, therefore, have to be evolved. There were not wanting proponents of Sir George's view in Lord Durham's time who similarly argued that the representative system of Government was unsuited to the Canadian conditions, and that "the principles, which are productions of harmony and good government in the mother country, are by no means applicable to a colonial dependence." Lord Durham's reply to these objections would serve equally for our present-day Imperialists like Sir George too.

"It needs no change in the principles of Government," suggested Durham, "on occasion of a new constitutional theory, to apply the remedy which would, in my opinion, completely remove the existing political disorders. It needs but to follow out consistently the principles of the British constitution and introduce into the Government all those great columns there were perceived, by which alone the working of the representative system can in any country be rendered harmonious and efficient. . . I have not here it is possible to ensure that harmony in any other way, than by administering the Government on those principles which have been found perfectly efficacious in Great Britain."

#### Imperialism Debunked

Equally convincing was his reply to upholders of the 'trusteeship' doctrine who maintained that Providence had made them responsible for the good government of Canada for all time.

"The colonies may not always know what laws are best for them, or which of their constitutions are the fittest for conducting their affairs but, at least, they have a greater interest in coming to a right judgment on these points, and will take greater pains to do so than those whose welfare is very remotely and slightly affected by the good or bad legislation of those portions of the Empire. If the colonies make bad laws, and suffer improper persons to conduct their affairs, they will probably be for only, the greatest, sufferers and, like the people of other countries, they must bear the ill which they bring on themselves and the ill which to apply the remedy. But it surely cannot be the duty or the interest of Great Britain to keep a most ruinous military government of these colonies in order that a Governor or a Secretary of State may be able to confer colonial appointments on one rather than another set of persons in the colonies. For this is really the only question at issue."

Lastly, there was the group of liberal parliamentarians, who condemned all change in advance as the ground of real failures and used it as a

the for the maintenance of which provided a happy hunting ground—greedy, wicked, money-minded exploiters. "We may derive some confidence from the collectors," Lord Durham indignantly told them, "that very simple remedies yet remain to be resorted to for the first time."

### Therapeutic Function of Freedom

Instead of using the malicious pretensions of "materialism" to "evade the popular clamor," as the British Government had done hitherto and has been doing since in India and elsewhere, he followed the only honorable and weight-bearing course by pointing out what Professor Charles Martin of Toronto University has described as "the therapeutic function of freedom to regulate passions and to operate in that worked world." "When I look on the various and desperate cases of madness which the past century has pointed out as arising in every station, in the constitutions and in every composition of society throughout the greater part of these Provinces," he observed, "I almost shrink from the apparent presumption of grappling with these difficulties. Nor shall I venture to do so in detail. I rely on the efficacy of reform in the constitutional system by which these reformers are governed for the removal of every cause in their constitutions which defects, impositions have rendered of (darkness) history has fully vindicated Lord Durham's judgment, and the policy which he recommended of his must come to be acknowledged as the high-water-mark of British statesmanship and political wisdom."

### The Reformation Truth

The acceptance of Lord Durham's recommendations by the British Government was due not so an overflow of altruism, but to the new and growth of the United States of America as a powerful independent nation to which Lord Durham drew pointed attention of the Home Government.

"I am, in truth, so far from believing that the enormous power and weight that would be given to their reform by union would mitigate their connection with the Empire that I look to it as the only means of fortifying such a national feeling through-out them as would effectively counterbalance whatever tendencies may now exist, towards separation. . . . The influence of the United States surrounds him (the subject of Queen Victoria) on every side and is for ever present. . . . If we wish to prevent the extension of this influence, it can only be done by making up that the North American colonies prove nationality of his own, and by giving their administration a unity which they will be unwilling to be absorbed into one more powerful."

The argument applies equally strongly to the Indian demand for Independence. But today, instead of regarding our commercial troubles as her concern, Britain looks them as our fate as a challenge and obligation there before the world as an excuse for the continuance of her Empire.

that hold this first part of the following dollar on time when the light of events has parted her vision and shattered her understanding.

Singapore, 14-3-40

Pyralis

### Compassionable

Shri Praga Dasa has sent us a kind report of good work done by the people of Ichhapur, a little village in Saurashtra, for distressed Harijans. In March last year a fire broke out in Harijan quarters which consumed nearly of grass from both sides by side, and before any effective help could be given they were all reduced to ashes along with every one of the Harijan's humble belongings, their little stores of grain and so on, and they simply had to scrape with their bare feet. Poorer families were thus rendered homeless and helpless. Shri Praga Dasa, whose village is near by, ran to the spot held a meeting of the village folk, and asked them to start collections in order to rebuild the Harijan's huts. The people responded readily and collected on the spot nearly Rs. 150. They had already given to the Harijan help in the shape of food and clothes, but this help had become a burden for a fund to be collected by a committee composed of the Patel and others with Shri Praga Dasa as Chairman, who now went to the neighboring places and to Bombay to make more collections. The Mahatmaji Harijan of Ichhapur took up the work in quite earnest and collected something like Rs. 150. Other donations came in from Hachar Marthas and Parsis, with the result that over Rs. 2500 were collected (including the gift of timber, etc.) and the Harijan of Ichhapur are able to build in their own dwellings. All this was the result of a voluntary effort. The villagers did not approach the Harijan Saurashtra Sangh nor did they approach any authorities until they had concentrated their minds, and that is why within a short time they were able to rebuild their houses to the foundation.

Ichhapur's example is really commendable. Let the people of Ichhapur go a step further now and abolish untouchability by asking the Harijan to come and live along with the rest of the inhabitants rather than be confined to their "untouchable" quarters. Without that thing being done there cannot be true regeneration.

Singapore, 21-3-40

M. D.

### Home and Village Doctor By Satish Chandra Dasgupta

1931. 100 pages. 12 chapters. Capeson Index of 31 pages. 219 chapters. Price Rs. 5 cloth-bound. By V. P. P. B. B. 5 Rs. 6 leather-bound. By V. P. P. B. 7. Published by K. S. P. S. 15 College Square, Calcutta. Available at (1) Harpur office—Pune; (2) Harpur office — 21 Queen's Road, opp. Marine Line Station, Bombay 2.

### Mahatma Gandhi

By S. Mahatmaji (New Edition) Rs. 1-10-0, 100 pages 7 Rs. Available at Harpur office—Pune, 2, and 47 & 51 Queen's Road, Bombay 2.

## Notes

### Non-Residence

I cited the following in the daily press:

"A petition signed by a number of Hindus has been sent to the Corporation authorities that, if their petting representations for the removal of Gurdwaras' gurdwaras from all Corporation schools for Hindus boys and girls is not accepted, the petitioners will be boycotted. They contend that the display of the portrait is a form of insult, which is not Islamic."

Assuming the truth of the statement, I would strongly advise compliance with the Hindu demand. Nothing is to be gained by the Congress party meeting the demand. At the same time I would express to the leaders of the opinion that it is supported by wrong argument. For they have surely their own losses. The proper and consistent argument is that I am no longer their loss. Hindus change with the times. It is well for public bodies to accommodate themselves to such changes.

### Five Questions

1. Can a Gurpal (i.e. those who have signed the Gurpal pledge) also defend when they are wanted?

2. May a Gurpal make an effort to get better class treatment, i.e. 'A' or 'B'?

3. Ought a Gurpal to go to a conference in the conditions imposed upon him, or should he endeavor to secure what is regarded more humane and satisfactory treatment?

4. What is the maximum time for which a Gurpal might be kept or what is the maximum quantity of goods he should possess?

5. Can a man sign the Gurpal pledge immediately you declare civil disobedience and court arrest, or is there any definite period for which he should have remained a Gurpal to be eligible to take part in the civil disobedience campaign?

### ARMY

1. There is no objection to offering defense, and in certain cases it would be a duty to do so in, say, in the Army case.

2. Is my opinion he should not make any attempt to show the class. Personally I am against any compromise.

3. He is entitled to make every legitimate effort for change to human conditions.

4. I think one hour per day should be the minimum and 300 words per hour is a reasonable speed. Men engaged in public work may open him.

5. A man who voluntarily refuses from signing a pledge is under no obligation of conscience to a class and, moreover, of being a Gurpal. But I can conceive an honest man put among the pledge and straightforward going to get. Even in the case of being prospective pledge-takers and those who have taken the pledge, I would say that there is no immediate prospect of my giving the call.

Scraps, 22-5-40

### Andrew's Influence

Mr. A. G. Fraser of Elgin, Scotland, sends me the following touching letter about Dunsborough:

"I write to you because of the great joy and inspiration you were to him who has just left us, Charlie Andrews, and because you, perhaps more than any other, will feel his loss. He has had a great and deeply joyful life, and enjoyed all the many things which made it rich, your friendship was one of the treasures. For your pleasure in him I would like to tell you one story of him."

The editor of British Government that I have known, Sir Gordon Guggenheim, who kindly gave me his life for Andrews, was anxious to know Charlie and he asked me to arrange a meeting. I invited for lunch to his club, the Army and Navy club at Pall Mall. It was one of the most rapid clubs in London in its standard of dress, so I said Guggenheim that Charlie would not be dressed for dinner. He did not care about that, so the lunch was arranged. On the day, I was seated with Sir Gordon when the party came and said, 'Sir, there is a man at the door who says he has an appointment with you, but I did not see him in his red hat and coat here.' I said to Guggenheim, 'That's Charlie,' and a man. He was more dressed than I have ever known him to be in Europe. Sir Guggenheim was not delighted to meet him in that of that. We had lunch at a small central table and afterwards, gentlemen, gentlemen came up to greet Guggenheim who was newly back in England. He introduced them all to Charlie. Then we retired to an alcove for a quiet talk, and Charlie went to French Guggenheim was fixed up. Then Charlie had to go and Guggenheim saw him down to the street and looking a man himself for him put him into it. At the last he followed a walk by open, his head bent. It disappeared round a corner and he stood very still. Then he turned to me and said, 'I feel as though I had been honored to give back to my Lord.' It was the moment of two great men, and they met the role of Indian laborers in Ganga.

You will surely feel his loss at this time, more than ever, as you loved him here so much. But we do pray that you and India through you may be blessed, and you will be blessed."

Scraps, 7-5-40

M. E. G.

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# HARIJAN

1193

NEW MANGALURU (KERALA)

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[ ONE ANNA

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. A. Gouda)

### Waste of Spare Time

Q. You say an active Harijan should devote the whole of his spare time to constructive work. What is your conception of spare time?

A. Every minute that is not required for my necessary personal work would be spare time. A merchant whose whole time is occupied in making money—nothing inherently wrong in it, if it is honestly made and equitably honestly spent—naturally has no spare time. He cannot become an active Harijan. An active Harijan will give the least time to his personal work. The balance is his spare time. For an active Harijan time is more than money. He should therefore be able to give a good account of every minute. In these matters the ultimate judge is oneself.

### How to Use Vacation

Q. What can students do during vacation? They do not want to study and would not mind of vacation spending.

A. If they get tired of studying, it shows that they have not understood its life-giving property and its creative function. What is the difficulty in understanding that every part upon adds to the national wealth? A part of your is not waste, but as it is the smallest bit of labour it can be easily misapplied. Thus the personal value of studying is very great. Students are expected to understand the mechanism of the charitra and keep it in good order. Those who do so will find a practical formation in studying. I prefer therefore, to submit any other suggestion. But if vacation spending may give place to more personal work—I mean more personal in point of time. Their help may be rendered in putting the neighbouring villages in a good sanitary condition and in attending to the sick or in educating Harijan children, etc.

### Harim Dahi

Q. Some of us believe in that section of Congress workers who are not fondly of the opinion that the charitra is no good and has to be discarded along with poor leadership at the earliest possible date. How do we belong to that happy band of your followers who have an indissoluble link in the political, economic and spiritual mission of the charitra. We believe in Hindu—as my own in the present circumstances of our country. But we cannot

truthfully say that we understand the meaning of the sacred meaning. We are city people and there is very little scope for the charitra here in a backward. However we are anxious to be enrolled as Harijans. We can promise that we shall conscientiously abide as requested by you, but we are not in a position to promise that back in it which you desire. It is possible that as we ply the charitra the back may come flat, but the promise, it is as we have stated. Can we honestly wear the Harijan badge?

A. Of course you can be enrolled. All those who thus do not do in harmony of the broad, broad concepts of the wheel, place upon the machine to set a good example, and to create the spinning atmosphere.

### Test for All Members

Q. I am one of the members of a Congress committee. I have a feeling that some of those who have signed the pledge are not carrying it out—particularly the clause about spinning. Can we put to them the question whether they spin or not? And if we feel that their answers are evasive or untrue is it just of our duty to hold in respect and the matter? Some of us feel that we must accept their word, and not be too harsh.

A. An acceptance is a just duty to devote rules so that there would be no economic loss for all members, not merely for doubtful ones, spinning or not spinning. One test will be that the members deliver to a depot the yarn they spin. Every member is expected to keep a daily record of his output. But a national enquiry should undoubtedly be avoided.

### Parliament & Constructive Work

Q. Which would you prefer—whether we should devote all our time to increasing Harijans or we should organising constructive work with the Harijans that we already have on hand?

A. Of course you will organise constructive work with those you have. This will by itself create recruits.

### Men and Women

Q. I should like to know whether you would approve of men and women Harijans working promiscuously and working together, or whether they should be engaged into separate work with a clear delineation of the field of each. My experience is that the former must lead, as it has led, to a lot of misunderstanding and corruption. If you agree with me, what rules would you suggest to combat the potential evil?



## OCCASION II. INDIA

## The Hour of India

The latest, and one may hope the last, phase of the war is, to adopt Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's description a Napoleonic phase. The use of the word by one who is a sworn enemy of Imperialism no less than he is of Marxism or ultra-Bourgeois Imperialism and all its various lesser aspects there is no question in anybody's mind that the anti-imperialist in the war is Hitler, and when one thinks of his rampant and even exterminatory ambitions one automatically uses the phrase 'Napoleonic'. Thus the hour of peril is ours and the solution to give us is not possibly to be apparent from the statements of British and French statesmen. What could be more significant than these ringing words of Mr. Acland who appealed to his countrymen to sacrifice their all in order to capture "the will and determination of a free people."

"The Government is convinced that now is the time when we must mobilise to the full the whole resources of this country. We must throw all our weight into the struggle. Every private citizen must give way to the urgent need of the community. We cannot know what the next few weeks or even days may bring forth but whatever may come, we shall meet it as British people in the past have met disaster and distress alike. But it is necessary that the Government should be given complete control over persons and property not just some persons or some particular class of community, but over all persons rich or poor, employer or worker, man or woman, or property. What is proposed is that there should be control over persons and over property. The Ministry of Labour will be given power to direct any person to perform any service required. That does not necessarily mean service in military or factory. It does not apply only to workmen. It applies to everybody. Everybody alive must be under the control. He will be able to provide the terms of remuneration, terms of labour, or hours of service. Remuneration will be on the basis of remuneration for the job. If an employer is asked to do an extra man's work, he gets an employer's pay. If someone else is asked to do the job, he gets the pay of that job. If a professional man has to do professional work, he gets the professional pay, but if he is asked to do manual work, he gets the manual pay."

That is the least that those who have the honour to belong to a free nation should do in the hour of its peril.

## India's Fate

Hitler's Napoleonic exploits have stirred some of us to make statements which do credit to their generous impulses but not to their sense of reality. What can India in her crippled state of dependence do? Give Indians "the will and the determination of a free people"? Even one like Dr. K. P. Gangadhar has made this admission. "The policy of the Government has been to keep Indians absolutely dependent on Britain for their defence. This policy is now open to have been absolutely short-sighted. Even now

no attempt is being made to organise the man power and resources of India, at least for local defence. With better arms India would have been able to give material help to Britain in her hour of trial."

## Moral Gains Needed

Pandit Jawaharlal put the moral issue quite clearly in his hopeful statements made at the early stage of the present crisis. A little after this Mr. Churchill referred to the British Empire and said there was no survival for the British Empire without victory. What is forgotten, one has painfully to point out, is that the very Empire to which an anti-imperialist is working on, may be a terrible handicap in the desperate race for victory. Even if crippled India were to be put upon her legs today, she could not so by a magic wand produce the material needed for a victorious violent war. But if she was put upon her legs and raised from the status of a dependency to the status of an independent ally, all Hitler's excuses for worse appeasement would be gone. What is more, British statesmen would be only making good the democratic statements that they have made—well during the past six months. "We are fighting in defence of freedom," said Lord Halifax. "We are fighting for peace we are meeting a challenge to our own security and that of others, we are defending the rights of all nations to live their own lives" (Hollis case). Mr. Anthony Eden declared about the same time that all war effort—"was based, as I believe on a positive faith, and that positive faith in Parliamentary Government by a free community." (He forgot that "war effort" in India was impossible, as there is no Parliamentary Government and no free community). "If we really mean to build a clean, ordered, secure world after this war," said Sir Herbert Morrison, "we must be ready for sacrifice as individuals, as classes, as a nation." And "all people have a right to live in security and independence," declared Mr. Arthur Greenwood.

But the fight is for victory. And as Guy Chapman, the compiler of that fine miscellany of the last World War has said in *How Glory*.

"The probability of war lies in the fact that while civilisation has directed its single objective—material; and the reason they were induced to co-operate, the clash of philosophies and creeds, a hypothesis in the slow obscuring of the desire to win. It is not belief in the cause, but the strength of the desire for victory which, as it grows and matures, is the basis of what is called morale."

Mr. Churchill's words, Lord Gerd's words, and now Mr. Amery's statement repeating Lord Zetland's language, betray that "obsession of the desire to win", and insufficiency of the very moral considerations that alone can speed Britain to victory. It is a sad confession to make, but now the time has come.

# *Harijan*

June 1

1940

## NOT YET

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The reader will find in another column Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia's plea for immediate civil disobedience. I endorse his presumption for causing world peace. For enforcing the acceptance of his presumption he would have immediate civil disobedience. Here I must join issue. If Dr. Lohia subscribes to my conception of the working of non-violence, he will at once admit that the present is no atmosphere for enforcing the Director in the night discipline through civil disobedience. Dr. Lohia agrees that the British Government should not be embarrassed. I fear that any step towards direct action is bound to cause them embarrassment. If I start now, the whole purpose of civil disobedience will be defeated.

I would unhesitatingly declare civil disobedience if the country was demonstrably non-violent and disciplined. But unfortunately we have many groups outside the Congress who believe in neither non-violence nor civil disobedience. In the Congress itself there are all shades of opinion about the efficacy of non-violence. Congressmen who believe in the application of non-violence for the defence of India can be crossed on the finger-tip. Though we have made great strides towards non-violence, we have not arrived at a stage when we can hope to be invulnerable. Any false step at the present time may end in the loss of the great moral strategy the Congress has proved. We have sufficiently demonstrated that the Congress has done with compromise, and that it will not be satisfied with anything less than the unfettered right of self-determination.

If the British Government will not now declare India is a free country having the right to determine her own status and constitution, I am of opinion that we should wait till the heat of the battle in the heart of the Allied countries subsides and the future is clearer than it is. We do not seek our independence out of Benito's ruin. That is not the war of non-violence.

But we shall have more opportunities of demonstrating our power if we really have it. We can make a bid at the time of peace which must come whichever party wins.

Have we got the power? Is India as yet without having adequate arms? Does not India feel helpless without the ability to defend herself against aggression? Do even Congressmen feel secure? Or do they not feel that for some years to come at any rate India will have to be helped by Britain or some other power? If

such is our unfortunate plight, how can we hope to make an effective contribution towards an honourable peace after the war or towards disarmament? We must first demonstrate the efficacy of non-violence of the strong in our own country before we can expect to influence the unconquerable armed powers of the West.

But many Congressmen are playing it non-violence. They think in terms of civil disobedience anyhow meaning the filing of suits. That is a childish interpretation of the great force that civil disobedience is. I must mention to repeat, even though it may seem naive, that non-violence without the backing of honest constructive effort and goodwill in the heart for the wrong-doer is violence and therefore fraudulent as *ahimsa*. Force generated by non-violence is infinitely greater than the force of all the arms created by man's industry. Non-violence, therefore, is the decisive factor in civil disobedience. At this the most critical moment in India's history, I will not play with the force whose hidden possibilities I have been handsly trying to explore now for nearly half a century. Fortunately in the last resort I have myself to fall back upon. I have been told that people cannot be non-violent overnight. I have never conceded they can. But I have held that by proper training they can be, if they have the will. Active non-violence is necessary for those who will offer civil disobedience, but the will and proper training are enough for the people to co-operate with those who are chosen for civil disobedience. The constructive work prescribed by the Congress is the proper training. Given the opportunity, the Congress will make perhaps the most effective contribution toward ending the war in the right way. Disarmament of India through compulsion is stupid, if it is voluntarily adopted by the nation as a nation and if India makes a declaration that she will not defend herself with arms, can materially influence the European situation. Those, therefore, who wish to see India realise her destiny through non-violence should devote every ounce of their energy towards the fulfilment of the constructive programme in right earnest without any thought of civil disobedience.

Scraps, 28-5-40

### "Will Lenin Be Peace Unwound"

Interviewed on Mr. Amery's statement in the House of Commons, Gandhi said:

"While hourly hand-to-hand are being developed, I have no heart in saying anything publicly in regard to Mr. Amery's statement. Suffice it to say that I will have no more concern to bring about a successful and honourable settlement of the present deadlock."

### Mahatma Gandhi

By S. Balakrishnan. (New Edition) Pp. 3-12-3. Price 5 Rs. Available at Congress office-Poona 4, and 27 & 28 Queen's Road, Bombay 2.



## BIDAR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Five telegrams from Hyderabad Deccan have sent me an offer in which there is a loud protest concerning all kinds of measures against me. I need not burden these telegrams with their prefix. If the objections sent against me are deserved, they will stand whether I advance them or not. If they are due to the ignorance of the authors as I know they are, it is well for me not to answer them. Here is the offer.

"We Gandhiji agree that the whole Sarvast movement which led to this and many other incidents should be thoroughly investigated by a Commission, whose head should be a Hindu or a Christian, with an equal number of Hindu and Muslim members. We are sure prepared if Gandhiji agrees to advance himself, as we are confident that the evidence with us will prove the case. As a preliminary, proposed atmosphere to conduct such an enquiry is all that is required. We, therefore, request that Gandhiji will not hesitate to demand that all the cases pending in court in connection with the Hyderabad case should be withdrawn. We do not, of course, plead that cases of a serious nature, as that of murder or cases having no connection with the configuration, should be included.

Gandhiji is also of opinion that compensation should be given to those who have suffered. We had no intention the topic behind a Hyderabad incident are to be compensated, what would be the burden on the Hyderabad? Would the rats not be employed as a weapon to bring financial failure upon the Government? Is it a remedy or an encouragement? It is a word, demand asked. We hope Gandhiji will accept our offer."

I have no difficulty about accepting the offer unreservedly. If the words issued in permitting the Government of H. E. H. likewise to accept the offer, they will have established a precedent which may well be followed in all such cases. Needless to say, if the case suggested by my correspondents comes into being, the compensation and terms of reference will have to be by agreement.

I am asked to demand the withdrawal of the cases instituted against persons suspected of complicity. They were not introduced at my instance, and I promise they will not be withdrawn on my demand, but I should have no hesitation in approving of all withdrawals if the cases of injury is appointed. I assure my friends that I am interested in disclosure of truth, not in the punishment of the guilty.

But I am sorry I cannot accept the suggestion for compensation. Compensation has been asked because it is alleged that the authorities failed to do their duty. The question of compensation has naturally to be referred to the proposed tribunal. My correspondents assure me of the sincerity of their proposal. I do not doubt it. I shall await the verdict of their efforts to have the offer accepted by the State. I wish these every success.

Savagan, 24-5-46

## CURSE OF UNPREDICTABILITY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Several correspondents protest against me referring to the arguments advanced in favour of partition. They say that Islam is not exclusive, and that it teaches universal brotherhood and tolerance. I have never denied this claim. It was because of my knowledge of Islam that I felt grieved over the arguments which go to prove the contrary. Almost every Muslim wrong I take up knowledge contains disparagement of Hindus and Hindutva. It cannot be otherwise if the case for partition is to be proved. But my correspondents are angry when I point out the anomaly. They say I have hardly come to the conclusion from selected writings of unrepresentative Muslims. Unfortunately, the arguments referred to by me have proceeded from important Muslims.

But where the writers went over me is in regard to Hindu unpredictability. They say in effect: "You should be ashamed of bringing the charge of unpredictability against the Muslim League. First you set the train from the Hindu eye before you attempt to deal with the more so the Muslim eye. Has not the Hindu manifested for a thousand years complete boycott of Muslims? He will not drink or eat with him. He will not marry. He will not even let his house to him. Can you conceive a more effective isolation of a whole community than the Hindu has carried out? Will it not be a just reward of the Muslim now come round and part you in your own case?"

I have answered as much. Whenever the Muslims do the way of retaliation will be richly deserved by Hindus. My question was and is, should they do so? Does it behave a great isolated party to stir upon religious prejudice?

Whenever the Muslim League does or does not do, it behaves thoughtful Hindus to take note of the desecrated trust and purge Muslims of its exclusiveness. It will not be protected by artificial barriers which have no substance in sincere Hindutva or Islam. Well did Mirza Asad Khan Asad say the other day how sick he was of hearing the cry of railway stations of Hindu and Muslim are at water. I know the south-western is disappointed in Hindutva as it is perceived today. But there is no reason why it should be tolerated by Congressmen. If they will be correct in their behaviour, they will pave the way for a radical transformation of Hindu society. The message of unpredictability does not end in merely touching the so-called unpredictability. It has a much deeper meaning.

Savagan, 24-5-46

## OLD ISSUES

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## DEENABANDHU MEMORIAL

Innumerable people all over the world, who have been plunged into sorrow by the recent death of Charles Frey Andrews, must have been feeling, in their grief, that it behoves his friends to carry on the work of service and reconciliation in which he laboured so greatly. We would not willingly let die the memory of his life: we seek a way to perpetuate, in permanent and visible form, the spirit of that life. Andrews' permanent Indian home, the place with which for over a quarter of a century he affectionately identified himself, was Santoshkutan in the Bishnupur district of Bengal. This Ashram was originally founded by the late Mahabata Debendranath Tagore and supported by the ancestral funds. Under the leadership of his son, the Puri Bahadurprasad Tagore, the educational enterprise at Santoshkutan, with the centre of rural reconstruction close by at Sonakutan, have for outgrown the first conception, and become a world-famous centre of international culture. To the welfare of these institutions, with their vision of universal brotherhood and their service of international understanding and peace, Andrews, the Puri's closest friend, gave his whole-hearted devotion. No private resources could be adequate for the support of such a centre of study and research, and many of the financial and other contributions which have been made to it from East and West alike have been owed to Andrews' perseverance, hard work, and faith in its future. No more fitting place can be conceived for a memorial to him, nor one which he himself would have loved better, as we who came into the closest contact with him know.

It is true that no memorial in stone and mortar can fully preserve Andrews' memory. That can best be done by preserving true and lasting peace between India and Great Britain as independent nations and, through their just efforts, universal peace. But this work of reconciliation must find concrete form in some centre from which his influence can radiate. There could be no better memorial to him than that the place where he found his spiritual home and greatest human satisfaction, should be so endowed as to enable it to fulfil his high hopes for it unimpeded by the constant financial anxiety with which it is now handicapped. In his name and that of the Puri whose vision he so eagerly shared, we appeal for this endowment to be generously given.

There or two projected developments of the work of Santoshkutan and Sonakutan which Charles Andrews himself specially longed to see. The generous response of the public to our appeal for a memorial fund will enable them both to be carried out in addition to ensuring the permanence of the present established work. They are as follows:

Andrews was most appropriately called 'Deenabandhu', the friend of the poor, and the poor of the Bishnupur district love his friendship. The

rural centre at Sonakutan has a good doctor and dispensary but no hospital or operating theatre. We propose to build a small but properly equipped hospital to serve the villages round it, and to dig each year 'Deenabandhu wells' in the poorest areas. The Bishnupur district is one served by the large rivers of Bengal, and lack of adequate water supply is the main cause of its grinding poverty.

It was once thought which caused an Indian friend to interpret the motto C. F. A. as meaning 'China's Faithful Apostle'. Christ was the centre of his life. Devotion to Him was his outstanding characteristic and the source of his inspiration and strength. During the last months at Santoshkutan he often expressed the hope that in this place, where the aspirations of the world can share with each other the basis of their strength, there might be established a Hall of Chinese culture which could do for India's thought through contact with the Western world what the 'China-Bharata' is expected to do for our relationship with China. The central purpose of the Hall would be the study of the thinking and character of Christ and its application to the solution of international problems. It would seek to attract scholars and students, especially of the East, to the task of interpreting in their own modes of thought the spirit and mind of Christ. We envisage a modest building, sufficiently endowed to enable us to offer such scholars and students a home as a gentleman's club, with ample living accommodation, meeting hall, and the library whose nucleus Charles Andrews had already begun to assemble. He himself made Santoshkutan his headquarters during a life of practical Christian service which reached out from here to the ends of the earth. We hope that such a Hall would enable others consecrated to the same kind of service to enjoy the same kind of home.

The Hall carrying out of this programme will require a fund of at least Rs. 500,000 (£40,000). We ask Andrews' friends and admirers all over the world to give liberal support to a scheme which will make possible, in his name, the preservation and enrichment of the work closest to his own heart.

Santoshkutan and Sonakutan are in the charge of Dr. Bahadurprasad Tagore, Founder-President, Sir Nilratan Sarkar, Sir Bahadurprasad Datta, Sir L. K. Bhadani, Dr. D. M. Bose, Treasurer, and Sir Bahadurprasad Tagore, General Secretary, as trustees. The trust deed is registered. Its corpus value is valued at Rs. 1,700,000. Its annual expenditure is about Rs. 100,000.

ARUL KALAN ARJUN  
S. K. DATTA  
M. K. GANDHI  
M. M. MALAVIKA  
SARADINI RAJUL  
JAYANARAYAN MENON  
V. S. SUNDARAJA SASTRI  
T. W. WILKINSON (Bishop)

# 'IMMEDIATE BAYTASHAH'

(By Ram Manohar Lal)

The ruin of states in Europe has made it clear that the Allies are not as strong as was earlier imagined, and that Germany is not as weak as was made out at the beginning of the war. Germany and the Allies appear to be evenly matched with the advantage for the present very much to Germany. The war, therefore, cannot end soon, unless there is surprise defeat and destruction of one or the other or unless a vital change of policies and aims is effected.

The longer the war continues the greater is the possibility of its extension over other continents of Europe and the rest of the world. The continuing and extension of the war can have only one consequence, destruction. This will involve not only deaths and uprooting and leaving waste of cities and villages and objects of material comfort, but also the raising of superior numbers of men. There will be increasing hunger for security in all lands.

The end of the war will probably see no better results than those in its duration. The victory of Germany will produce New dominions over the latter part of Europe, for the Hitler principle of national security is only a respectable term for conquest and aggressive rule. But the victory of Germany's enemies, as things stand today, is also not likely to lead to any better world. Germany's enemies are themselves imperialists and, as the war drags on, their consciousness with other Powers will almost surely be of an imperialist character. With the one aim of securing victory, no one already officially accepted by their spokesmen, Britain and France may have to lay the friendship, at least the semblance of Japan or Italy or any other under Power. Such a purchase can be made only at the expense of the freedom of peoples in China or in Africa and elsewhere.

It is undoubtedly true that, if the war continues long, there will be enormous destruction and nobody can say what the outcome may be. The fighting Powers, in their victory as much as in their defeat, may become too weak to enforce their treaties and contracts.

Against the background of a continuing and extended war, the Indian people had to decide on means of action. This action should be such as to secure the freedom of the country in the midst of a free and peaceful world where the enemies of freedom cannot prosper. The duration of the war and its destruction and cruelty should, as far as is lies within the power of the Indian people, be lessened.

The cry to arm the nation in co-operation with the British Government shows unawareness both of the international background and of the aim of the Indian people. Immediate co-operation reveals among Indians during the present war will, finally, delay the day of freedom and,

secondly, force the Indian people to take increasing part in destruction. As far as real national defence is concerned, the fear of people in Poland, Holland, Belgium and even France is their work with their many decades of army tradition and training and long years of military mechanization. If India is to undertake herself the national defence, let this be done three decades at least of industrial and army preparations would be necessary, and any amount of arming during this war will leave us helpless, either voluntarily or otherwise, in the hands of a bigger Power.

We have to think of some other way consistent with our aim and the international background.

Three world forces which are anxious to remove aggression and conquest and foreign rule must without delay select as a platform which will give them strength and deprive their enemies of confidence. Such a platform can be short and simple.

(1) All peoples will be free. The peoples newly freed will determine their constitutions through a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise.

(2) All races are equal, and there will be no race privileges in any part of the world. There will be no colonial bar to any man seeking wherever he likes.

(3) Confiscation and expropriation of the nationals and the governments of one country in another will be scrapped or subjected for review to international tribunals. Such confisca and expropriation will then be allowed not by individuals but by the nation.

When these three principles will have been accepted by the peoples of the world a fourth will also come into operation.

(4) There will be total disarmament.

If the world that is not Hitler's were really anxious to establish peace and freedom in the world, it would immediately accept the first three principles of this platform and put them into immediate operation in the countries under its control. The world government bodies of considerable strength and an atmosphere of gripping poise. The world that is Hitler's will either quail or bow. Even if that does not happen and the war continues, it will be short and decisive.

The Allies are showing no inclination to accept the platform of peace, and the position of war in Europe is accompanied by terrible destruction and terror and fear of more. The battles in Holland, Belgium and France, destruction of human culture as they are, appear to be only the beginning. The worst may yet come.

In waiting for the British Government to take the initiative or in allowing for a further long period of preparation the Indian National Congress will be indirect party to the prolongation of the war and to consequent misery and danger to the Indian people and the

world. The question of India may not rest not only on her own merits but on that of world peace. Satyagraha must now be declared.

If the Congress gives without delay the call of nonviolence to the Indian people for the two principles of the Government Assembly and of confidence in impartial review of British crimes and wrongs, it will do us duty by the Indian people and might generate just those world forces which will bring the war to a speedy end and assure reconstruction of the world on the basis of freedom and peace.

Satyagraha here and now is not an attempt to exploit Britain's moral defects. On the contrary these defects have heightened India's responsibility towards herself and also towards the forces which are anxious to defeat all that Hitler stands for and satyagraha will only be the expression of that heightened responsibility. Nevertheless, a period of two weeks or a month—as a further delay would not be in keeping with the rapid pace of change in the world—may be given to Britain to make up her mind about the platform of stands which alone can defeat Hitler incidentally. The Congress will then invite the United States, Russia and even Germany to revise their policies and aims. If Britain and others should still misunderstand the significance of the Congress as an effort to make use of an adversary's deficiency, history will judge between them.

## Notes

### Kerala Congress

Miss Bhikharade after her visit to Kerala reported to me that the differences between rival groups that were hampering real progress in Kerala had been settled. I was happy to have the report. But letters since received from Kerala go to show that the settlement was superficial. I have before me a long resolution passed by the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee which condemns almost all my acts and wrongs, ridicules the constructive programme, and pur to fulfil the letter of the Congress law half-heartedly endorses the Congress resolution. I suggest to the Kerala Congressmen who are responsible for the resolution that there neither good solidarity nor sportsmanship. The latter infers, the more growth life. Congressmen should understand the spirit of the resolution and carry it out. They will put life into me and themselves. If they cannot, it will be better and honorable to come in a dignified manner to the present leadership and programme. The resolution before me mainly confounds the people to whom it is addressed. I hope that the leaders of the majority group in Kerala will notice their mistake and remove their steps. But whether they do so or not the minority who have faith in the programme should quietly pursue

it and by their moral work impress the people with their sincerity.

Scrutiny: 27-5-43

M. K. G.

### The Redness Bee

The following is taken from A. W. McCann's *The Science of Beekeeping*:

"The Van Buren apple orchard in Madison County, Ohio, ... produced in the average 125 bushels of apples annually until its owner started and spread his trees and began to keep bees, whereupon the production of the same orchard, while not a single acre less, dropped from 125 bushels to 10-200 bushels in a single season."

The Perry farm in Gloucester County, New Jersey ... is now producing 1,20,000 bushels of apples. Papp learned decades that its indispensable are bees in the growing of fruit in this country that fruit growers can afford to pay local beekeepers at the rate of 1 dollar a colony merely to leave the bees in the orchards during the time the trees are in bloom, leaving the owners of the bees take them away again at home.

Dr. Philip of the Bureau of Entomology, Washington, declares that fruit orchards cannot be placed properly on an extensive scale without maintaining in connection with them colonies of honey bees and that, by keeping able industry near to the resources of the country, by flower pollination done by the bees of honey and wax.

The orange groves of Florida now know what the bees mean to their crops. Sweet cherry orchards have jumped from a production of 13 tons to 39 tons mainly through the introduction of a few colonies of bees by the owner. Even the tomato is pollinated by the bee.

In Massachusetts alone there are now over 5,000 colonies of bees pollinating currants, raspberries, apples and peaches. The grape, strawberry, blackberry, raspberry, cranberry, blueberry, gooseberry, current plant and pear need the bee.

In New Zealand and other lands and in cultivated and honey bees were imported from England.

Greater demand for honey as a sugar food which more bees. More bees mean more food of every kind.

Love of honey is therefore, one of the most productive of the forces now engaged in the growing and harvesting of crops in the reconstruction of the world itself.

V. G. D.

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## HARIJAN

BIRM. BANADEY DESAI

Vol. VIII, No. 17 ]

POONA — SATURDAY, JUNE 3, 1945

[ ONE ANNA

## Notes

## Peace in Hind

Some time ago I had especially to comment on happenings in Hind. I am therefore happy to be able to say that there is now peace between the State and the people. The credit may be equally divided between the State and the Congress. The negotiations were ably led by Acharya Gokuldas who is a firm believer in the principles of non-violence. Let me hope that the relations between the two will duly become more and more cordial, and that there never will be any cause for quarrel between the State and the people.

## Unreachability

Shri T. S. Jethwa, President District Local Board Shikhar, writes:

"I have been constantly making effort to give facilities to the Harijans especially with regard to their necessities such as respect of water supply, education, etc. The Congress Board has opened a good number of wells to the Harijans, but has also arranged to put up others to that effect at these wells. But it is a matter of regret that the Harijans are not inclined to take advantage of this facility for fear of being put to trouble by the 'untouchables'. During my tour in the district, I have been requesting the latter to allow Harijans the exercise of the legitimate right without any ill effects and restoring the Harijans to have sufficient courage to smother their fundamental right of drinking water from any public well. Thus I have been doing through public meetings, articles and private discussions. As a practical measure, I go myself to a public well in a village after a public meeting with some Harijans, 'untouchable' Congress workers, and a few other prominent villagers, and all of us drink water from the well after it has been drawn by a Harijan. But it is found that the 'untouchables' who take part in the function are often boycotted and the Harijans chased with various kinds of trouble by the 'untouchables' who do not participate in the function. No doubt the cause of this boycott and that of the substance of trouble is becoming smaller and smaller day by day, but as whatever time it may be, it is there and serves as a hindrance in the way of removal of untouchability. Can you suggest working more?"

This certainly is good work. Removal of untouchability is a question of double education, that of 'untouchables' as well as 'untouchables'. 'Untouchables' have to be taught generally by precept and example that untouchability is a sin

against God and humanity, and the 'untouchables' that they should cease to fear the 'untouchables' and that untouchability among themselves. I know that that is a very easy said. But I have found working else. Living in the midst of both, I know how hard the work is among both. If Hindism is to live, the work has to be done, however difficult and even hapless it may appear to be.

## Handmade Paper

Shri Jethwa further writes:

"Secondly, I have seen many handmade paper for the use of the District Local Board office since the advent of the Congress Party in the Board. Use of wall paper or foreign paper is absolutely discontinued, and as far as my information goes, you are the only Board in Maharashtra which has been using handmade paper for its office use to the complete exclusion of other paper. I had sent a circular letter to the Presidents of the other Districts in Maharashtra, requesting them to follow the practice of our Board, and I am glad a few of them have agreed to do so. But I think it will be better if you yourself request the Presidents of the Congress Boards to take to use handmade paper for their office purposes. This can well be done through the columns of *Margan*, and I am sure it will go a long way in bringing into reality your dream of several of village industries at last as writing paper is concerned."

I gladly support the plan. Indeed I have often enough said the same thing in these columns. Shri Jethwa's example should be copied by all Local Boards not merely in the matter of handmade paper but all village products. With a little care, the Boards should be able to manage these things within their budget. I should also remark that the Boards have these things manufactured in the villages under their jurisdiction as far as possible. The purpose of the village movement will be defeated, if the central fact is not borne in mind. Decentralisation is the life of the movement as also the key to its success.

## Red Cross Fund

The same letter mentions the following:

"Then, with respect to the Red Cross Fund, efforts are about to be started to collect money for this fund on a very large scale by means of sale of lottery tickets. These tickets are sold to the villagers against their wishes and in spite of their inability to do so. This is being done through under influence without having any proof of the same belief. As

some plays the Part. Kalamam do not accept kind reviews if the agricultural does not buy their tobacco. I have received a number of complaints in writing on this effect during my recent tour in the district. I am communicating these complaints to the proper Government authorities."

The subject too I have already dealt with. I have explained that in such matters there should be no compulsion. Government officials may insist to make means levies on compulsion. There is no necessary obligation to subscribe to such funds. Those who do not wish to, will certainly not subscribe. These popular institutions are often young and should be stopped by the authorities whenever discovered.

#### Comilla Municipality and Harijans

Shri Thakur Naga sends the following interesting account of what the Comilla Municipality has done and propose doing for Harijans:

"1. 15 days' leave with full pay in a year, and maternity leave to female employees.

2. A free primary school in their quarters.

3. Compulsory one cow-bute for (a) Naga employees at a cost of Rs. 1,400, and (b) for other employees at a cost of Rs. 1,000. Some Nagas in Tanti Bungal and Some valley have taken to milch-cow-bute.

4. The employees have been relieved almost wholly from their indebtedness, which totalled about 1,000 and on which they were paying an interest of three annas per rupee per month or 125 per cent.

The Commissioners intend to adopt the following further measures for them.

1. To start a Co-operative Stores, proposed for which has been sent to the Registrar of Co-operative Societies for registration.

2. Employees have to be weaned from their drink and habit, which is a known as a difficult task.

3. The sanitary dues behind the employees quarters require to be made into a public drain.

4. Providing latrines for women's quarters, and present they have to defecate in the open places."

This reminds one of what the Ahmedabad Municipality has done in the matter. The latter is possibly more thorough. But that does not in any way detract from the merit of what the Comilla Municipality has done. It deserves warm congratulations. Let us hope that the prospective reforms too will be carried out in good time.

Surugram, 4-6-40

M. K. G.

#### Handmade Paper

The purchase and sale of handmade paper, from 1-1-40 to 31-3-40 have been as follows:

| Month    | Purchase  | Sale      |
|----------|-----------|-----------|
| January  | 1599-00-0 | 1331-12-1 |
| February | 1615-0-0  | 1273-14-3 |
| March    | 1659-10-4 | 128-8-3   |
| April    | 1347-00-0 | 373-0-0   |
| May      | 1643-14-0 | 1265-4-0  |

2510-0-0 6278-0-0

Rs. 678 have been given for paper-colouring and envelope-making. A Sachin's Tika contains all the samples of paper, envelopes, etc. available with us can be had from us for Rs. 1 post free.

MUMBAI, May 20

#### OCCASIONAL NOTES

##### All for Principle

In one of his plays, *Man of the Hour*, Bernard Shaw has characterised the English as a "race apart." There is nothing so good or so bad, he remarks, that you would lead an Englishman doing it. He does what pleases him and grabs what he covets, but he does all this on 'principle'. He is never at a loss for an effective moral attitude. "He fights you on religious principles, he takes you on business principles, he endures you on imperial principles, he battles you on family principles, and cuts off his King's head on republican principles. The watch-dog is always there, and he never forgets that the cause which he is dying for on the opposite side to its owner is lost."

One was strongly reminded of these remarks of Shaw on a perusal of the proceedings of the recent India debate in the Parliament, the full text of which has since appeared in the press. It was contended in the course of that debate by one honourable member after another from the floor of the House that India could not be allowed to exercise her rights of unqualified self-determination at that would "put upon us the charge that we have been wanting in our responsibility for the protection of the minorities in India who rely upon us." How could Britain, it was vociferously asked, abandon her obligations, as trustees of the welfare of the Indian people which were "enbodied in the very texture and tapestry of history"? There was, of course, the reference to the Partition, like the memorable King Charles' head, and is "the stake we have in the country" and "which is the outcome of historical forces."

##### English of the States

"How can you ignore Indian States," exclaimed Sir Stanley Reed, "which comprise one-third of India and one-quarter the population?" Sir Stanley Reed, as a veteran politician with a long career in India, surely must know that out of 562 States that constitute Presently India only about thirty have any treaty relations with the Paramount Power, that even these treaty States are bound to the Paramount Power in "subordinate co-operation" either by express provisions in the treaties themselves or have been referred to that status as a result of half a century of unbroken political practice. As regards the Crown they are not free agents, they cannot treat with anybody except at the sufferance of the Crown, and are bound legally to carry out the policies of the Paramount Power. It is therefore a travesty of the reality to speak of Presently India as "comprising one-third of India and one-quarter the population", as to treat our treaty obligations towards the Princes as a reason for refusing India her right of self-determination.

##### Censure for the Under-dog

A true measure of the government of these contentious world, perhaps, be provided by comparing the present attitude of the British Parlia-

ment with the way in which it dealt with the problem of the "under dog" on an occasion when necessity pointed the other way.

The South African constitution of 1909 was framed in South Africa by the South African National Convention. A thirty quarters of 1898 was that of the native franchise. The Convention decided that in South Africa only persons of European descent could sit as members in either House of Parliament.

This meant that the natives, who constituted the majority of the population, would be excluded from voting in the South African Parliament. As Lord Greer, the Colonial Secretary, himself admitted in Parliament, there were among the natives "men who were of high standing, of high character and of high ability." They provided the backbone as a staff, and they "pressed with deep feeling and much eloquence their case before the British Government at Westminster." But the British Government felt powerless to interfere with the decision of the South African National Convention. Explained Lord Greer, the Colonial Secretary then in place in the House of Lords on July 27th 1939:

"The fact which has decided us is not attempt not to press the matter against the wishes of the South African delegates but how that this is substantially one of those matters which represent a deliberately balanced compromise between themselves. As a Government, we cannot take—and personally I am not prepared to take—the responsibility for the possible wrecking of the Union because accepting as provision of the kind I am aware that such would be the result of any attempt to exert such a provision in the Bill. The cases of those who desire the change to be made has been pressed with deep feeling and much eloquence by some of the natives themselves, and by those who specially represent their cause. But I do feel that if this change is to be made, it must be made in South Africa by South Africans themselves, and then, it is not possible for us, whatever we may consider to be the special merits of the case, to attempt to force it upon the great representative body which with absolute certainty decides that I should not appear."

So the South African Convention had its way and the draft of the South African constitution of 1909 which, as a Constituent Assembly, it had drafted was, as has already been pointed out, endorsed by the British Parliament without the change even of a misplaced comma.

#### Other Times Other Manners

"However far" it was further extended in the debate, "we may go in giving responsibilities to a body as large for the framing of clear constitutions. Parliament cannot entirely disavow its responsibilities, it cannot shrug off its share in the work, because it will have to implement by an Act whatever recommendations may be agreed upon." This doctrine of inalienable constitutional responsibilities of the Parliament, one may pose now, with due deference to the honorable member who advanced it, is honorably an untruth in practice it was always put aside whenever a settlement was promptly desired by Britain, as in the case of Ireland and the

Dominions. The fact that it is now being dangled before us only shows that the situation in which Britain sits is far more rather than the logic or historical validity of her constitution.

To take up a few concrete instances, in the case of Canada the Parliament did nothing more than endorse in a legislative form, in 1867, the seventy-two Quebec Resolutions of 1864 which represented the ultimate agreement between the Canadians themselves as agreed to their own constitution. The Commonwealth of Australia Bill, upon, as Mr Joseph Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, admitted in his speech on the introduction of the Constitution Bill in the House of Commons on the 12th May 1900, was prepared without any reference to the British Parliament or the British people. The Imperial Parliament only endorsed the desire of the Australian people.

"As a matter of fact," stated Mr. Buxton Lee on 21st November, 1932, in his speech in the Commons admitting the drafting of the Commonwealth Bill by the people of Ireland, "the constitutions of Canada, Australia and South Africa were all drafted in these Dominions." So John Simon in his speech on the same day on the same Bill was even more emphatic. "The principle," he observed, "that Constitutions in our Empire have usually been found to have a permanent basis in the areas where they have been agreed to and worked on the soil affected by them, is by no means limited to the different Federal Unions under the British Crown. I believe it would be true to say that Constitutions which promote prosperity and loyalty, and which have been found to be lasting Constitutions for independent States in our Empire, have almost without exception either actually or virtually been framed by those who were in fact under them themselves."

#### "Special Obligations"

The example of Ireland is well known working. During the Debate on the Statute of Westminster, it was held by a member of the Tories, headed by Mr Churchill, that there was a "special obligation," not in regard to the Irish Treaty of 1921 which did not bind us constitutionally within the domain of the Statute as proposed. "I am afraid on high technical authority," observed the honorable member for Epping that "the Bill confers upon the Irish Free State full legal power to abrogate the Irish Treaty as any time when the Irish Legislature may think fit." He therefore suggested that an amendment should be incorporated into the Statute to prevent that. But on receiving a note from Mr. Cripps to the effect that "any attempt to exert a statute of the British Parliament into a subordination of the Treaty would have quite the opposite effect here and would rather tend to give rise in the minds of our people to a doubt as to the security of the arrangements." Col. Griston's amendment was dropped by 360 votes to 30 despite the support of Mr. Churchill and Lord H. Cecil, and the "special obligations of the British Parliament" were left to take care of themselves.

# *Harijan*

June 8

1946

## HINDU-MUSLIM

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Thus writes a Khan Sahibdar from Delhi.

"This is a letter for the *Question Box* in *Haripan*. In your article in *Haripan* of April 6, you observe as follows:

"I should be failing in my duty if I did not warn the Mussalman against the attitude that is being propagated amongst them. This warning is a duty because I have faithfully served them in their hour of need and because Hindu-Muslim unity has been and is my life's mission."

I will request you to consider the Hindu-Muslim problem from one point of view. The standing block to any negotiations for a settlement of the communal question has been the refusal of the Congress to recognise the All India Muslim League as the authoritative and sole representative body of the Indian Mussalman. The Congress claims that it speaks for whole India and that it has an immense considerable number of Mussalmans. The very last day the Congress has made several attempts to come to terms with Mr. Jinnah shows that it is not fully confident of its representative character, so far as the Mussalmans are concerned. But do you not honestly feel that the Congress Mussalmans are the real standing block in the way of Hindu-Muslim unity, and that it is for their sake that the Congress is not making a serious effort to solve the problem? Believe me, they are a large lot who are enjoying their present position because they are in the Congress.

You know what the Muslim masses did to your President in Calcutta where for years he had been leading M. prog. You also know that they have no courage to address a Muslim meeting to convert the Mussalmans to their point of view. You blame the British for creating Franks, Mohandas and Khan Sahibdars like me. You blame the British for trying to create another Ulster in India. Has not the Congress created equivalent Mohandas and Khan Sahibdars in Amul, Asaf Ali and Kishore. Is not the action of the Congress tantamount to creation of a Muslim Ulster?

You talk into the ears of Mr. Asaf Ali according to the municipal elections of Delhi. I may inform you that but for a division in the Provincial League and bad handling of the situation Mr. Asaf Ali would have never won the election. I may inform you that even as it is, when Delhi Congress wanted to contest the municipal elections as a party, Mr. Asaf Ali, who is now a member of the Congress Working Committee, had declined to take a Congress ticket. Therefore, Mr. Asaf Ali's election was not a test case; and if you justify my saying so, even now let Mr. Asaf Ali present himself as a Congress ticket, and I am confident that my League hand-

some would defeat him. You will then realize that your being baffled by the Lahore resolution of the League is not justified when Mussalmans have agreed to trust in your life's mission regarding Hindu-Muslim unity. On the other hand they are convinced that the sole aim of the Congress, for the last two years at least, has been to divide and rule the Mussalmans. I will try of you to reconsider your attitude towards the League. Please don't trust the Congress's Mussalmans, for they are not only the "Mr. Jinnah" amongst us, but the enemies of Hindu-Muslim unity and India's freedom."

Just now I am surrounded with letters of protest from Muslim friends. Most writers do not argue. They give themselves satisfaction by abusing Franks, who speak and deal with the daily post, given me only those letters which he thinks I should see. Of these I take notice of those I think I want. In some cases I answer them personally. Therefore correspondents who want serious acknowledgment either through *Haripan* or the post should know the reason.

There are some Muslim letters of sympathy too. One of them says that as he knows he has to leave so without criticism of me. No adjective is too bad to use. Much criticism he knows as he feels. What is he to do, he asks. Is he to leave the house, or is he to engage in another depression and convert his house into a bear prison? I have advised my correspondent another to leave the house not to engage in a discussion. If he can, let our post be a mild word when he knows that a manifest falsehood is being spread and believed.

The correspondents in my possession and the Urdu press cuttings and even some English cuttings from journals owned by Muslims go to show that I am believed to be the arch enemy of Islam and Indian Muslims. If I was or one time welcomed as their greatest friend and suffered the praise, I must suffer too to be described as an enemy. Truth is known only to God. I am confident that is nothing that I am doing, wrong or shaking I am their enemy. They are blind leaders and will remain so, though they may deceive me ever so much.

Now for the Khan Sahibdar's letter.

I have never understood the reason behind the demand for the recognition by the Congress of the All India Muslim League as the sole and authoritative Muslim body. Why should such an admission be demanded or expected? How is it compatible with a genuine desire for a settlement?

The Congress attempts to represent all. But it has never demanded recognition as such from anybody. The all India status has to be deserved. But whether it be deserved or not, admission thereof is a superficiality. The Congress has never claimed that it represents the whole of Indian Muslims. It has not claimed to represent any single community wholly. But it does claim to represent every single national interest irrespective of class, caste, colour or creed. Even



that claim and can be obtained by those who deal with it. It should be sufficient consolation to each party that it is considered by the other important enough to seek friendship with.

The Congress has always frankly admitted that it has not an ace against as many Muslims as it would like. But it has been proud to have had the support of many eminent Muslims. Hakim Sahib Azad Khan was the tallest among them. Quader-ud-Din, himself was a great Congressman. It was only after non-cooperation that he, like many other Congressmen belonged to several committees, left it. Their debates were purely political. They disliked direct action.

It is wrong to sneer at the so-called Muslims simply because they are attached to the Congress. If ever become members of the League, they will become mostly Muslims! My correspondent simply does not know how much Congress Muslims are trying to hand about unity. When unity is re-established, as it must be, I have to think that so-called Muslims will get their due back from Hindus and Muslims.

It is a sort of trick to suggest that they are as many Mr. Indus. They are becoming neither Hindu nor Hindu. They are as one Muslim according to their light as members of the League claim to be. It is equal torture of trick to suggest that the Congress is following the British method of divide and rule. The Congress is a political party with one single aim. It would be a bad day for India if the Congress could be proved to have many motives. Is it mean to woo Muslim opinion by the finest means imaginable? Rightly or wrongly the Congress does not believe in "watertight compartments on a communal basis. If religion is allowed to be as it is, a personal concern and a matter between God and man, there are many dominating common factors between the two which will equal common life and common union. Religions are not for separating men from one another, they are meant to bind them. It is a misfortune that today they are as distorted that they have become a potent cause of strife and mutual slaughter.

It will perhaps now be clear why I can have no concern with Asaf Ali Sahib's case. I would grant that he would be beaten in a contest between him and a League. Let it be further granted that such will be the case in the majority of such contests. It will do no way weaken my position. It will prove the superior organising ability of the League and its popularity among the Muslims. I have not desired order. My aim is incredibly simple. I must not be called upon to make any statement about the status of the League before thinking of unity through the League. I must not be deluged by the Muslim nationalists however confident they may be considered to be. I ask the Khan Bahadur, the worst of the League under discussion, to exert his influence to bring the two communities together.

Swingam, 4-6-46

## PANIC

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Newsday can reach about panic in the Free and loose more than one reads. One friend writes, "You sitting in lovely Swingam can have no notion of the talks and whispers going on in the busy cities. Panic has seized them."

Panic is the most demoralised state anyone can be in. There never is any cause for panic. One must keep heart whatever happens. War is an unanticipated evil, but it certainly does one good thing, it drives away fear and brings bravery to the surface. Several million lives must have been already lost between the Allies and the Germans. They have been wasting blood like water. Old men, women both old and young and children in Britain and France are living in the midst of unending death. But there is no panic there. If they were seized by panic, it would be an agony more dreadful than German bullets, bombs and poison gas. Let us learn from these suffering nations of the West and learn panic from our midst. And in India there is no cause whatsoever for panic. Britain will die hard and heroically even if she has to. We may hear of reverses, but we will not hear of demoralisation. Whatever happens will happen in an orderly manner.

Therefore I would say to those who find a horror on the net. "Go on with your work as business is the usual way. Do not withdraw your deposits or make haste to turn your paper into cash. If you are cautious, you will run no new risks. Your credit based underground or in your treasure chests need not be considered safer than in banks or in paper if anarchy overtakes us. There is risk just now in everything. It is best to be as you are in such a situation. Your weakness, if it is unaltered, will steady the market. It will be the best preventive against anarchy. There is undoubtedly fear of goondaism in such times. You must be prepared to cope with it yourself. Goondas flourish only in the midst of timid people. They will have no quarter from people who can defend themselves valiantly or non-violently. Non-violence defies goondaism, recklessness about one's life and property. If it is possessed in it, it will in the end be a sure cure for goondaism. But non-violence cannot be learnt in a day. It requires practice. You can commence to learn it from now. You must be ready to lose your life or property or both. But that is implied in the art of non-violence. If you do not know how to defend yourself either way, the Government will not be able to save you in spite of its best effort. No Government, however powerful it may be, can without the active co-operation of the people. If even God only helps those who will help themselves, how much more true it must be of mortal Governments! Do not lose nerve and think that tomorrow there will be no Government and it will be all anarchy. You can be the Government open, and you actually will be

in his contemplation with contemplation or with will power."

(Sringar, 4-5-40)

### "SANDHYA MEDITATIONS"

Dadasaheb Ambedkar lived such a full life that two of his books were still in the press when he died. The book under review was published a few days after his death, and the other one which is with an English publisher is not yet out. *Sandhya Meditations* has value not only as a little spiritual legacy left for his Christian and non-Christian friends, but as an expression of the last that he knew of India and India gave him. For the publication of these lovely meditations "charity of interest to Christians" (as C. F. A. himself said) is a devoted Hindu who took up the task at his behest because he was a sincere friend and a great servant of India. Shri Narayan is to be congratulated on placing at the feet of Mother India this posthumous gift of poetry before women by C. F. A.

They are not written planned and prepared for lay readers; they are just brief communications with the little brotherhood of the Christians. Ambedkar at Turpore where he lived a short while before his death. And though they were chiefly of interest to Christians, they are in many ways of universal interest, inasmuch as they represent the consciousness of his religious experiences, and they show in his humanistic simple and charming style the essence of a truly religious life. We see him as first in about 150 odd pages the beautifully simple life as he lived it, the profound love that he bore to Christ and therefore to "the poorest, the lowliest, and the best," the work he achieved and admired, and the Christian life that he was held before himself as a model to be lived. From the pages of work of style, they are poems of beauty, beauty and melody of the chords and lured Anglo-Indians of which he was master. There is about all a spirit of joy and beauty about everything that he has written and which is an expression of the joy and beauty that he had achieved in his heart from Christ.

He adored beauty wherever he saw it.

"Every morning in two hills, or three hills," he says, "I have been more and more struck with the wisdom of the landscape and the peace that beauty gives it. What a lovely country it is! There are the hills in the distance, with their green rice and fall. The morning and the evening, through the morning days, bring with them an indescribable glory. Through the rice drenched, water at once responds, and the earth becomes green with such a richness of colour that the eye looks it as with pleasure."

But he adored beauty which was an expression of Truth and Christian Joyous, Shown, Serenity he used to repeat very often.

"Joy always comes in the style of beauty. When I am in the early morning I am suddenly beautiful. Joy with the clouds and stars of dawn all that with light, it gives me joy because of its beauty. Here in the Arabian sea round us there is beauty. The flowers of Prosper shall be very beautiful. All feelings and the highest and very beautiful about the joy with the hills in the background. For the kindness of Nature, which is all around us, is only a dim picture of the heavenly Beauty. The wonder of Christ's love is this, that everywhere that he did had a reason about us, which was beauty, joy in us even when we think about it. What he did was done in a beautiful way. There only a great joy."

And that is why some of the church people who lived lives of beautiful dedication are perceived to us in these pages—St. Christopher Bishop, Winton, Salford, Sunderland, Princes Road. There are more or less known to us. I shall give here C. F. A.'s story of John Smith of Denmore. He had been sent out by the London Missionary Society to British Guiana where the slaves from Western Europe were meeting nearer out of the blood and sweat of slaves in sugar plantations.

"From the moment John Smith landed," says C. F. A., "the day began to grow dark. I saw him and his children in poverty in the street. He said, 'I want they. God make them good.' And he was better than all your British Guiana. On account of his love for the slaves, at the about the year 1838 there are a many among the slaves against the masters and they was put down with a terrible amount of brutal force. The slaves masters were frightened, and in their pain they brought a charge against the missionary, saying that he had encouraged the slaves to revolt. He was charged with treason, full of malice, and treated cruelly by the justice, and in the afternoon that a year's imprisonment and labour he was forced, he died in the prison a martyr's death for the great cause."

Interwoven with these are scenes of the undomestic Indians in Mauritius, Trinidad, British Guiana, and Fiji where C. F. A. went in order to help to abolish that system of slavery. There is an account of his journey to the western continent at Mauritius where he went to visit "more than once I can remember" there money has been heart-breaking. He made repeated appeals to Government to take charge of these miserable Indian companies and asked his little audience to "hear these poor Indian companies on your hearts as they are being burnt on fires for the burden has become too heavy for me to bear alone." And even when on the eve of his final departure he disposed of his meagre belongings, he asked the Metropolitan to divide the little money in his bag between the natives and the people at Mauritius.

Though there are not full-fledged sermons there are brief but illuminating comments on various from the New Testament. I shall give but one instance—the commentary on John 1:7. "The law was given by Moses, but Grace and Truth came by Jesus Christ."

"There is, he says, 'something wonderfully great' in the spiritual equality of Law where

an individual reception is allowed to come in which might interfere with the more solemn of public. The pilgrims in that company held their own lives of solemnity, and the separate world of Venice seems also to be bound by nature's laws of its own. But when morning life comes in, the greatest kind of all is our suffering, but freedom. The life which is merely mechanical here is beauty. The form each individual into a framework of emotional law, brings with it in the end, death instead of life."

Though he believed that "in Jesus Christ the Love of God became fully visible and focused in a single character which was able to reveal not a partial image of the invisible God but the one true image which we, as human beings, could recognize and accept," he had no doubts in his mind that Christ himself taught that "Wherever the good act is done from a good motive, there is the fulfilling of God's will, and that act is accepted by our Heavenly Father," and "that whatever good deed is done as an act of love is done unto Himself." And the way to preach the Gospel was summed up by him in these words: "For far more than what we say and far more than what we do, is what we are. Only the heart can sincerely desire, in a moment, the beautiful deed with grace and joy spontaneously the beautiful word with grace. That is why Jesus was able to give us that more perfect of all His images."

Healed are the pain in heart, for they shall see God. He could give us that word because His own heart was pure."

I can quote that indefinitely from his beautiful talks to the true Christian (inspired to him by the lyrics of the true Vedic hymns which I translated for him), or on the calm sea, or on the sea of moral pride on which he has come searching words to say. What, however, has appealed to me most and what will live with me always are his two talks after the prayer. We have, he was explaining a text from St. Matthew, to show him our inner chamber, that the door of our hearts from all wandering thoughts, to keep out the world and all its noise, and to be pure in our inner being, for "He is our Father who saith that which is unseen." But why, it is asked, should we pray, why should we not have everything in His hands? He has an answer which cannot be repeated:

"The answer is really very simple. Indeed the answer we make is the better. For if we depend on logic as such a reason as this, we are certain to become confused and lose our way. Let me give my answer in the form of another question. If any one is the father of an extremely dear child, whose love was all in all to him, would he be happy if the child never brought to him any question to be answered, and never made to him any request, however foolish sometimes they might be? Is it not, when he the child or the father, to have only distant relations with such ones? Surely not. The essence of relationship of the father to the child is one of complete dependence on the part of the child. That dependence is real and valid, if I may say so, in form of personal prayer. Don't

be so jealous too bound by logic in thinking out the subject. Let us rather enter that Kingdom of Heaven which proper devotion, with a childlike trust remembering the words of our Lord, when he said: Except ye humble yourselves, as little children, ye shall in no way enter the Kingdom of Heaven."

Serapian, 28-3-46

M. D.

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### If You Have Courage

Q. My mother died last month. I have for a long time been following the practice of eating food cooked by Muslims. The Muslims did not like it, but they observed my practice. Three years ago I accepted an invitation for a funeral dinner given by a Muslim friend on the occasion of his mother's demise. Now my mother is dead. My company have now boycotted all functions in connection with my mother's demise. What am I to do?

A. If you have courage, you will let the company do their worst, but you will uphold your Muslim friend in all cases and dine with him as often as is necessary. Such boycotts should not be based on ill.

### Nonviolent Noncooperation

Q. When the mob become callous and selfish and the evil conscience unshaken, a revolution of the masses with all the attendant horrors inevitably results. Since this, as you have put it, is often a choice between evils, would you, in view of the lesson which the history of revolutions reveals, welcome the use of a benevolent dictatorship which would with the maximum use of force "seek the rich", give justice to the poor, and thereby serve high?

A. I cannot accept benevolent or any other dictatorship. Nations will the mob which are will the poor be concerned. Some mob men will certainly be killed and some poor men will be oppressed. As a class the rich will oppress and the poor die, in spite of dictatorship labelled benevolent. The real remedy is non-violent democracy, otherwise spirit soon effacement of all. The mob should be taught the doctrine of nonviolence and the poor that of self-help.

### A Social Movement

Q. The caste problem has become a social movement everywhere, especially in the case, India can it bear the burden of this army of distress? They are self-interest, sometimes even violence and murder, to work upon the sympathy and fear of our simple folk and extract alien from them. Some of these have in this way accumulated a severe hatred and bred a life of vice and immorality. What solution would you suggest for this problem?

A. Caste is an age-old institution in India. It was not always a tolerance. It was not always a profession. Now it has become a profession in which classes have taken. No person who is capable of working for the good should be allowed to beg. The way to deal with the problem will be to parallel those who give others to

professional beggars. Of course begging itself by the able-bodied should be punished. But this reform is possible only when unemployment ceases to be a chronic disease where there will find people without work. The Salvation Army people are at work experts in this class of work. They had opened a match factory in London in which my person who there found work and food. What I have, however, suggested is an immediate palliative. The real remedy lies in decreasing the root cause and dealing with it. This means equalising the economic conditions of the people. The present system has to be dealt with as a serious social disease. In a healthy society concentration of riches in a few people and unemployment among millions is a great social cause or disease which needs to be remedied.

#### Economic Independence of Women

Q. Some people oppose a modification of laws relating to the right of married women to own property as the granting this economic independence of women would lead to the spread of immorality among women and destruction of domestic life. What is your attitude on the question?

A. I would answer the question by a counter question. The economic independence of man and his holding property led to the spread of immorality among men? If you answer 'yes', then let it be so also with women. And when women have rights of ownership and the man like man, it would be found that the enjoyment of such rights is not responsible for their vice as their virtue. Morality which depends upon the helplessness of a man or woman has very much to recommend it. Morality is rooted in the purity of our hearts.

#### A Temple Trustee's Fear

Q. I am a member of the A. I. C. C. Personally I neither believe in nor observe what relating to untouchability. But I am member of a temple built by my ancestors who were thoroughly orthodox in their religious outlook. I feel that it would be a breach of trust to throw it open to Harijans. Would that stand in the way of my signing the Satyagraha pledge?

A. It would need very much in the way of your signing the pledge. It would be no breach of trust if the law allows you to open the temple. The conclusion was reached as we have now discovered and hence revised.

#### Unearthed Khadi

Q. You say that a person buying or using wool cloth ceases take the Satyagraha pledge. Can a person using, buying or dealing in unearthed khadi take the pledge or hold office in Congress committees? Is a person or an association other than the A. I. S. A. entitled to carry khadi dealers?

A. Certainly not. I repeatedly said that a person who uses or deals in unearthed khadi damages khadi and directly exploits the spinners.

and weavers whose lot the A. I. S. A. is striving to improve. Such persons can neither take the pledge nor hold any office in a Congress organisation. No person or association takes that the A. I. S. A. can issue the required certificate.

#### Students' Difficulty

Q. We are students in Poona. We are asked part in the drive against distillery. Now in the year we are wanting there are distilleries who threaten us if we go to touch people. These areas where we are working are Harjans. They get frightened. Some writers that proceedings should be taken against these distilleries. Some suggest we should try your method of women there. Will you advise?

A. You are doing good work. Liquor drives and many such things are by-products of the big reform, perhaps the biggest of modern times. As to the distilleries they must be treated as distanced persons wanted to our sympathy and service. You should, therefore, remain with them when they are silent, and also even the beating. If any, with good grace I do not rule out your proceedings, but they will be evidence of weakness of enough shame in you. But you cannot go against poor sinners. If you do not receive response from them to your warning, your work must not be held up because of this obstruction referred to by you. Harjans to legal proceedings is then indicated. But you must make all human effort before you go to law.

Diagram 4-6-40

#### NOTICE

We regret to announce that we have decided to close our Bombay branch from the 1st July. We have seen by experience that in the present state of damaged for hand-made paper is not possible for that single sheet necessary to bear the burden of an independent advertisement or even occasional notices in a big daily like *Harjani*. Though we may frankly remark that the space occupied by our branch was given to us free of cost by a good friend. As, however, we did not need to run the risk of a loss, we have thought it advisable to close down the shop. Nevertheless we will continue our share in popularising hand-made paper in Bombay through correspondence and through friends who have promised to help in the case of a labour of love. We have also decided to bear the freight by goods sent to all orders amounting to Rs. 25. All correspondence should be addressed to Manager, *Harjani*—Poona 4.

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# HARIJAN

NEW MAHADEV DESAI

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POONA — SATURDAY, JUNE 15, 1946

[ ONE ANNA

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### Arrests

Q. You must know that arrests after arrests are being made under the Defence of India Act. Now your favourite Dr. Lohia is taken up. I suppose you will see no reason for civil disobedience even as a protest against these arrests. Or maybe you think that these arrests are legitimate.

A. The question is opposite. Dr. Lohia is no more my favourite than any other Congressman. True he has come nearer to me than he was. Every arrest evokes my moral protest. But I am not in the habit of advising all my disciples to writing. I believe that our thoughts too produce effects, though not known to us or to the world. I felt that any public protest by me would be ineffective. All things are legitimate and illegitimate in war-time. I signed war itself as illegitimate. Therefore all repression is bad from my standpoint. But I have as yet no effective remedy against war. Even, therefore as I suffer war, I suffer these repressive acts of war-makers. One strange thing about India is that, so far as I know, it is not the people who are likely to help the Nazis that are bound out under restraint, but those who are patriots longing for the freedom of the country. In a free country they will be fighting against designs upon their country. Here their chief fault is that they are lovers of their country and its freedom. If the authorities have anything else against them, they should punish it. Repression is on the increase. They know that the Congress is the most powerful instrument for preventing violence. The Congress has taken no step which might, in spite of its efforts to the contrary, result in violence. It is therefore difficult to understand these acts of repression. They seem to be part of a concerted plan, for they are pervasive in almost all provinces. One reflection I put before Congressmen for what it is worth. Imprisonment has no terror for them. Civil disobedience means certain imprisonment. The difference is that in the one case it is a control, in the other it comes unwished. Therefore any step the Congress can take will be one to secure the discharge of the persons arrested but to take the wind out of the Government sails by offering more violence than they can take. Therefore the question is whether the Congress should take that step now or not.

### Non-violence

Q. Recently you wrote "The present is no atmosphere for following the direction to the right direction through civil disobedience." And in the same article you said, "I would unhesitatingly declare civil disobedience if the country was demonstrably non-violent and disciplined. Now the question is if the country is demonstrably non-violent after some time, and the war continues for a long time, will you start civil disobedience? And if you start it, will it not embolden the British? Will you continue to start civil disobedience if the groups outside the Congress are not non-violent?"

A. If you will fill in the sentences left to be answered in my article, you will not find any inconsistency. "The present atmosphere means English unwillingness to put up with anything when the safety of English homes is at stake. It also means our very incomplete non-violence. If we were completely and therefore demonstrably non-violent, it would mean that the British themselves would recognise our non-violence. Any purely non-violent step means embolden them. As a matter of fact, if our non-violence was complete, we would have no internal differences, no friction in the Congress ranks, no friction with non-Congressmen. In that case there would be no occasion for civil disobedience at all. I have said as much only recently in these columns. I have put the same thing in another manner in the sentence quoted by you. For a non-violent step taken by a united union will carry its own friction without any hindrance. Therefore I should be ready for action the moment the non-violence of my domain is established, no matter in what part the British may find themselves. Indeed, if that non-violence comes it will not only give help but also save Britain and France. But you will be an idle gossip in saying that I wrote nonsense because I know that the degree of non-violence required for me was not forthcoming at my time. I am an irrepressible optimist. No scientist needs his experiments with a heart beat. I belong to the tribe of Columbus and Stevenson who hoped against hope as the face of heaven cold. The days of miracles are not gone. They will shade so long as God shades. Your second question is answered in the foregoing. Of course as the picture has presented non-Congress groups will also have accepted non-violence. But first things first. Let the Congress put its own house in order.

### A Widow's Difficulty

Q. I am a British-Burmese widow. Since my widowhood—some 24 years—I have observed strict rules about my food. I have my separate widow's kitchen and utensils even in my own family. I believe in your ideal of work and non-violence. I am a habitual worker of fields since 1920 and a regular spinner. Our Mahla Samay has established a Marican school in a Marican village in Darra. I go there and work with the Maricans. I mix freely with my Muslim friends towards whom I have nothing but goodwill. But I cannot associate with Europeans or any other non-Burmese ones. Now can't orthodox widows like me exist or prosperize, produce and prosper?

A. According to the Congress constitution you have a perfect right to be widowed. You can even enforce your right. But since you ask not, I would dissuade you from being widowed. I know the punctilious way in which British widows observe the rules widows has prescribed for them. But widows who delude themselves to the country's cause, and that in a non-violent way, should have no scruples in doing with anybody. I do not believe that doing with people, no matter who they are, hinders spiritual progress. It is the motive which is the deciding factor. If a widow approaches every one as a spirit of service, it is well with her. A widow may observe all the dining and other rules with meticulous care and yet not be a true widow if she is not of a pure heart. You know as well as I do that outward observance of rules governing a society often covers hypocrisy. I would, therefore, advise you to disregard the restriction on introducing and the like as a hindrance to spiritual and national progress and concentrate on education of the heart. In the *Upanishads* did I should like to have not self-worshiped persons but those who have used their reason and chosen a way of life that has commanded itself to both head and heart.

Servants, 10-6-40

### PLANTERS' PARADISE

(By Kenneth Sordley)

It is worthy to the *Manchester Guardian* reproduced by *The Statesman* in its issue of the 10th December 1939, Sir Alfred Watson says "Essentially the Congress Ministry in Assam has had the help of the European vote, British members believing everywhere that, whatever the disposition of the ruling Government, they should endeavor to strengthen its hands." He said this proposition to counter the statement of Mr. Edward Thompson that Congress opinion alone is of importance in India. If even for one single moment the Congress Ministry in Assam had received the support of the European group or even their benevolent scrutiny, one might not have found fault with Sir Alfred. The fact is that the group opposed the Congress Ministry throughout.

According to the Census of 1931 the European population in Assam is 1,330 to 1,600. This includes Government servants and the Missionaries. The number of European businessmen in the province would not exceed 3,700. And yet the privileges enjoyed by this handful of Europeans would be an interesting and no less instructive study.

The total area in occupation of the tea planters, the most important section of the European community in Assam, is 1,699,743 acres. Of this only 375,503 acres are Indian-owned. But only 28 per cent of this land is actually under tea, the rest is kept in occupation for future extension. At least 17 per cent of the estate area is held for example, and the rest under very much cheaper terms of tenure than the ordinary year holds his lands. The average premium for tea-estate-planting land is about Rs. 3 per acre, whereas it is never more than Rs. 1-2-6 in tea areas. The average gross yield per acre in tea-crop lands during the last few years in estate-planting areas has never been more than Rs. 25 and about Rs. 30 in multi-crop holdings, whereas the average yield per acre in tea areas in terms of tea was 600-640 lbs. During the last two years, keeping the average at Rs. 300 per acre.

It would be seen that, if the lands held in excess of the requirements were allowed to be sold otherwise, an amount of revenue not less than Rs. 15 lakhs would have been obtained by the State. It is also clear that, if the tea-planting areas paid the same rate as the ordinary agricultural lands, a sum of at least Rs. 50 lakhs would have been forthcoming. Thus by concessions were granted to the European planters when the British Government rule prevailed. It was then a crime to be an Indian and have just a tea garden. Observe the boundaries of a garden extended up to a village, and with the village cattle being put in garden ponds, the village roads being closed, and with this, that and numerous other extravaganzas on the village's humblest affairs, they had to give up homesteads which had been their habitat for generations. The Europeans—"lord of all he surveys"—would not look on timberland, much less a man riding on a pony or an elephant. It is well that a learned Sub-Deputy Collector found himself made a tea garden certificate-holder because he had the cheek not to get down from his pony on the strength that he was on Government duty. Since 1920 Gentile cups have become the objects of the planters' spite as much as the timberland is since then. The Government and district officials fully encouraged the spirit of superiority. A rich Indian applying for a few hundreds of acres of land for tea, for special cultivation, would be put to all sorts of humiliating queries regarding his financial ability, and in case of any contest between the claims of an Indian and those of a European, one million times the claims of the former pining the upper hand.

No wonder, therefore, that on the plea that they have sunk £ 75000000 of their capital in this province, the planters try to control the Government policy in every matter that concerns them in another their province. There are five local boards in Upper Assam where the tea gardens abound, their proportion is more than 25 per cent of the total membership of the boards. These boards allow 50 per cent or more of their income for communications, whereas they spend only 25 per cent or less on education and for rural extension, on rural water supply and rural communications, the budget allocations are negligible. The Dibrugarh Local Board, which has ten European members in a house of 26, spends 50 per cent on roads and only 14 per cent on schools. But in spite of all this expenditure on communications there is hardly any road which passes continuously through a village or village. In the days of official chairmanship—the chairman would invariably be a European official—the vice-chairman was usually a European tea planter, but even in those days of non-official chairmanship, the European group with the nominated members manage to have a working majority so that the old policy still governs the boards.

In the higher region of politics, so long as the minority of the Governor was in full play, the planters had things very much their own way. In the Montagu-Chelmsford experiments they had 5 members in a house of 22, today they have 9 in a house of 33, with an electoral roll of only 1,500 persons. Their actual voting strength in the Assembly is, however, very much more. In Assam, strangely enough, the Labour men have been allotted among garden labourers alone and the garden labour only (actually garden employees) have the right to vote. The result was that the 4 Labour members, being nominees of the employers, had to take their seats behind the European group in the Assembly during the first 15 months of provincial autonomy. It was only when one or two came to realise that the interest of labour was not the same as that of the garden owners that they showed independence and a tendency to get out of their control.

Oil and coal, railway and stream services are the other important European interests in Assam. The Central and Provincial Governments attended all matters of consequence to them from time to time, but they did not appear to be much concerned with politics until they combined with the European planters and formed what is known as the Assam Branch of the European Tea Association.

As soon as the Government of India Act of 1935 came into operation the Europeans, in their anxiety to become the leading factor in the domain of the province, directly allied themselves with their old friends, the supporters of the old bureaucracy and lost support to the Government formed by Sir Mahomed Saadulla who had been Minister and Executive Councillor for about 11 years. In August 1937 the Ministry procured

an East Budget and suffered 5 defeats on major issues (and as many more on minor issues), and yet, in the course of seven years like The Government, the Ministry did not resign and the Europeans who had stood by it in all three sessions continued to support it even after the defeat. In a direct no-confidence motion at the following session in February the Ministry would still be a division of 50-45. At the next session in September the Ministry resigned when 5 no-confidence motions were tabled. During the reign of 15 months the Congress Party sought through legislation to control the powers of the planters in the local bodies and secure some freedom of movement and association for the tea garden labourers. Thus the relations between the planters and the Congressmen in the House were not better.

When, therefore, the Congress accepted office, the European group, instead of leading support to Government, put all manner of obstructions in its way. They organised a party known as the United Assam Party which became the official opposition under the leadership of Sir Md. Saadulla. The apparent independence of the Europeans as a group was depicted in the new opposition party which was composed of the Muslim League members, a few non-Congress Hindus and the European group with the Indian Christians and some Labour members behind them. The Congress Government took some time to establish, and meanwhile the opposition in which the Europeans took the leading part carried on a hostile propaganda.

In the House the Europeans opposed vigorously all the measures issued by the Congress Government. They fought at every stage the agricultural income tax, the most important of the five taxation measures which the Congress Government brought to house the Assembly in the middle of January. They obstructed between the tea planters and the ordinary cultivators. The Government proposed an enquiry into the conditions of tea garden labour. The Europeans opposed the measure with all kinds of arguments but ultimately agreed to move on the committee. When, however, certain terms, particularly with reference to the capacity of the tea companies to pay a better wage to the labourers, were sought to be added to the committee, the European planters' representatives, Mr. Hookerbell, refused further co-operation. The same characterist method was adopted when the Government moved a proposal for bringing in legislation on the lines of the Bombay Trade Disputes Act. The European attitude to the Congress Government's national reconstruction scheme was one of hostility and even one of active support.

When we relinquished office in obedience to the wishes of the Congress Working Committee, the Europeans it may be inferred, felt it to be a good omen. With the reconstruction in power, they became restless again. The new Ministry often took occasion over the plans and projects that we had initiated.

# Harijan

June 15

1940

## TWO PARTIES

(B. M. K. Gandhi)

"*Masses and political appeals are being made to me to call all parties together and arrive at a common agreement, and then, they say, we shall get what we want from Great Britain. These good friends forget one essential fact: The Congress, which professes to speak for India and wants unconditional independence, cannot strike a common measure of agreement with those who do not. To act otherwise would be so better its trust. In the matter of change, therefore, there can be no "all parties conference" unless all have a common purpose.*"

The British Government would not ask for a common agreement, if they recognised our one party to be strong enough to make delivery. The Congress, it must be admitted, has not that strength today. It has come to its present position in the face of opposition. If it does not weaken and has enough patience, it will develop sufficient strength to make delivery. It is no illness caused by quarrels that we must come to an agreement with all parties before we can make any progress.

There is only one democratic elected political organisation, i. e. the Congress. All the others are unhelped, or elected on a sectional basis. The Muslim League is an organisation which, like the Congress, is popularly elected. But it is frankly communal and wants to divide India into two parts, one Hindu and the other Muslim. I need no appeal by a Muslim League requesting that the British Government should come to terms with the Muslims and depend upon Muslims and That would be one way of settling the question but also of perpetuating British rule. The Hindu Mahasabha will no doubt want favoured treatment for Hindus including Hindu Sams.

Thus for the present purpose there are only two parties—the Congress and those who side with the Congress, and the parties who do not. Between the two there is no meeting ground without the one or the other surrendering its purpose. The other parties must be persuaded to be so inclined in their purpose as the Congress claims to be so. Therefore there is a weakness. But the weakness is only apparent. An agreement independently of evolving a common demand the Congress must seek and has always sought. It is the process of conversation, by non-violence forbids the Congress from standing aloof and taking the high horse in the opposition say. On the contrary it has to win all parties, disarm suspicion and create trust in its true side. This it can only do when it has

decided its own attitude. The process may take time. Time must be given. It will be no worse. But if the Congress loses hope and faith and comes to the conclusion that it must surrender its original position for the purpose of getting a common measure of agreement, it will cease to be the power it is. Today it is the short-anchor of India's hope and faith. It will be well with it, if it refuses to move away from its moorings, whether it is in a minority or a majority.

Secunderabad, 11-4-40

## Notes

### Copyright

Shri Satish Kishore writes:

"Being modest in my ways and rather unassuming in temperament, I have always been sceptical about your views on the question of copyright. If I remember rightly, you needed some permission from friends before you consented to hold the copyright and even the rights on your Autobiography for the sake of the A. I. S. A. I agree that a writer of truth should welcome its spread, and not put obstacles by insisting on the copyright. But surely there is a limit to the liberality, and an unscrupulous exploitation of it can't be prevented.

Perhaps you are aware that Harijan comes in my hands in the evening papers on Saturday and morning papers on Sunday. Some editors, not content with the 'whole cut-and off', show liberality to Harijan even on Monday morning.

I am not discussing here the possibility of meeting the already weathered sails of Harijan by stopping the reproduction of articles in other papers, for we I opposed to your view that truth should be spread widely. There are other sails, however, which must not be ground. Some Anglo-Indian papers, which are not exactly in line with the unswerving, unshakable, unrepentant commitment concepts, and sometimes cut into bits, of news decorated in a series of articles in Harijan. This for example the Ajmer case. The Anglo-Indian papers, that published an account of the incident and your constant advice to the Ajmer workers to restrain themselves, took care to publish the Commissioner's 'explanation' in that connection, but they did not consider it a part of the 'gentleman's agreement' with regard to the free reproduction of articles from Harijan, to publish the final and irrefutable reply from your pen. Your unwillingness in agreeing before all facts are known, and your deliberate misdirection and opinions are unwelcome as 'Gandhi's admission'. The 'relevant' articles that appear later in Harijan are only ignored!

Perhaps you would argue that truth needs no censoring, and that it can never be suppressed in spite of a conspiracy of silence in papers. But surely one may not be a party to the spread of mislead by indirectly consenting to the publication of half-truths. Don't you agree that you should quickly give free permission so as to stop misleading attempts, and only a few of a series of articles being reproduced in other papers?"



There is much more in what young Kallikar says. I own that often my articles suffer from condemnation. They are made to yield a meaning I had never intended. The *Agnes* illustration quoted by my correspondents is a striking case. The matter of copyright has been often brought before me. But I have not the heart to copyright my articles. I know that there is a financial loss. But as *Harjia* is not published for profit I am content so long as there is no deficit. I must believe that in the end my selfless work will serve the cause of truth.

#### Please Spare Me

In spite of repeated numerous friends continue to ask me for messages I have started before and reserve here that I am of no use for such services. I do send messages when I must, for instance to meetings which I presided at where demand arises for delicate reasons. Apart from such services I must resolutely drop myself the pleasure of sending messages or replying to letters. Though I have imposed on myself needless labor for, among other things, regard with the very heavy work which I must go through, I am daily in arrears. In these circumstances embassies will please forgive me if I send them neither messages nor even acknowledgments.

#### Andrew Memorial

At first, reflections for the memorial will not come spontaneously. They will have to be engendered. It is much to be wished that the numerous devotees of Desbandhulla will take up the work themselves. I am happy, therefore, to be able to announce that in April it is going to be done by the students. Nothing can be more fitting than that all over they should organize what after all is a policy collection. Charlie Andrews was above all an educationist. He came out as an educationist to help his friend and chief Principal Kaula. He picked up an educational institution of international reputation as his final home. To the making of it he dedicated his life. Even without Andrews almost synonymous with it. Sacrificing by itself is worthy of the devotion of the modern world. I hope, therefore, that the students of India will take a leading part in the work of collection. Then come the poor people who have specially benefited by his labors. It would be a great thing, a proper thing, if the few last were made up of offerings of thousands of students and poor people rather than from the donations of the few special rich friends of Desbandhulla with whom they had come in close touch and of whose wealth they had intimate knowledge.

#### Tribute from South Africa

The Joint Hon. Secretaries of the Natal Indian Association send me the following:

'At a meeting of the Indian Community held under the auspices of the Association, on the death of the Rev. C. F. Andrews, the following resolution was passed unanimously:

The membership of the Indian Community held under the patronage of the Natal Indian Association (with whom are represented the Natal Indian Congress and the Colonial Non- and Settled Indian Association) deeply mourns the death of the Rev. C. F. Andrews, whose services to the cause of the South African Indians were outstanding and whose humanitarian appeals for the better treatment of Indians overseas have always secured the ear of the Government and the attention of responsible European agencies. This meeting records its deepest sympathy and sympathy in confidence to his family, Mahatma Gandhi, Port Natal and to the Indian Nation.'

The meeting was attended by not only the members of the Indian Community but also by leading Europeans including the Sir Rev. Augustine Harris, who, after offering prayers, spoke of the united grief and the humanitarian spirit of Mr. C. F. Andrews. The Indian Community of South Africa have lost a friend and guide. His services to the cause of our Community in South Africa, his sympathy, his constant endeavor to bring about a better understanding between the European and Indian Communities, his constant thought for the poor, will always remain fresh in the minds of those of us who have had the pleasure of working with him.

We respectfully tender to you our condolences, for we know that as Mr. Andrews you have lost a trusted friend."

#### Gandhi and Kaula

The A. I. S. A. has the information that the Gwalior State has issued the following departmental order in connection with Gandhi. The original is in Hindustani.

'In the Treaty of Poona it has been laid down that no export duty should be charged on any kind of handloom and handwoven cloth whether cotton, woolen or silk. It has come to our notice that with the increasing popularity of khadi, very often khadi made out of mill yarn is passed for genuine handloom and handwoven khadi, free of customs duty. This causes loss of revenue and violates the object of exempting the industry of hand-spinning and hand-weaving from duty. It should be realized that handloom and handwoven khadi only is to be exempted from customs duty. To secure this end it is decided that khadi bearing an A. I. S. A. certificate only should get the benefit of the exemption.'

The Gwalior authorities deserve commendation for their alertness. The next step should be a grant to local khadi and its use by the State of Gwalior.

#### Harjia of Garkwal

Only the other day I had the good fortune to report a case of a Harjia bride being doused in a pitfall or death in Garkwal without her or her husband. But Shri Shyamal of the Harjia Sankh Singh informs me that the case has proved to be an imposture, and that possession of the use of a doud by Harjia families almost as before. Two such cases have come under his observation not only recently Harjias who had dared to make use of douds were "mercifully spared." There is an interesting report Harjia. They

have approached the Commissioner for protection which he has promised if a foreigner's previous notice is given to him. But that must mean had blood. The real thing required is conversion of the Caste Hindus. I understand that Pandit Jaiswalal is specially instructing himself in the matter. The U P C G is worried. All these are steps in the right direction. Let us hope that the labours of the reformers will bear fruit and Harijans will no longer need police protection. But they need not wait for the success of the reformers' labours. They must assert their rights even if it be by seeking police protection. It should be remembered that Gandhi preaches five pillars. It is a part of India, which is noted for its beauty. Shall Caste Hindus alone be rich?

#### A Walking Tour

Shriani G. Vaidikshik of Gokuldas Harijan Colony of Madras writes:

"I have Harjan students of the Gokuldas Harijan Colony taking their training in village welfare work propose to visit the villages in fact in the neighbouring district of Chingleput. In the course of their training in the Ashram they have the taste of free housework and how to cure it by being self-reliant. They will study first hand the miserable condition of the villages and what types of cottage industries could be taken up in a particular village. They will study houses of that, how savings could be pooled and how they can derive benefit by organizing their selves into cooperative societies for such purposes as house loans, agriculture, co-ops, and co-operatives in such matters, hand loom weaving, etc. The students who are trained for welfare work in the villages are expected to settle in villages and do welfare work without regarding any salary from Government or public bodies. They will wear a turban by the white ones; they have loaves, like spinning, weaving, embroidery, paper-making and basket-making. As they live in the villages they will also speak in the villages about these cottage industries which they can take up as spare time work. The party start from Madras on 1st June and will complete their tour on 30th June. As all of them are Harijans they will not choose only urban centres to go to the Caste Hindu villages also. They will depend for the daily food during their tour on the hospitality of the houses they visit."

I hope the results started on their tour on the 1st. It is a good plan. If the tour succeeds, it will be an example to copy. If the tourers are of the right type, they will succeed. They won't be a burden on the villagers, for they will make ample return for the hospitality they will receive from them.

Servgram, B.A. 40

#### Handicraft Education in Assam

Shri Thakkar Rupa writes:

"I have sent your letter to Harjan of the Madras and M. S. May regarding the presence of the Secretary, Sany Kisan School, Shillong. The Secretary has been running the school with great zeal and without any grant from the Government. That the Christian Mission have been working in Assam

with the only view to convert the Hill tribes to Christianity with the help of the Government grants is very apparent from the Government Education Report of the Assam Government for the year 1933-37 as indicated by Mr. C. A. Small, Director of Public Instruction, in his review of the report he wrote in April 1938, p. 31.

"The general policy at present is for Government to take over the responsibility for education from the Mission as early as possible. While acknowledgment must be made of the debt owed to the Mission for their work in progress in the field of education, it must also be recognized that the Mission have concerned themselves in education solely with the object of Christianity the children. Portions of some of the Hill tribes have refused education because it brought Christianity with it, and it is unfair that they should be deprived of education because unwilling to abandon their tribal customs. The attitude of view of the Mission in these matters has been more than narrow-minded. To you it is told, however, my more humble than a Harijan church in England, it is tedious to members of the church. Another view has been more accommodation. A broader outlook and an attempt to reject what is good in the old customs and gods in the ancestral dress and weapons would have made the task of the Mission easier and their religion more popular. The Government of the past have definitely restricted the Hill areas and it is only recently that they have recognized at all their responsibility in the matter. During the four years I submitted proposals for widening the grant of Rs. 50,000 given to the United Calcutta Mission and making the money in special Government primary schools in the tribal portions of the Naga and Jaintia Hills. The late Government, while approving generally of the proposals, chose to leave the decision to the new Government. I can only hope that the decision will be in favour of the proposals which are very popular with the people of the Hills. The question of the policy to be adopted in the Naga Hills is still under consideration. In the Naga Hills Government schools are being opened, and arrangements are being made for the production of films and books in Assamese character."

There has confusion when I have already published in these columns. One only hopes that things will be better managed now.

Servgram, 3-4-40

M. K. G.

#### A Correction

In Harjan of June 1 at the note on Kishu Chandra's story in reference to a 'long resolution' by the Kishu Permanent Congress Committee. This was incorrect. The resolution in question was the resolution passed by the Kishu Permanent Political Conference.

Servgram, 11-5-40

M. K.

#### Home and Village Center

By Satish Chandra Dasgupta

1184 pages. 18 chapters. Copies 1000 of 10 pages, 275 chapters. Price Rs. 5 cloth bound. By V. P. K. Rs. 4 Rs. 6 leather-bound. By V. P. K. Rs. 7. Published by Kishu Pratibha, 15 College Square, Calcutta. Available at Harjan office—Poona 4.

## THE ECLIPSE OF FAITH

I

I have had talks with several batches of students during the past few weeks, and while I am glad that the students of today take a livelier interest in the topics of the day than the students of a generation ago, I am rather puzzled at the way they run round with disinterested facts and theories and at the general eclipse of faith revealed in their talks.

## Kind and Shrewd

A batch of young men came the other day on their cycles, and as they are no longer they came to me and asked if I would answer a few questions. I said they were at liberty to ask whatever questions they liked.

"How do you say," asked one of them who acted as their spokesman, "that we can win Independence by means of the *charkha*? (Old women may win a few acres by means of it, but how does that lead to Independence?)"

"That will not lead to Independence," said I. "Even if lakhs of women spin for a wage, we are not going to have Independence. They did so 250 years ago. But spinning has to be done in the proper *style*. Of course we want to lead as many happy mouths as we can by universal spinning, but if the *charkha* does not mean for us more discipline, more equity for untapped work, more of simple living and high thinking, more non-violence, it will not take us any nearer Independence."

But why do you want the discipline and non-violence and so on?"

"In order that we may be able to offer successful civil resistance."

"But of what avail is civil disobedience?"

"If you think a law has to be so evaded as to we need not strive any further. If you say a thing is black and I say it is white, there is an end to all argument."

"No. Not quite like that. Jan, explain to me how civil disobedience has helped us."

"Civil disobedience has made us achieve things in twenty years which we had not achieved in two hundred. We were like dumb driven cattle before civil disobedience came. We had not the courage to stand up against a wrong, the presence of a policeman was enough to start away or scatter a crowd of sturdy villagers. What is the condition today?"

"The same condition, if not worse."

"I am amazed at your statement. Do you agree that Government servants from the policeman upwards had it over us as hags and have learnt to regard themselves as the servants of the people rather than their masters?"

"They may have done so for a time, but a *satyagraha* has always found its master then we were helped. The officials have always come down upon us with a heavy hand soon after the *satyagraha* is over."

"My experience is quite the contrary. We have emerged from every *satyagraha* stronger and

more determined than ever. Have you heard of the *Sarvodaya* *satyagraha*?"

"No."

"Have you heard of the *Bandha* *satyagraha*?"

"I have heard something, but I do not know that there is less *satyagraha* there."

"I can show you if you come with me that there is very little *satyagraha* and a good deal of *Sarvodaya* there."

"It is news to me. But I do not know that you can ever win *Sarvodaya* by means of *satyagraha*."

"That was why I said it was no use arguing with you, if you have any other means you can shape it but you will gain little by arguing with me."

"We have the means and we have prepared thousands of people, and I invite you to see our work."

"Where is the work? What kind of work have you done? Economic? Social work? *Satyagraha*?"

"We do not believe in this kind of work."

"But you must be laboring in some kind of work—say destruction of the *charkha*, wearing foreign cloth, etc. You may have no faith in *satyagraha* but you must have faith in something else. And tell you tell me what you are doing?"

"I give music performances on the radio, and some of us are teachers."

"Have you ever spun?"

"Some years ago. But many of our friends who did spin and were to join were disappointed."

"That is why I suspect that you should have faith in some other kind of work."

## An Economist

A young man, who called himself an economist and a student of Marshall, and he had come on a pilgrimage and wanted to see Gandhiji. It was just a little after noon and the temperature must have been in the neighborhood of 115. I explained to him that Gandhiji had gone into indefinite silence, that that was his house of rest, and even if he just wanted to see Gandhiji he should do so in the evening. But then, he said, "Might I ask you a few questions?" and started doing so.

"Why is Gandhiji opposed to birth control? Birth control is entirely in accordance with the processes of nature."

"I hear that for the first time from you," said I. "It seems to be more in accordance with the processes of self-destruction."

"But why do you say so? What have you to my regarding life according to nature? Animals live free and follow the processes of nature."

"Why don't you live like animals then? They don't wear clothes, they eat grass, they make no distinction between cleanliness and dirt, nor between good and bad. Why don't you imitate them?"

"But Gandhiji wants us to work only for the purpose of progression. It may have been good in the good old days but not today."

"How do you mean?"

"We are already over-populated, and we have to limit our progeny."

"Then don't you use the sterility of what you say? We are over-populated today. We were not over-populated in ancient times. The ancients might have procured as much as they liked, and yet they, according to you, succeeded self-controlled by using only for the sake of procreation. So we are today worse than our forefathers. We cannot afford to multiply and yet we multiply. And we are worse than heathens whose you say we should murder for most of them do not waste energy for procreation."

"I see your point. But what do you say to over-population?"

"Nothing."

"Don't you agree that India cannot support the 400 millions of its inhabitants?"

"I do not think so. We produce quite enough to maintain them all, only there is unequal distribution. If we had equitable distribution under a proper system of economics we can feed and clothe them all out of the resources in our possession."

"When then do you think the limit will be reached?"

"Your statements can answer the question, not I. I cannot take the place of God."

"But what objection have you to multiplying our resources? Why should we not, as in America, have one car for everyone?"

"Let me tell you that even America has not achieved that much. It has a little over 20 million cars, i.e. roughly one car for every seven. But that need is the need to run cars as you see in Europe today."

"But why should we not have plenty of houses? Supposing every one of us had to do only one hour's work, would not our energy be released for creative work?"

"It would indeed be released for destructive work. You know the proverb 'Satan always finds some work for idle hands to do'."

"May I ask one more question? I carefully read Gandhiji's articles and statements on Rajkot. They were most disappointing. He confessed that during at nightfall as a weapon was useless, for he said that he had no courage, and he also confessed that it was no use dealing with the British."

"Let me tell you that you have not read Gandhiji's statements and articles, and if you have, you never understood them. Gandhiji never said that his Rajkot fast was cowardly. He said his fast was perfectly justified—the Grey Award proved that it was justified—but that the way in which he sought to break the fast was wrong. It was begun well, it ended ill. He would undertake a similar fast against a water order under circumstances without the slightest hesitation, but he would not touch the Viceroy between him and the order through his law."

"So he confessed that it is no use appealing to the Paramount Power?"

"Have some patience. Try to follow me. We are discussing the Rajkot fast, not law in general. The fast at Rajkot was a matter between Gandhiji and the Rajkot Thakore. It was for God or not on the word of the Thakore, and if as Gandhiji claims, he had some presence with himself and sustained his fast, God would have listened to him and made his fast fruitful. But instead of God he appealed to the Viceroy and thus reduced it to impotence. Now as regards appeals to the Paramount Power, they will always be made. If there was no fast at Rajkot, appeal would have been made to the Viceroy, as before the fast it was made. And if during the fast the Viceroy had acted on his own initiative—i.e., without any appeal from Gandhiji—the fast would not have been wanted. Do you understand now?"

"I do. But what about the fight with the British?"

"It is decided on—both against the Paramount Power and the British which are its vassals. How to carry it on depends on the circumstances in each case and is a matter of technique."

"But is not all feeling coercive? Supposing I fast against a commander for suppressing his troops, would not my fast be coercive? Supposing the commander yields, he does so against his better judgment, and I cannot help."

"It depends on the circumstances. But the commander has a right to stand on his principle, if he is just, and let you die. In such a case the question will be—whose sacrifice is pure. God alone brings the justice. A certain amount of coercion there always will be in the means we adopt, however pure, for we are after all living mortals and far from perfect. But the choice will be between moral coercion and removal coercion, or violent coercion and non-violent coercion."

"May I now discuss politics?"

"No, I am afraid not. Was not all this politics? And if you were to discuss other politics at a beyond this."

(To be concluded.)

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## HARIJAN

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[ ONE ANNA

## NON-VIOLENCE AND KHILAFI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Mr. Mahmud Chaghi, one of whose letters I recorded some time ago, has sent another which I share with the reader.

Last week I was sorry to see the report in our papers of the death of Charlie Andrew. He was such a dear, good man, mother in law, companion, comrade, loyalist, affectionate and true. Each found his capacity for affection! He made the world a better place. We will miss him greatly, but his great example lives on.

All these months since I wrote you last, I have been wrestling continually with the problems of discipline for non-violence and of non-violent action, non-hatred, non-vengeance, and here in India, then and there, violence in various terminology. As I think I wrote you, I am working on a book about these two aspects of non-violence, to supplement my *Power of Non-violence*. I read and ponder, read and ponder. In the last few weeks I have come to see the pattern of the whole thing with much greater clarity. My effort is to try to put the Muslim world in relation to the validity and practicability of your entire programme.

I have been so glad that during these last few months you have seemed so strongly that the Congress must sincerely and loyally take up the Muslim programme before you will find them in any open struggle of solidarity against the Government. I see clear as crystal the necessity for that. You are absolutely right.

Avoid from that aspect of the matter, I believe that after the present war is over all Europe will read your Muslim programme and also your plan of extensive voluntary work, through hundreds of various kinds. The middle class of England as well as the Government will be greatly impressed. The same will happen in the United States, and may be put in severity as in Europe. He did not we have to worry a bit unconsciously from 1929 to 1934 as any of the Congress committee! The experience and technical resources which the Muslim movement of India has created will be of immense value to the present cause.

Despite the war and all its horrors, I am optimistic as to the future of non-violence. Never before in the history of the world have there been so many believers in non-violence, both in absolute number and also relatively to the rest of the population. Never before has that belief been found in all groups, classes, religions and nationalities. Never before have so many prominent institutions stated sincerely, clearly and publicly for belief, belief and appealing

results of war and violence. Never have so many military men been so sincere of the advice and absolute effectiveness of their method.

All during the past two years and especially since the war began, the organized peace movements of Europe and America have grown. They have never been so large. More and more nations, Muslim lands and teaching thinking a study of almost all aspects of the problem.

Up to March 31st, 1946, more than the military resources of Great Britain had been officially reported as continuous operations to war, as reported with about 15,000 for the entire last years of the war of 1914-18. Though one can never be sure in advance, all the evidence indicates that, if the United States were dropped into the war, there would be a further great increase in the number of continuous operations lost. In the first or so calls of conscripts in Great Britain between last June and March of this year the percentage of C.O.'s ranged from 1.4 to 21.5. This may be somewhat compared with the estimate that in all operations the ready alternative or reserve part of government is done by not over 2% of the population. Further weight is given to this comparison by the high professional salaries of the leaders of the past few movements in Britain. And while one should not boast about one's own country, the leaders of this country are not alone, even though they may not have world-wide reputation. The relation of these facts to the future has a historical analogy.

After the war of 1914-18 many of the pacifists who had been severely persecuted during the war became recognized leaders. This is likely to happen again.

After the world war there was a strong pacifist movement in all the nations which took part and also in many neutral nations. This is likely to happen again. At that time too much of the movement was more national, and when it was severely tested it broke. But since then there has been much and intense thinking, so that believers in non-violence understood the problems and their difficulties and possible ways of solution much more clearly than formerly. It seems they will be much more effective than before.

After the war the hatreds and fears will probably be deeper and stronger and more obstinate than after the last world war, but there will be more honesty, more willingness to recognize one's own nation's past mistakes and faults, also more willingness to give up old hatreds and arguments with new methods. The increased group awareness will make for more openness of heart from selfish hostility. It may prove to be

a matter alone before me, and write, but I refuse to believe that man's desire for permanent order will be met in a better manner than by laws and habits. It will be as if all the members of an insect colony, after a wild outbreak of mutual enmity, were to decide to kill a traitor and try to work out a co-operative plan for curing themselves.

If it be true that man's desire for order and permanence in his life are stronger than lust and hate, the only programme which can produce order and permanence in life will have its influence on its institutions. This places a great responsibility upon the believers in eugenics. It will require of them great thought, discipline, and moral strength. I consider your health programme one of these great social undertakings. The health education scheme is another.

I am writing a letter to J. C. Krombein about some items that I have long wanted to discuss with him. A set of suggestions has possibly originated by David V. I. A. One is to try keeping small mosquitoes out from continuous reproduction with both an efficient water or more above the level of the water. The colour of the moth ball is much diluted by mosquitoes, and as it is slightly heavier than air, it would be like a blanket over the surface of the water and keep the mosquitoes from laying their eggs in the water, without harming the water or killing the mosquitoes. The colour is not absorbed by the water. There are breeding grounds for malaria, might be cheaply, easily and luxuriously absorbed. I have found it effective in a small open steel tank here in my garden. I think I saw the much better on sale in the Abbeville house, so I presume they are obtainable. If not, either of the mosquito balls will be found to be also effective to mosquitoes, and they could be used instead. The moth balls evaporate after a while, so they would have to be watched and occasionally renewed.

Another application of the same idea would be placing certain water-tight mosquito balls along the banks of village tanks and rivers, close to the water's edge. Mosquitoes lay their eggs preferably in shallow water so that the larvae can emerge being eaten by small fishes. If the right kind, of a kind whose colour is repulsive to mosquitoes, were then placed and kept growing, it would seem likely to cut down the numbers in that way. Perhaps I think that two experiments worth trying. The most deadly of birds are known to be repulsive to mosquitoes.

Mr. Gault is a careful thinker. He takes nothing for granted. The last paragraph of his letter shows his practical nature. But I know that no amount of logical thinking is going to establish the superiority of non-violence on earth. The only thing that can do it is India's ability to demonstrate beyond doubt its efficiency as a peaceful and defending national freedom.

Saragpur 2-4-40

#### Home and Village Doctor

By Nalini Chandra Banerjee

1144 pages, 12 chapters. Copious Index of 22 pages. 25/- Saragpur. Price Rs. 2 cloth bound. By V. P. P. No. 6. No. 6 Indian Road, By V. P. P. No. 1. Available at Mangay office-Poon 4.

## RURAL HUMANITY

(By Manu Sahasr)

The major problem of national planning is to secure employment for millions of people, who are either not employed at all, or who are under-employed, i. e. who have not plenty of spare time.

The question is whether the growth of industry in urban centres could absorb them all. The reply clearly is that it would not absorb even a fraction—not even two per cent.

If all the industries projected by the Manufacturing Industries Sub-Committee were put into operation, they would not touch the fringe of the unemployment problem.

Unemployment here is a compulsory condition and not through the choice of the people.

The labour, which is thus lost, is lost for ever, both to these men and to the community. National wealth can never increase while these millions continue like this. They must be put to work to improve their standard of life and to enable them to have a robust confidence and to be secured to human society.

The means that such activities as they can undertake must be provided for them without removing them from their surroundings.

Rural industry is not for the sake of having the production, but for the sake of giving work to these men. They become producers, and they would be as much men themselves the consumers.

It must be so arranged that they shall be consumers of things produced in the rural areas in preference to things coming from urban areas and factories.

The human class is so permanent that anything else must be subordinated to it. The calculations in these matters cannot be made on the basis of cost, but on the basis of human labour poured from casual and inefficient to industrially efficient.

It is not merely a question of encouraging the rural industries to private hands. That is good, but it will not go very far. It is a question of organizing production in rural areas. The men do not know what they will do and when they will do it. They have no resources for getting the raw material, or even the simple hand tools. They do not know where to sell the work.

All this activity cannot be, therefore, left alone to itself or to private enterprise.

The middlemen's exploitation of profits are so high that rural industry of this character is bound to rot. Therefore he would not believe about it. But the State cannot leave these men to their fate.

It is not that factory industry must be cancelled and ultimately replaced by hand industry, but hand industry is the only field which offers an immediate and urgent field of constructive endeavour.

The strategy to solve all the problems of rural humanity by means of reforms in land-holding and revenue administration is the method which

the woman's work, but this is misleading. It is not possible, by merely taking away rights as land, that the landless could be absorbed in useful and satisfying activity. The danger of unemployment is also amongst those who have land, where they can raise only one crop. The nature of work, which they can obtain from their present activities, is not adequate to secure them either full satisfaction throughout the year or many of the elementary needs on the basis of present commercial supply from factories in urban areas. The idea is that these things could be manufactured in the rural districts themselves and, by means of this self-help, without the controlling influence of middlemen professing the standard of life of the people in the rural districts could be materially improved.

If something is created in the rural districts on these lines, it must be produced against the onslaught of ever-increasing factory products. The degree of satisfaction on farmers would have to be determined both as to income, number of houses, quantities produced, quality, and, last but not the least, as to the freedom of movement for goods as produced to reach everywhere.

Production in rural areas on the lines envisaged above would certainly be phenomenally cheap, but in other cases it may be a little dearer than factory production. All cases would not be the same. This will mean a very slackening of competition based on local knowledge and, while the management would be in the hands of the State, the cost of the administration and management would have to be kept down, if the scheme is not to fail.

It is true that the scheme of rural handicrafts cannot avoid those failures which need tremendous equipment and can be only dealt with in centralised factories. But it can cover an astonishingly large number of everyday articles in use, and the field has not yet been, to my knowledge, fully covered as to what can and cannot be done in rural areas, in villages, and in the homes of simple people in their cottages.

Initially, taking a large mass of entirely untrained and unskilled labour things will be difficult, and only the simpler forms of production would have to be avoided so, but considering that even in urban areas an entirely new person could be put to work in a factory and would work properly in periods ranging from three weeks to three months, there is no reason to doubt. Untrained men put in charge of trained men could be brought to the level of efficient production in like period owing from three weeks to three months. Under proper direction, these labour could be usefully employed from the beginning. It would not be the case of creating individual artists who would produce from A to Z. It would be the case of creating outfits of one or two trained men, a full-bodied craftsman assisted by ten or twenty untrained men, working with, and under the direction of the master-craftsman; these men

would in the period of a year or so, reach a standard that would enable them to work on their own or as centres of other centres, if it was desired. Any plan for India that leaves the problem of rural economy out would be like the plan of the British Government for India on agriculture and exploitation for British enterprise, whenever possible, and "David take the hindmost", i. e. leaving everybody else to his fate. It cannot leave anybody to his fate. It must take account of the thousands of ill and provide for them. The greater the difficulty, the greater must be the care, security, organisation and provision.

#### Spinning Competition in Bangalore

During the Congress Week there was the usual spinning competition at the exhibition. There were six sets—three counts up to 10, medium up to 12, fine up to 30, very fine ranging from 44 to 100, spinning on the Mages Charkha, and last on the silk. The winners were Ramdhar Babu of Bihar, San Nandlal Patel of the Khadi Karyakari Akhmalal, and Prabhakar Gandhi who was also the opponent. From the table before me I see that the examination was so strict and thorough as it should have been. In my opinion the competitors were neither as many as should have been nor from many provinces. They were principally from Bihar and Gujarat, some from Maharashtra and U. P. There were two prizes, the highest being Rs. 15, and medals for the winning participants. It is worthy of note that on the very first year competition there were many women. The first spinner was Derradatta Devi of Madhubani. Her count was 120. The highest speed on the wheel was 618 yards per hour of 10 counts. The highest on the Mages Charkha was 925 yards of 15 counts. The highest on the silk was 205 of 12 counts. This is all satisfactory. There is not much scope for increased speed with the present improvement except on the Mages Charkha. Through experiment has not yet been made on that wheel. But all measures go to show that it has further possibilities. The silk is very difficult even for our cottage, simplicity and cost. On the whole it may prove to be the greatest. Whereas the wheel may go out of order, the silk need never. Experiments are being made in plying the silk after the style of the charkha.

I congratulate the winners. I only hope that more interest will be taken than hitherto in such competitions. Spinning competitions have a great national value. I may note that the Marathi Sahakari was to have given the prize, but the wholly unexpected downturn made it utterly impossible to do so.

Bangalore, 17-5-40

M. K. G.

#### OLD BOOKS

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# Harijan

June 22

1942

## HOW TO COMBAT HITLERISM

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Whoever Hitler may ultimately prove to be, we know what Hitlerism has come to mean. It means naked, ruthless force reduced to its most essence and worked with scientific precision. In its effect it becomes almost invulnerable.

In the early days of independence when it was still known as passive resistance, The Star of Johannesburg, started by the ruler of a beautiful of Indiana, wholly unarmed and incapable of organised violence even if they wished it, putting themselves against an overwhelmingly armed Government, had a cartoon in which the latter was depicted as a steam-roller representing invulnerable force, and passive resistance was depicted as an elephant unarmoured and comfortably placing himself in its path. This was marked unmovable force. The cartoon had a true insight into the duel between the unmovable and the unmovable force. It was then a milestone. The lesson we know. What was depicted and appeared to be unmovable was successfully routed by the unmovable force of non-violence — call it suffering without resistance.

What became true then can be equally true now. Hitlerism will never be defeated by counter-violence. It can only beed superior Hitlerism routed to its degree. What is going on before our eyes is a demonstration of the futility of violence as also of Hitlerism.

Let me explain what I mean by failure of Hitlerism. It has robbed the small nations of their liberty. It has compelled France to sue for peace. Probably by the time this is in print Britain will have decided upon her course. The fall of France is enough for my argument. I think French statements have shown our courage in holding to the non-violent and refusing to be party to needless mutual slaughter. There can be no more in France coming out victorious of the strike as it stands here. The cause of liberty becomes a mockery if the price to be paid is wholesale destruction of those who are to enjoy liberty. It then becomes an inglorious reaction of barbarism. The bravery of the French under a world-known, has to the world know also the greater bravery of the French statement in suing for peace. I have assumed that the French statement have taken the step in a perfectly honourable manner as before was evident. Let me hope that Herr Hitler will impose no humiliating terms but show that though he can fight without mercy, he can at least conclude peace on without mercy.

But to reverse the thrust of the argument, What will Hitler do with his victory? Can he

depend so much power? Personally he will go as empty-handed as he set very remote posterity Alexander. For the Germans he will have left not the pleasure of seeing a mighty empire but the burden of maintaining an crushing weight. For they will not be able to hold all the conquered nations in perpetual subjugation. And I doubt if the Germans of future posterity will ever be considered proud in the deeds for which Hitlerism will be deemed responsible. They will know Herr Hitler as a genius, as a brave man, a masculine organizer and much more. But I should hope that the Germans of the future will have learnt the art of disarmament even about their future. Anyway I think it will be allowed that all the blood that has been spilled by Hitler has added not a millionth part of its worth to the world's moral account.

An apostle that teaches the state of Europe today if the Czechs, the Poles, the Norwegians, the French and the English had all said to Hitler: 'You need not make your scientific preparation for destruction. We will meet your violence with non-violence. You will therefore be able to destroy our non-violent army without tanks, battleships and aircraft.' It may be asserted that the only difference would be that Hitler would have got without fighting what he has gained after a bloody fight. Exactly. The history of Europe would thus have been written differently. Possession might (but only might) have been then taken under non-violent means, as it has been taken now after perpetration of world barbarism. Under non-violence only those would have been killed who had caused themselves to be killed, if need be, but without killing anyone and without having made a single casualty. I dare say that in that case Europe would have added several inches to its moral stature. And in the end I expect it is the moral worth that will count. All else is done.

I have written these lines for the European Powers but they are meant for ourselves. If my argument has gone home, it is not time for us to declare our changeless faith in non-violence of the strong and say we do not seek to defend our liberty with the force of arms but we will defend it with the force of non-violence!

Seragam, 22-6-42

### Duty of Indian Congress

Last week I referred to the duty of the students to make collections for the Desasthula memorial. Dr Bhabha's letter, reproduced elsewhere in this issue, should remind Indian citizens of their special duty. No man laboured so hard, so sincerely and so efficiently as C. V. Bhabha on their behalf. He needed no further leads to study personally the condition of the Indian workers in these lands. I hope that these letters will make collections and send their quota to the Memorial Fund.

Seragam, 22-6-42

M. K. G.



## Notes

### Caste Hindu Marjari Harjan Gail

Shri Harjandhar Mohan writes a letter about a marriage between a Caste Hindu and a Marjari and in *Omam*. From it I take the following:

'Shri Radhamañdhik Mohan of Khandu in Omam are sitting as sub-judge in the Khamu District court of the Orissa Government married a Marjari girl Pabana named by us on 14th March last strictly according to Hindu rites with Brahmin priests, and the ceremony was attended by about one thousand people of all castes and communities. Radhamañdhik is a good about township. When he was a student in the Khandu school he represented our Harjan boys' football team. During your stay here for Marjan, Radhamañdhik with some of his friends lived in a Harjan village, and found that period he and his friend proposed to marry Marjari girls. His friends forgot their promise but Radhamañdhik carried it out. When the proposal the marriage with a Marjari girl was first made all the villagers and friends and all sorts of people to discourage Radhamañdhik from his resolve. When he first consulted me, I depicted a very dark future before him. Not encouraged by all these hindrances he carried out his resolve. There was opposition from the local Brahmins who were afraid of oppression from higher caste and also of some divine punishment. But ultimately they agreed. Radhamañdhik has registered a deed of consecration according to Sh. K. It is now his trouble his wife as my wife. In fact he does not let his registered another deed to enable his wife to secure a substituted share later his paternal property. We tried our utmost to secure the acquaintance of as many high class people as possible, and thank God we could get what we wanted. On the day of the marriage about seven hundred Pans, in which about the girl belonged, assembled and there we could be seen in their faces. Just tonight several hundreds of high caste people sitting together with an equal number of Harjan in front of a post Pua house witnessing the marriage ceremony and receiving food from the table of the host.'

I congratulate Shri Radhamañdhik on his courage in breaking through the rock of caste superstition. I hope his example will be copied by other young men. May the union prove happy. I would advise Shri Radhamañdhik to arrange for proper education of his wife who, I understand, has not received any scholastic training.

### Another Tribute

Dr Edgar Brooker has sent me through my son a letter about his contacts with Damañdhik. Dr Brooker, my son tells me, is a very learned man and deeply religious. He is a well-known figure in South Africa, apart from his being a senator. Here is Dr Brooker's letter to me:

'You will pardon me, a complete stranger, for thus writing to you. I am elected senator representing the House "Natives" of Natal and Zululand in the Union Parliament. As such I have had the privilege of speaking with you since on behalf of

groups of Indians suffering from disabilities in South Africa. The opportunity to see you has come to me on during these last weeks I have been visiting C. F. Andrews' Office in the Witwaters, and thinking very much of my dear friend who has seemed now faded life—I dare not say 'dead', for I have never left him more living. Knowing something of what your friendship meant to him and his [I imagine] to you, I felt that I should like to tell you a little of our contact. I met him not only here in South Africa but also in England and France, where we both spoke in connection with the Oxford Group movement. He is perhaps in my thoughts now. Mr. Andrews had the greatest of gifts—love. In its wisdom it is yet the simplest thing on earth—"write as we may with beauty". You have taught me that lesson—I would rather be like Mr. Andrews than the Prime Minister of a great country. He was the dearest among of the people that I have ever met to what I imagine Jesus to have been. He brought something to India. He brought much from India, and much from yourself. Those who were made kinder and better by knowing him will, this month, want to thank you for helping to make him what he was.

The letter shows how great was the influence that Damañdhik produced on those with whom he came in contact.

### Eight Ignorant

The Gandhi Mission Society, Tinsukia, Assam, send me their half-yearly report of adult literacy work. The total number of adults educated was 121. But the problem that really faces them is "how to enable the adults to secure the knowledge that passed. The report goes on: "Nearly half the members who attended the class during the first session have approached the workers to charge to repeat the lessons to face they had learnt into oblivion. The workers are making their house to devise means to prevent this lapse. The workers need not teach their lessons at all. The lapse is caused in some after the short courses that are given. The lapse can only be prevented by continuing the teaching to the villagers' daily work. The day knowledge of these 80 is not even now, it can never be, a permanent part of the villagers' life. They must have knowledge given to them which they must use daily. It must not be shown upon them. They should have the opportunity for it. What they have today is something they neither want nor appreciate. Give the villagers village arithmetic, village geography, village history, and the literary knowledge that they must use daily, i.e. reading and writing letters, etc. They will treasure such knowledge and pass on to the other stages. They have no use for the books which give them nothing of daily use.

Sivasaram, 18-6-40

M. K. G.

### Books & Manuscripts of India

By Damañdhik Chitambari Pura No. 2-2-2, Pimpri & Co. series

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## THE ECLIPSE OF FAITH

## II

## A Good Group

Quite a different type were those who discussed the spinning wheel not as a spinning wheel but as a real source of poverty. One of these has been a regular spinner and spins well, but she doubted that the spinning wheel could produce any tangible results, because she was afraid that many were not going to take it up in the proper spirit. I simply said to her: "Are you sure that you are doing it in the proper spirit? If you are, it is enough. You have to persevere in the faith that your example will spread. If you are not, perhaps it is your want of faith that is spending the infection and preventing people from taking up the wheel." The second of the three was convinced of the value of the spinning wheel and even accepted its spiritual and moral implications. But — "He did not say he had no time to, but he intended to do so. To him I said: "You must remember that the road is full of paved with good intentions. The moment the intention becomes solid blocks of stones the road is bound to take the opposite direction." He laughed. I added: "You believe that you have got the faith and the conviction, but let me tell you that you have not got either." I think what I said went straight home. The third friend, who is a spinner, accepted its disciplinary value and all else has had human doubts about the capacity of the wheel to enable us to preserve our independence in a non-violent way. To him I said: "Well if we can win it by non-violence, I am sure even the opponents of non-violence will agree that we can retain it by non-violence. What many of these don't believe is that independence can be won by means of non-violence. But I would give you another argument which I am sure you will appreciate. Do you remember what Pandit Jawaharlal said in one of his speeches some time ago? He said Poland if she had suffered German aggression non-violently, would perhaps have suffered less than she has done. Well let us consider the thought. Her defence was a factory civilization, and the same is the case with the other distressed regions like Holland and Denmark and Belgium. Now if there was no factory civilization there but only a cottage industries civilization, the enemy would have gained nothing out of destroying the cottage crafts, and the distressed countries would have taken no time to recover. What has happened is that the enemy is in possession of all the factories and is now turning them to his own use. This could never have happened if there was a cottage industries civilization. It should not now be difficult for you to see that a country, based on a cottage industries civilization and which wants to lose much less for another country's aggression would be hardly liable to aggression for one thing, and would certainly

meet such an aggression more effectively or would meet effectively non-aggression with a strong flexible response that the world if she was dependent on a factory civilization."

I drew the attention of these friends to Shri Vinoba's words about the milk poured in a Marathi book on spinning called *Mamapoorv*:

"Tatvam hai mahi — Tasmah satvahi mahi — I am, God never forsakes us whatever we may be. The milk comes from that part of you to a symbol of God Himself. One can see God so much in darkness as in light. The milk has thus no depend particularly on external light. It is enough if there is a small light in us. You can take God's name in any time and where you are. Similarly you can play the talk as matter here and where you are — sitting, lying down, walking. We can pray both individually and collectively. The whole universe was, if it was so needed, open to the talk unceasingly. If the study of the Vedas were the only road to salvation, salvation would be confined to the smart people. But the smart and Ravana were — negative of God's grace — was an equally slippery road, and thus many salvation possible for the lowest and the best and the most ignorant and ignorant. In Hindu worship the milk — like *Lakshmana* and in *Ramachand* has a potency equalled alone by its simplicity, even so the milk which in simplicity itself has the potency of nurturing the growing seed of India, and for that matter of the whole world. And if you have the milk, it can even be a means of salvation. For me the mother, the God, and the milk are so good as synonyms."

And let it be remembered that he who has and this is no bundle of essence but one whose perfect is equalled only by his passion to reduce everything that he preaches to practice, and is uncorrupted by that of any other of our intellects.

## A Tough Lot

But I had a tough job with another bunch who appeared to me to have come only to wall. But to talk with such people is a good exercise in patience and one ought to have plenty of that exercise nowadays. "What do you think of the international situation? Who do you think will win?" was the question with which they started.

"You had better answer that question for bigger people, for those who know I am an innocent in these matters."

"But don't you think socialism is doing to be the order of the day at the end of the war?"

"What if?"

"You would welcome it in India?"

"I would welcome socialism of Gandhi's conception."

"Is Gandhi's conception different from Jawaharlal's conception?"

"It is different from the prevailing conception."

"But what about Jawaharlal's?"

"Yes, if you please, it is different from Jawaharlal's."

"How?"

"It is based on information; the other, Gandhi's, is based on no opposite."

"Oh, eh?" the friend exclaimed heartily or incredulously or both.

"But what is that brand of Gandhi's socialism? Has he written any book on it?"

"He has not written a book, but he has written enough to explain his attitude. And if you have not read his numerous articles in *Nations* I am afraid I shall have to ask you to read them all before I engage in a discussion with you."

Another friend immediately switched on to a fresh subject: "Which of the two you think is more communal—the Muslim League or the Hindu Mahasabha?"

"How will my answer help you?"

"No, I am a student and I want to know."

"There is nothing to choose between the two."

"So you think they are equally communal?"

"I think so. There may be a difference of degree, but there is no difference of quality."

"Oh, is that so? Without Hindu-Muslim unity, you think, there is no Swami; and without Hindu-Muslim unity there is no *satyagraha* either. So there is to be no Swami for ever?"

"Why? Don't think I am an unbeliever in Hindu-Muslim unity like you."

"But I would put the question differently. Supposing Swami was possible without Hindu-Muslim unity, would you reject it?"

"Swami without Hindu-Muslim unity is a contradiction in terms."

"But I say—suppose?"

"But why should I suppose a contradiction?"

"Why can't the Hindus have Swami without the help of the Muslims?"

"And the Muslims without the help of the Hindus—you might have added! They would have no Swami, but either successful *satyagraha* or the respectful denunciation of a third party to whom either will eventually look for help and protection."

"But if we continue to quarrel, why do you throw the blame on this third party?"

"Let the third party disappear and see if we can continue or not. If we cannot, then we shall have at least the satisfaction of blaming ourselves and not others."

"That satisfaction you will then have to your heart's content, for you will never want it."

"I know that my way are going to waste," said I a little sharply, "if we go on chopping logic."

"Then you are going to waste because you are hoping that you will want? You think hope is better than logic?"

"I thought your logic at least was your strong point, but I was mistaken. You might have asked me, 'Is want of hope better than logic?' But you ask me, 'Is hope better than logic?' I say hope is better than hopelessness."

"No, when I began to say was that you seemed to rule out logic altogether."

"If I did, I should not have wasted my breath upon you. I have been arguing with you not missing clear of all logic," said I.

"But I am not without hope. I hope Hindu-Muslim unity may come. But it is not coming. And if it is not coming, why not do without it rather than wait for Swami until the Greek Kalends?"

"Again you are arguing for the sake of argument, and if you will pardon me, it is either hypocrisy or self-deception that speaks in you. For you now finger that you started with ridiculing Hindu-Muslim unity."

"But what do you mean by having faith in Hindu-Muslim unity?"

"Now you have returned to the right track. You have no faith in it and you do not work for it."

"How is one to work for it? By shouting Hindu-Muslim unity?"

"No. By doing concrete acts contributing to that unity. I make you a very simple suggestion. If you hear Muslim students in your class, try to befriend them and do little acts of service for them. You see all the Hindus. Supposing there was a snake among you who was a Musselman, I would expect you to behave with the Muslim friend with more courtesy and consideration than with the Hindu friend. For the Hindu friend will understand you even when you fail in courtesy, but not the Muslim who might not understand you or forgive you."

"You reserve all your advice for Hindus?"

"How about you and I am talking to a group of Hindu students. If I was talking to a group of Muslim students, I should give them the same advice with respect to their behaviour with a Hindu friend."

"But how will that help the dogmatic question of Hindu-Muslim unity?"

"Don't go about with the burden of the whole country upon your head, be content with what you can do."

"But I am behaving well with my Muslim friends."

"Behave better, that's all I can say."

"Whether it is the defect of our present system of education or the prevailing tendencies, there appears to me to be a general eclipse of faith everywhere. Our appetite for talking and argument has been whetted, but somehow we have lost our courage, we fight shy of passive pleading and want quick results. One might wonder these friends of the present generation who revel in Western learning that it was Thompson who said:

Wonder that he was  
Came over to the eastern side of doubt,  
And clear to Faith beyond the forms of Faith!  
She rode not the storm of warlike words,  
She brightens in the dusk of 'yes' and 'no'.

She feeds the man a hot hot for a night,  
She opens the window through the water hot,  
She opens the door before the morning tide,  
She leaves the bath within the window and  
She feeds the woman where they voted "Wings"

Seagrams, 12-5-43

M. D.

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. E. Goodie)

### Meaning of Spinning Activities

Q It is an admitted fact that constructive activity keeps the political atmosphere pure and non-violent. You have recommended it for active propaganda. This activity can be carried on in a more concrete manner in Congress as also the village assembly, which may include such people as old women etc. who take to spinning as an employment measure, as is done in A. I. S. A. production centers. Your wings make one infer that you want active propaganda to confer constructive activity in Congress and particularly in the direction of making them self-sufficient and make them wear khaki of their own yarn the khaki in the first instance to be brought from A. I. S. A. mills, and the Congressmen produce their own yarn. Confusing activities in Congress or political Congressmen seems to be more preferable than starting a general khaki craze of spinning for wages. Is this a correct interpretation of your intent?

A. Your interpretation is correct in fact as a pose. I do not want the Congress organization to be an indifferent or dormant copy of the A. I. S. A. It has to do the work that the A. I. S. A. does not do. Its motive will be predominantly political, whereas that of the A. I. S. A., although it is a nucleus of the Congress, is purely philosophical and economic. The Congress organization aims at creating an army of non-violent soldiers or, to drop the military terminology, a band of independent workers for the freedom of the country. The spinning work and all the allied processes keep Congressmen busy and away from mischief. It will keep them together in a brotherhood, it will give them an insight into village life, it will bring them to direct touch with the villagers. It will give them a hold on the enormous confidence of the masses as nothing else will do, it will lead them to a study of the whole of the vast village problem, it will make them seek class peace at hot differences and forge class, racial or religious differences. The charka may or may not have all the power inherent in it. I want Congressmen to inspire all these implications in it.

### Test-tube Babes

Q. You say that motherhood is sublime but men in bed. From the spiritual and organic point of view don't you agree that the test-tube technique of bearing babies is dead since a daughter element is lost and certain from procreation?

A. I would dedicate myself to your method of carrying stuff up by embracing thereby. So long as I hold to the view that maternity proceeds man or women from mind to the fullest height possible, so long must I rebel against these artificial methods of procreation. Your method, as far as I can see, can only result in multiplying class or monism, not human brotherhood into the sea of persons which it should be their pride to embrace. But I owe I belong to an age that is perhaps dying. The new age to come when men and women will walk if they so all do only for pleasure but go to sleep with no who's on it, and when the ceremony of marriage and all its mystery will be abolished does not attract me.

### How to Face a Lie

Q People believe in your sincerity when you sympathize with Britain and France in their struggle for existence, but some of us have started a danger that the Indian capitalists are content to employ you as a tool for keeping India safe when these capitalists are reaping such profit as a result of this war. What steps are you taking to remove this suspicion?

A. I propose to take no step, even as I took none when I was accused of having one square of paper in the Bank of England. Let me be left unmolested. They do as they please. They have no master of their own. They flourish on opposition. If no whole life is one sufficient answer to the he refused to be you, no step I can take will remove the impression created by the lie. Mind you, I do not dispute the fact that the peaceful atmosphere created by my success benefits the capitalists, but it benefits the masses more than the capitalists, for the masses enable the masses to grow their non-violent strength which will enable them to deal effectively with capitalists and imperialism which cover them.

Seagrams, 17-6-43

### Spinning and Wings

By Goodie, R. 4-4, Parnassus 2, 12

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# HARIJAN

The HARVEY DEAN

Vol. VII, No. 27

POONA - SATURDAY, JUNE 22, 1940

[ ONE ANNA

## THE ONLY CURE

I propose to review to you at two of the subjects dealt with usually in my talks with the students repeated recently. The War has thrown everything over the window pane, including, I hope all the pre-theories of modern economists. The world is in a real, a worse of confusion and war. So was it after the holocaust of 1914-18, but at the end of 20 years we are in the same of confusion which is far more terrible and which might not in deeper years of hatred and revenge. The reason briefly is that we are longing for a reconstruction of violence but we are wanting a replacement of that reconstruction. There are obvious difficulties in the way. There are certain things which have become part and parcel of our life, a machinery and industrialism, which we cannot have to remain until the end of time. We reject that unemployment is a crime, but when we look at war we take industrialism for granted. Capitalism is a crime, but while it has to go, we want industrialism to remain.

The reader of industrialism may be misled on a remarkable article on Machinery by Father Lallemand in a recent issue of *The New Review*. It may be remembered that he dealt strictly with the economic matter. The conclusion he has drawn from his facts are different from those I should like to draw. But let us summarize the facts and figures he has taken from *The Journalists* of October 22, 1938. The net effect of machinery, he says, is that it has driven men out of work.

"Today economies are carried on with the largest scale which does the work of four hundred men. In 1810 a man with a plow could extract 20 tons of soil in one year today with an electric drill he could easily extract 24,000 tons, in 1810 we got 100 lb. a. per man in a copper mine, in the Copper River, Central Day got 12,000 lb. a. per worker employed. In short, man has come to make himself very cheap, and he wants to make himself as cheap as possible.

All 'progress' means an increasing fall in man's value.

"Machine-making took 1197 hours in 1914, but 90 in 1934. In 1812 one worker made 450 bricks a day by 1934 he could make 1,500. By the census history of Troy (La. France) which were cut 12,000 cigarettes a minute, 100 workers were required in 1814, but not more than two in 1916, in three years machinery had collected pro-

duction and divided human labour by 1/50. It has been calculated that in 1934, 250 men had to work for a total of 1,800 hours to do a transformation done by the following year two men working 48 hours in all could supply it with an equivalent total energy - the shape of oil, twelve months had sufficed to reduce human labour to a mere fraction (1/120).

These figures refer to working in other kinds of work the reduction may be much greater. But the reduction of human labour has been adding to the flow of milk and honey on to the back of human comfort, or even to the work of energy has upon the down of many. The main activity of man-made men is mechanical and machinery has put crowds of them out of action. Even skilled labour is affected. "With the ever-growing use of the machinery which produces energy from and from skilled hands are required, one skilled labourer can command a current of 20,000 volts or in a battery a way as a current of 2000 volts."

It is an illusion to think that the unemployment now caused by increasing machinery is connected to new streams of employment are created by greater production.

"But," says Father Lallemand, "have recently gone against us showing a cheap. In the last period of prosperity, unemployment went on rising steadily made plants, it rose sharply as early as 1914, years before the world-wide economic crisis it went on in the U. S. A. though that country is far from being industrial and its Government denied serious measures to stop unemployment.... According to M. P. Janssen some thirty million men have nothing to rely on but their muscles, up to now these thirty millions were maintaining about one hundred million dependents. They have now been displaced by all sorts of machines and gears, who is going to feed these dependents? The problem is real and can only become more and more acute as progress is increased, machinery will more and more dominate on the field of human labour, the cheap energy is essential in competitive business."

Shortening of working hours and giving more leisure to the workers creates a problem which "knows only of expensive solutions."

Prof. Lallemand now describes the second consequence of machinery. Production has become over-abundant.

"In the course of the last two centuries, as productive energy passed from 1 lb. p. to 10 lb. p., the energy found in the world's crops grew from

, 1930 column, it was in 1914-15. This does not imply that all and everybody has that amount at hand, but it measures the total stock available in 1914 of the world over. However much the world's population may have increased, the value of each man's diet has been multiplied by eight. The trouble is that all could not have free access to that greater stock of foodstuffs, in consequence the value went down and production went down as well, hence wages fell, the buying power of the working masses decreased, and consequently also the demand for foodstuffs."

Big business believes in the book of figures, and as soon as the next equilibrium of their balance-sheets is threatened, they destroy surplus goods, raise the price, keep up the price and produce surpluses in plenty. In 1934 the harvest turned into a famine, they destroyed 85,000 wagons of wheat, 14,000 wagons of rice, 51,000 bags of coffee, 12 million tons of sugar, 6 million pigs, and 600,000 head of cattle. In some cases they went one step further: they did not only destroy the wine grapes, they rooted out the vine stocks. They threw into the sea millions of fish, they burned as fumigants, they destroyed at will, but to do so with an easy conscience, they forget that whole districts were starved and that thirty million unemployed and their seventy million (hundred million?) dependents were looking at them... (That) overproduction was not real, but what looked like overproduction was only maldistribution."

Father Lefebvre teaches us another aspect of machinery with which we are not concerned, viz. the plus and consequent waste of capital. The waste of the whole enterprise is that while the worker's fists and fingers drive are available to the conclusion that more machinery will surely hasten the doom of man, the waste comes to a different conclusion: "We shall never have enough machinery," he says, "until every citizen has his full meals every day, his own house, his car, his radio, and his television set, his holidays, and his all-day program we shall not have sufficiently maldistributed wealth we are to it that everybody has bread before anybody is choked with cake." Is not this a contradiction in terms? We have seen that the progress of machinery has not enabled every citizen to have his full meal, his house, his car, etc. It has on the contrary put one man in possession of abundance, several houses, several cars, and left thousands without any of these things. Will "maldistribution" distribute do the trick? And how can you maldistribute distribution unless and until you prevent a man from living on the labour of another? There is something in large-scale machinery which dares man from living on his own labour and makes him rely on the labour of others. No means: how much you maldistribute distribution and deprive large-scale machinery of its sting, you cannot deprive it of its natural property of displacing labour. If there are thirty million

men in America exactly dependent on muscular labour with one hundred million people to support out of their earnings, then are in India about five times as many people dependent entirely on muscular labour and a proportionately large number of dependents to support out of their earnings. No amount of maldistribution can squeeze away this unemployment and starvation.

Father Lefebvre goes on to describe "maldistributed distribution."

"A system of distribution of goods, commodities, services should start from the first year of man. It must be based on the worth of man, and proceed from a precise estimate and respect for everything that a human. When our economic system based on mass value, work would be made ready, service due to all men, the remuneration for work would be comparable with man's worth and duties, provision would be made for an amount of leisure sufficient for all non-economic tasks."

Well, "the true use of man, is that he will not be made to slave for another, and that he will not exploit another for his own gain. This is impossible except under a conception of society based on handicraft, creating neither benevolent substitution for the work that he can efficiently give. Edward Carpenter had the finger on the root cause of our present ills when he said that "nothing but the general abandonment of the system of living on the labour of others will avail. There is no other way. This, whether as between individuals or as between nations, is what has been since the beginning of the world the root cause of war."

The mere meaning of the ownership of the instruments of production by the State will not end the evil. Unless large-scale machinery makes good enterprises possible, displacement, replacement of men by men or of cotton by cotton will not disappear, and unless large-scale machinery displaces the development of man's energy and man's slavery to machine will not disappear. The present economic structure has made the problem of over-population glaringly visible, not because there is real over-population but because there is the over-population of silly rich people. A government or another structure can eliminate the silly rich, but unassured as it makes an overpopulation it will not eliminate starvation, which is inherent in the ownership, whether by the State or by an individual, of large-scale machinery, and which is at the root of all violence and war. Unless the cause of parasitism disappears there is no end to violence or war and no ending of nations. And wages, trade and non-violence are reflected in all national and individual activity—a thing that is possible only under a *humanistic orientation*—parasitism will not cease. To quote Edward Carpenter again:

"Truth and simplicity of life are not mere facts, they are something more than directions and private affairs, something more than social necessities. They are real entities which lie at the root of national well-being. They are things which in their adoption

or in their denied souls light through the tunnel of political life. To live completely is to live one's life as it is to be at peace with the world. To live on the balance of others is not only to waste your life but to deny, but it is to contribute to their denial just to waste, resist, and hostility and when such a principle of life is imposed by a whole people, that people will not only be in a state of internal strife, but will necessarily take up internal conflict on its leaders who will seek its destruction."

In other words, a country organized politically and economically on the non-violent principle can have no internal strife and no external enemy.

Sarangam, 28-9-46

M. D.

## CURIOUS OBJECTIONS

(By K. G. Madhavan)

I came across recently three persons whose objections to khadi and the charkha appeared curious to me. One of them, a captain of a group of students, told me that while he had perceived upon every one of his comrades to agree either the independence or the Sarvagata Padga and fly the charkha regularly as required by it, he himself did not sign either of the pledges as a protest against the general character of the sponsored class which did not make any distinction between leaders and followers i.e. men of superior ability as engineers and the masses, but imposed a common discipline upon all. He believed in khadi culture and was convinced that the economic reconstruction of society must be mainly based on khadi and village industries, but he was unable to admit this, therefore, it was necessary for people like Gandhi Jawaharlal or Vallabhbhai to spend any part of their precious time in themselves spinning. He did not believe in leaders who are unable to attract followers unless they themselves do what they ask their followers to do. I told him that when spinning became a widely co-ordinated in the Indian home as, for instance, cooking or tilling, it was possible that spinning by everyone may not retain such importance as to become part of a political expression. If one believed in the importance of the charkha class whether one is a leader or an ordinary one must prove one's faith by spinning it. But my friend insisted that, if twenty years of regular spinning by Gandhi and the leaders and so many all-India leaders led the Congressmen still, there was something wrong, rather in the leadership of the charkha cult. As he was convinced of the soundness of the charkha cult, he must lay the blame upon the leadership. He, for one hoped to spread the charkha without himself or the important members of his group being required to spin as a conscious precedent to an acceptance.

Another friend told me that he was convinced that khadi was a good bread-fruit in terms of village and should be patronized. But he was unable to do so, because khadi had come to be associated with high classmen. It was hypocritical

to wear khadi without simultaneously becoming a man of "plain living and high thinking". As he had the life of an ordinary worldly man, he dare not touch khadi. I told him that it was good that he attached to khadi not only economic but also spiritual value, but the economic value was capable of being detached from an spiritual value, and even men of no character would, by wearing khadi to the extent of an economic value, render service to their countrymen. Moreover, man in his mind khadi was associated with character by taking to khadi may without any conscious effort as he put above his character the. As the evidence would be unconscious, it would also be positive, and so that extent all the more welcome. But he ended by saying that he was unable to feel the call yet.

The third friend said that he did not require any argument to feel convinced of the relationship between spinning and non-violence, and considered the charkha to be indispensable in a non-violent campaign. But he had not yet begun to spin, because he did not want to make a betwixt until he felt convinced that, once he began to spin, the charkha would make such possession of him that a day without spinning would cause a shock in his life. If he was not all the day feeling something about without spinning, what was the guarantee that he would not give up the charkha after commencing it? If that was possible the spinning in the material world be an act of hypocrisy. I told him that until he began to spin he would not be able to give the charkha an opportunity to take such possession of him as he desired. But, even at the risk of the charkha dropping away again from his life, there was nothing wrong in taking to it as an innocent hobby or a pleasant relaxation, But he, too, did not feel the call as yet.

All the three visitors were specially-minded, self-righted young men of promise. All of them repeated their convictions about the soundness of the khadi doctrine. Two of them even more firmly than I myself have the courage to do. And yet they would not do the one thing which their convictions would naturally make us expect from them. What was wrong here? I came to the conclusion that the incongruity in all the cases is attributable to the craving which we the people of the middle class indulge at home and in the school. The only labour which we are taught to perform is that connected with books, paper and pen. For physical development we may take walks, go to gymnasiums, play cricket or football. For indoor recreation we may play chess, cards, etc. But, except during the unavoidable absence of a servant or the ladies, we may never employ our hands to produce or manage any of our needs ourselves. Not only are we not taught to do these, but are taught to make our machines waste, we are trained to regard such work as below the dignity of an intelligent and ambitious man. The same training the students in us have for

Many cheap and ready things. The result is that even when reason is concerned the wish to follow an doctrine is backed by a demands emotion. So we find the paradox of men subscribing to a general proposition but finding an excuse satisfactory to themselves for not embracing it in their own lives.

## Harijan

June 23

1940

### BOTH HAPPY AND UNHAPPY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It was on the 15th inst. that I expressed the following hope in Harijan:

"If my argument has gone home, it is not time for us to declare our willingness back to non-violence of the strong and say we do not wish to defend our identity with the loss of arms but we will defend it with the loss of non-violence!"

On the 21st the Working Committee felt unable to embrace such back to action when the time has come. For the Committee never before had an occasion to test their faith. At the last meeting they had to lay down a course of action for meeting impending deadly risks and danger of aggression from without.

I pleaded hard with the Committee "If you have faith in non-violence of the strong, now is the time to set up as a *li* that our matter that many parties do not believe in non-violence whether of the strong or of the weak. Fickishly that is all the greater reason for Congressmen to meet the emergency by non-violent action. For if all were non-violent there could be no anxiety and there would be no question of anybody armed for meeting aggression from without. It is because Congressmen represent a party of non-violence, in the midst of parties who do not believe in it, that it becomes necessary for Congressmen to show that they are well able to set up in their faith."

But the members of the Working Committee felt that Congressmen would not be able to set up to it. It would be a new exposure for them. They were never before called upon to deal with such a crisis. The attempt made by us to form secret brigades to deal with communal riots and the like had widely failed. Therefore they could not hope for the success contemplated.

My position was different. With the Congress non-violence was always a policy. It was open to it to accept it if it failed. It could not bring political and economic independence, it was of no use. For me non-violence was a creed. I went out up to it whether I am alone or have companions. Since propagation of non-violence is the mainspring of my life, I must pursue it in all weathers. I felt that now was the time for me to prove my faith before God and man. And

as I asked for absolute from the Committee. Hitherto I have been responsible for guiding the general policy of the Congress. I could no longer do so when fundamental differences were discovered between them and me. They could not accept the conversion of my attitude. And they gave me the absolute. Once more they have justified the trust reposed in them. They have been true to themselves. They had not the confidence in themselves as those whom they represented, that they could express in their action the required measure of non-violence. And so they made the only choice they could honestly make. It was a tremendous sacrifice they made—the sacrifice of the promise that the Congress had made to the world for unshakable non-violence, and the disturbance of the sweetest and unspoken bond between them and me. But though it is a break in the common practice of a common ideal in policy, there is no break in the foundation of over twenty years' standing.

I am both happy and unhappy over the result. Happy because I have been able to bear the strain of the break and have been given the strength to stand alone. Unhappy because my word seemed to lose the power to carry with me those whom it was my usual privilege to carry all these many years which were like property. But I know that, if God shows me the way to demonstrate the efficacy of non-violence of the strong, the break will prove to have been necessary. If there is no way, they will have justified their wisdom in leaving the strain of bearing me go my way alone. If that tragic discovery of my impotence is so true for me, I hope still to retain the faith that has sustained me all these years and to have humility enough to realise that I was not fit enough instrument to carry the torch of non-violence any further.

But this statement and doubt are based upon the assumption that the members of the Working Committee represent the feeling of the vast majority of Congressmen. They would wish and I hope that the vast majority of Congressmen had in them the non-violence of the strong. No one would be more glad than they to discover that they had undoubted Congressmen's strength. The probability, however, is that there is no majority but only a good minority which represents the non-violence of the strong. It should be remembered that the matter does not lend itself to argument. The members of the Working Committee had all the arguments before them. But non-violence which is a quality of the heart, cannot come by an appeal to the brain. Therefore what is required is a trust but realisable demonstration of non-violent strength. The opportunity comes to everyone almost daily. There are communal clashes there are disasters, there are weekly deaths. In all these things those who are truly non-violent can and will demonstrate it. If it is shown in an adequate measure, it will not fail to attract their surroundings.



I am quite clear that there is not a single Congressman who disbelieves in the efficacy of non-violence out of sheer cowardice. Let the Congressmen who believe that the Congress should adhere to non-violence in dealing with internal disorders or external aggression, express it in their daily conduct. Non-violence of the street cannot be a mass policy. It may be a creed of a person, it 'may be adopted by a man with a pen, as expressed in every little act of his. Therefore he who is possessed by non-violence will express it in the family circle, in his dealings with neighbors, in his business, in Congress meetings, in public meetings, and in his dealings with opponents. It is because a law not reported itself in this way among Congressmen that the members of the Working Committee rightly concluded that Congressmen were not ready for non-violent treatment of internal disorders or external aggression. Embarrassment caused by non-violent action would never established authority to yield to popular will. But such action has obviously no play in the face of disorders. We have to court death without retaliation and with no malice or anger towards those who bring about disorders. It is easy enough to see that non-violence required here is of a wholly different type from what the Congress has known hitherto. But it is the only non-violence that is true and that can save the world from self-destruction. This is a contrary action or later, sooner rather than later, if India cannot deliver the message of true non-violence in a world which seems to be awed from the cause of wars and does not know how to find the alternative.

Swargate, 24-6-40

P. 3 After the foreword was written and typed, I saw Jawaharlal's statement. He has fire and confidence in me and out of every sentence is trying to me. The foreword does not need any amendment. It is better for the reader to have both the independent accounts. Good must come out of this separation.

M. K. G.

## NON-VIOLENCE AND NON-COOPERATION

(By Kailash Nath Kapur)

In the war that is now almost ending, has affected me more than the plight of refugees does me. Just. They die out of fear or are encouraged by their own armies. In the midst of terrible acts of every kind everywhere, they are helpless, but. Contemplation of horror happens here, through the valley of darkness and misfortune, led me to the truth that non-violence is the weapon of the street and that non-violence with non-cooperation is as wide as the most potent weapon of defense and the secret remedy for the ill of mankind. Truth that doctrine is evidence in a million written eyes of those who may be fields of body but more of heart and of mind. It is a weapon which can be wielded by all — men, women and children — and which does not standy against

into soldiers and civilians, oppressors and non-oppressors. In the war of non-violence everybody is a soldier who knows not of death when danger approaches but firm and serene death without motion, but in no circumstances co-operates with the enemy. Nowadays Governments run away leaving the people to obey the orders of the invaders. People who obey the laws of non-violence never obey such orders but die.

It is said that there are counsels of perfection and take no account of human nature. But all through recorded history violence has been almost denied. Men have sung of it, and people have been taught during ages to admire it as something great and noble. Non-violence coupled with non-cooperation has had no such advantageous advantages. It has not been honored. It has been often despised as being the weakness of a perfect sage, of almost a divine man. Humanity has been so far engaged in glorifying the art and art of killing. The nobility of dying without killing has never been fairly put before mankind.

The faculty of dependence upon armed strength has been completely demonstrated in this war. Armaments are necessary enough for destructive purposes. Their cost will bleed people white. And there is no way to end war. Each war leads to another. Blasted lands, hatred, and a never killed by more violence beared. In the midst of war imagination is inspired by tales of heroism, of unbroken bravery in killing the opponent. The horror of war reaches to the background, for the time being. As he is in India, who have no desire to govern whom, no supercilious contempt, let us be true to the grain of our civilization and its culture, and renounce our desire to kill others as an instrument of national policy. Let us, in times of danger, hold fast to our homes without fear or terror, wield the weapon of complete non-cooperation with the enemy, cheerfully pay the price of death, if that be demanded. People have nothing to fear. Who can part us from our motherland? I am wrong this under the shadow of ignorance — the Lord of the World — whose people tremble across oceans. Wars and warfare methods of defense have failed wholly in the past — that is the teaching of history. Non-violence with non-cooperation with the enemy may develop all that is highest in us, and may surely the human content for acts of heroism and gallantry. Let us, under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, give it a chance.

Part, 23-6-40

## Just Published

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## GANDHIJI ABSOLVED

The following is the full text of the Working Committee's declaration of policy:

The Working Committee have been deeply moved by the tragic events that have taken place in Europe in starting succession and in particular by the massacres that have befallen the people of France. These events have already had far-reaching consequences, and they are likely to be followed by other happenings which will lead to novel situations and complex problems.

Ever since the commencement of the European war the Congress has followed a policy which was based on its principles and on the attitude of the British Government towards the demand that India should function as a free and independent country. This policy was enshrined in the Congress resolution. The success of the application of this policy will necessarily depend on the situation which changes from day to day. Problems which were dormant are now near at hand and may soon demand solution. The problem of the achievement of national freedom has now to be considered along with the third one, its maintenance and the defence of the country against possible external aggression and internal disorder.

The war in Europe, resulting from a desire for superlative dominations over other peoples and countries and a racial race at armaments, has led to human sorrow and misery on a scale hitherto unknown. It has demonstrated the inefficiency of organized violence, on however vast a scale, for the defence of national freedom and the liberties of peoples. It has shown beyond a doubt that warfare cannot lead to peace and freedom, and that hence before the world a uttermost degradation and destruction through warfare or the way of peace and non-violence on a basis of freedom for all peoples. Mahatma Gandhi has presented to the peoples of the world, arising far relief from the crushing burden of war, a weapon in the shape of organized non-violence designed to take the place of war for the defence of a people's rights and freedom against armed aggression. He feels that at this critical phase in the history of man the Congress should endorse this ideal by itself declaring that it does not want that India should maintain armed forces to defend her freedom against external aggression or internal disorder.

While the Working Committee hold that the Congress must continue to adhere strictly to the principle of non-violence in their struggle for independence, the Committee cannot ignore the present uncertainties and dangers in this respect of the human elements they have to deal with, and the possible disorder in a period of transition and dynamic change until the Congress has acquired universal control over the people in adequate measure and the people have internalized the lesson of organized non-

violence. The Committee have deliberated over the problem that has thus arisen and have come to the conclusion that they are unable to go the full length with Gandhi. But they imagine that he should be free to pursue his great ideal in his own way, and therefore shoulder him from responsibility for the programme and activity which the Congress has to pursue under the conditions at present prevailed in India and the world as regard to external aggression and internal disorder.

Many of the problems which the Working Committee have considered in this statement are not of the present, though they may be of the near future. The Committee wish to make it clear that the methods and basic policy of non-violence in the national struggle for freedom continue with full force and are not affected to the least by the difficulty to extend it to the region of national defence.

The War Committees that are being formed are definitely aimed at assisting the war effort. In view of the Congress policy, they cannot be supported, and Congressmen cannot participate in them or contribute to war funds, nor can Congressmen associate themselves, under present political conditions, with Government-controlled Civil Guards.

Congress committees should organize, wherever necessary, people in villages and other areas for self-defence and in order to maintain a reserve of public money in their respective areas. This should be done on a non-commercial basis and in full co-operation with all other groups interested in the task.

In view of the difficult times that lie ahead it is essential that the Congress should function as an active and disciplined organization. Provincial Committees are expected to take necessary steps for this purpose. They should realize that it is of urgent and vital importance that the Congress should function in this way in these days of crisis, and should not be merely a roll of vast numbers of inactive members. All members of the executive committees, in particular, are expected to take a continuous and active part in the Congress work, and those who are anything as unable to do so are failing in their duty to the country and are of no service to the organization.

The current situation that faces the world today requires vigilant attention and action whenever needed for this purpose. The Working Committee will meet at frequent intervals, and all members must keep in readiness to obey an urgent summons. The All India Congress Committee should be summoned to meet in the last week of July.

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## WHAT THE MASHNAVI SAYS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I gladly publish the following sent to me by Advocate Ramesh Ambhargave of Bombay.

"In the name of Harman who dealing with the letter of a Khos Bahadur Jinn Datta you write the following lines of Mashnavi:

"Religion are not for separating men from one another, they are meant to bind them" (Page 117, 2nd edition).

These lines remind me of the immortal words of a famous Persian poet put into the mouth of God who addresses Moses in verse 14 of the poem, viz.

"Thou hast come to this world to join, thou hast not come to this world to separate."

(Original)

To learn, Your brother needs

No more Your brother needs

I give below a faithful translation of the whole poem in order to show the beauty and the greatness of the truth contained in the above verses.

"Moses came to me, the Lord a shepherd who was embracing thee. 'Oh God (Mashnavi)!"

Tell me where Thou art, so that I may become Thy servant, seek Thy heavy shoes, seek Thy hat, Kiss Thy hand, rub Thy feet, and remove the dirt for Thee to sleep.

If Thou wouldst tell of me future, like Thy hat and hat I would give to Thee.

Oh my Lord, my life is sacrificed to Thee, to gather with my children and all the property that I own.

Yes, all my sleep are sacrificed to Thee, even all of 'holy' of mine, dedicated to my wayward sleep is for Thy remembrance."

In the dream that unfolded was speaking when Moses spoke to him that "What art thou addressing?"

He replied, "I am addressing Him who created me, the One from whose bosom emanates the soul and the righteous religious deeds (Chark)!"

Moses answered, "Thy thy head has become arrogant and dangerous, thou hast ceased to be a Moslem, thou hast turned as infidel."

If thou dost not lay up (sow) these words in thy garden, the fire (of hell) will spread out and consume the whole world."

The poor shepherd cried in agony "Oh Moses, thou hast snatched my mouth, the experience that I've had caused to me has coloured my soul."

He turned his side into stone, turned a burning rock, set his face towards the lower and disappeared in his state.

A voice reached Moses from God saying, 'Why dost thou separate my slave from Me?'

Thou hast come to this world to work, thou hast not come to this world to separate.

Remember thou that 'U' do not see the exterior nor the words; 'U' can only see the interior and the real thing."

No more Oh Moses hear these words of wisdom from the Almighty God that he can alter the shepherd in the darkness of the world.

To last Moses was able to let him out in the wilderness. The Prophet told him "Good news for thee! For, God has given me permission to tell thee, do not worry about the messenger's words and from within addressing Me, let me speak up wherever thy voice least prompts thee to speak."

(From Mashnavi, Volume I.)

How I wish the beautiful truth embodied in these verses will be taken to heart by every one of us. It was the Pakistan movement a denial of the divine truth!

Bombay, 25-5-46

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Views and Will Power

Q. I am a genuine worker after *bachchanarya*. But in spite of all my peaceful efforts I am getting deeper and deeper into self-indulgence. I cannot blame my partner for it. My circumstances do not permit me to reform the rule about self-indulgence.

You advocate and believe in the efficacy of *tapas*. You have said in *Harman* that 'for the weak in mind and soul work are like tinsel.' But how will you administer this to a case like mine who has not the strength of will to carry out the vow he has taken? Had I with a strong will, the necessity for taking vows would not have arisen.

A. Let me frankly tell you that I do not believe in, your penance, not that you are wilfully lying. You are unconsciously self-indulgent. If you are genuine, you will at least observe the rules of the game. You give up your case when you say you cannot separate yourself from your wife for want of room. I have never heard such an excuse. If you take the vow, you must at least produce the necessary atmosphere around you for its observance. Everyone who has successfully carried out the vow has carefully observed this first condition. If you are living in only one room, you should go elsewhere to send away your wife so have a relative to sleep in the same room. The question is how far you are determined. It may be that you want to observe *bachchanarya* because you have said much about it and would like to be classed among *bachchanaryas*. I know many such young men. If that is your case, you should not make the attempt. One must have a burning desire to live that life. If you have it, you will adopt the measures that all ascetics have invariably adopted. You are then bound to succeed. If you have not read *Self-indulgence*, you should read it.

What to Do?

Q. The attitude in the country is becoming more daily. Everywhere peace is growing. In certain parts armed gangs are already organised, my themselves to take advantage of the growing anarchy as once the central power should disintegrate or weaken. The danger may not be imminent, but it would be folly to ignore its possibility. With all the clamour in non-violence which the country has received during the last twenty years, you will agree that it has not developed the way of non-violence that can be effective in the face of anarchy and anarchy. The Government is taking steps to suppress the crimes of self-defence. What is the duty of those who look up to you for lead and guidance? Should they take part in these Governmental activities? If they should not, what else are they to do? Surely they cannot sit with folded hands doing nothing.

A. I am unable to say what the Congress will exactly do, in view of the recent statement of the Working Committee. If you believe in non-violent treatment of anarchy and the like, naturally you will protect yourself and your neighbors and those whom you can influence for non-violent defense. I spare space with you that no responsible person can sit idly by in these times. Violent preparation would need long previous training. Non-violent preparation means mental adjustment. Possibility of anarchy there undoubtedly is, but if you are non-violent, you will not give way to fear. Do not underestimate anarchy, just as you do not underestimate death, though you know that it is a certainty. If you are non-violent, you will believe that there will be no anarchy, but if unfortunately a chance, you and your companions or followers will give your lives to prevent it. Those who give their lives, in trying to kill those whom they regard as subjects or misanthropists, do so better, possibly than do worse. They risk their lives, and there is darkness after they are gone. What is more they may have done worse by feeling the line of violence by counter-violence. Those who do unnecessarily are likely to sell the key of violence by their wholly innocent sacrifice. But the only non-violent action is not possible unless it springs from a heart ruled then by whom you live and regard as a father, father, or worse, and you are one, and that therefore it is better that you die at his hands than that he, your ignorant brother, should die at yours.

#### Pakistan and Constituent Assembly

Q. The two nations theory is by way of a contribution to the demand for a Constituent Assembly which is done as above in the other thing. To me the idea of a Constituent Assembly smacks the existing confusion. 50 per cent of our people are Muslims, and nearly two per cent are regarded by religious populations and then there is the additional factor of coexistence. And the final objection to a Constituent Assembly is that without a previous treaty on the part of the majority to give effect to safeguards the best of them are bound to prove null.

A. Surely you cannot speak of the Constituent Assembly only by side with Pakistan. The latter is wrong as I conceive it, in every way. There is nothing wrong in the idea of a Constituent Assembly. At no worse danger suffered its formation. Every big movement is born with danger. These risks must be taken. Every effort should be made to remove them. But there seems to me to be nothing like a Constituent Assembly for achieving the common purpose. I admit the difficulty of diversity. Indeed, whole villages are established in the name of Muslim minorities including the late A. J. Ingham. The danger of anarchy is also there. The greater the minorities the less felt is the

effect of anarchy, however. It is so widely distributed. There is no Congress that can reach corruption and anarchy but they are confined to those few who run the machinery. But the vast body of Congressmen are unaffected by these defects, though they profit by the good the Congress does. The danger you mention about safeguards will be reduced to the weakest point if they come through a Constituent Assembly. For safeguards laid down by the representatives elected by the whole Muslim population will depend for their safety not on the goodwill or honesty of the majority but on the majority of the weakened Muslim masses. Finally, really anarchy is your worst concern of the majority, not in a Constituent Assembly. There is a majority of Hindus undoubtedly, but we observe that in popular political assemblies parties are not rigidly divided according to religious opinions, but they are according to political and other opinions. The cause of communalism becomes weakened by the introduction of religious differences. The way for parties in the local elections, but it is also the strongest endorsement, of separate electorates. When we have learnt wisdom, we shall come to think in terms of separate electorates and two nations, I believe is the nearest approach of human nature. I therefore vote by the Constituent Assembly. The Muslim vote will surely decide the issue so far as does special matters is concerned. Arguing communally, therefore, the first, if there is any, about a Constituent Assembly should surely be on the part of the Hindus. For if the Muslim vote does in favor of partition, they have either to submit not to see two more partitions or to a civil war. As things are, all surely themselves by joining resolutions and voting their votes in order to prevent all of us means where we are in a state of subjection. A Constituent Assembly is a reality. It will not be a debating or legislative irresponsible body. By expounding its final decision it will decide the fate of millions of human beings. You may oppose it. If you are successful in your opposition, there is the dead prospect of anarchy, not an orderly civil war. There seems to me to be no solution of the painful deadlock except through a Constituent Assembly.

(Signature 21-6-40)

#### Mohammed Ghouse

By E. Subramaniam (Chief Editor) P. 8-12-40  
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over the Army

Some Vital Questions



Reg. No. B 2002

HARITAN

Editor: MANJUNATH GOKUL

VOL. VIII, No. 21

POOJA - SATURDAY, JULY 6, 1958

[ ONE ANNA

TO EVERY BRITON

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In 1956 I addressed an appeal to every Briton in South Africa on behalf of my countrymen who had gone there as labourers or students and their families. It had no effect. However important it was from my viewpoint, the cause which I pleaded then was insignificant compared with the cause which prompts this appeal. I appeal to every Briton, wherever he may be now, to accept the method of non-violence instead of that of war for the adjustment of relations between nations and other peoples. Your statisticians have declared that this is a war on behalf of democracy. There are many other statisticians given in postulates. You know them all by heart. I suggest that at the end of the war, whichever way it ends, there will be no democracy left to represent democracy. This war has descended upon mankind as a curse and a warning. It is a curse inasmuch as it is hastening man to a world hitherto unknown. All distinctions between continents and non-continents have been abolished. No one and nothing is to be spared. Living has been reduced to an art. Britain was to defend small nationalities. One by one they have vanished, or least for the time being it is also a warning. It is a warning that, if nobody reads the warning on the wall, man will be reduced to the state of the beast, when he is chasing by his nature. I read the warning when the bomb-blast broke out. But I had not the courage to say the word. God has given me the courage to say it before it is too late.

I appeal for cessation of hostilities not because you are too exhausted to fight, but because war is bad in essence. You want to kill Britain. You will never kill it by an unrelenting slaughter. Your soldiers are doing the same work of destruction as the Germans. The only difference is that perhaps yours are not so thorough as the Germans. If that be so, yours will soon acquire the same characteristics as theirs, if not much greater. On no other condition can you win the war. In other words, you will have to be more ruthless than the Nazis. No more, however, say, can warrant the unbecoming slaughter that is going on minute by minute. I suggest that a cause that demands the extermination that are being perpetrated today cannot be called just.

I do not want Britain to be defeated, nor do I want her to be victorious in a war of huge

strength, whether expressed through the sword or the bomb. Your wonderful history is an established fact. Must you demonstrate that your hand is also as unrelenting in destructive power as your hands? I hope you do not wish to raise man such an unguided competition with the Nazis. I venture to present you with a nobler and a braver way, worthy of the bravest soldier. I want you to fight Nazism without arms, or, if I am to retain the military terminology, with non-violent arms. I would like you to lay down the same you have as brave soldiers for sword and or humanity. You will arrest Hans Hinkel and Sigismund Mergel to take what they want of the countries you call your possessions. Let them take possession of your beautiful island, with your many beautiful buildings. You will give all these, but neither your souls, nor your minds. If these postulates choose to occupy your homes, you will vacate them. If they do not give you the passage you, you will allow yourself, man, woman and child, to be slaughtered, but you will refuse to owe allegiance to them.

The process or method which I have called non-violent non-cooperation, is an untried considerable success in its use in India. Your representatives in India may deny my claim. If they do I shall feel sorry for them. They may tell you that our non-cooperation was not wholly non-violent, that it was born of hatred. If they give that testimony, I won't deny it. Had it been wholly non-violent, if all the non-cooperators had been filled with goodwill towards you, I could hold to say that you who are India's masters would have become her people and, with much greater skill than we have, perfected the mindless weapon and met the Germans and Italian friends wherever with it. Indeed the history of Europe during the past few months would then have been written differently. Europe would have been spared seas of innocent blood, the rape of so many small nations, and the rage of hatred.

This is no appeal made by a man who does not know his history. I have been preoccupied with scientific precision non-violence and its possibilities for an untold period of over fifty years. I have applied it in every walk of life, domestic, international, economic and political. I know of no single case in which it has failed. Where it has seemed necessary to have failed, I have applied it in my imperfections, I claim.

no perfume for myself. But I do claim to be a personifying India, that Truth, which is her mother-name for God. In the course of this search the discovery of non-violence came to me. Its spread is my life mission. I have no interest in living except for the prevalence of this message.

I claim to have been a lifelong and wholehearted friend of the British people. At one time I used to be also a lover of your empire. I thought that it was doing good to India. When I saw that in the name of things it could do no good, I said, and am still saying, the non-violent method to fight imperialism. Whenever the ultimate fate of my country, my love for you remains, and will remain, undiminished. My non-violence demands universal love, and you are not a small part of it. It is due here which has prompted my appeal to you.

May God give power to every word of mine. In His name I begin to write this, and to His name I close it. May your gentlemen have the wisdom and courage to respond to my appeal. I am telling His Excellency the Viceroy that my services are at the disposal of His Majesty's Government, should they consider them of any practical use in advancing the object of my appeal.

New Delhi, 2-7-1940

## ABOUT WORKING COMMITTEE'S DECISION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have been receiving several letters both from Congressmen and non-Congressmen including friends from the West deploring the recent decision of the Working Committee. These correspondents have nothing but admiration for the courage the members have shown in doing what they felt was a duty though very unpleasant, but all of them deplore the decision and would have the Working Committee to reconsider it. Of all these letters there is one which is a reasoned plea for not abandoning non-violence for internal disorders or external attacks. The correspondent writes also an extract from a letter he wrote to a friend of his who endorsed the method of sabotage. Both the letter to me and the extract referred to have enormous merit and are precious in this process. I have carried from the letter the part that deplains the correspondence of my tribute to the French resistance for saving his people. French independence, he considers was jeopardised. It has given him a great shock. "But," says the writer, "the decision of the Working Committee has come at a greater shock." From the extract too I have copied, for the sake of brevity, a paragraph which though very interesting was not strictly necessary for his statement:

### The letter

"The student who writes to a friend of mine about a French book, to stress to him every whether what he called the Gandhian method was not

merely only to add to the present evils in which we live today. It affirms my absolute faith in non-violence, not only as a convenient instrument for securing independence for our country, but as the only law for humanity to follow. I have not one iota of the emotion that have led me recently increasingly to place my faith in non-violence but the faith of mine is held up to you for my reasons that I can state as because it answers in the deepest part of my nature. I have only learnt to recognise it lately, as I did not before. Your wisdom and, even more so, your example have played a decisive part in helping me to do so. I mention all this because I wish to present my credentials before I go on to the matter which has compelled me to address the correspondence to you. It is my belief that the main problem with which humanity is faced today is the same—that of conquering the deepest nature. My hope is that, at its extremity, it may very largely be turned towards. Perhaps the process has already begun. Will it complete its course, or just stop half-way? I find it difficult to answer. The decline of the Congress Working Committee to adopt measures for national defence, at spite of you, has come as a huge disappointment to me. I feel India is throwing away a great opportunity....

Today it is no longer the example of single individuals—even when they happen to be of your stature—that can attract humanity from the depths. The effort of whole communities is required. I regard India as throwing away a great opportunity, which may not recur. She is playing false to her mission. It is her mission to set an object-lesson to humanity. And communities have conspired to place her in a peculiarly disadvantageous position to do so. The British, when they are engaged in defending their health and home, in fighting for their very existence, cannot be expected to be "Gandhian". The same is true of all the combatants. The Congress, especially, have been so dragged by communist propaganda that they are prone to every sentiment except a certain patriotism. The result is that she has made a prey to them. The Democratic word of a single man cannot range consistently over time, and this is not a state in which the deepest virtue of humanity prevails itself. America has all the handicaps of a rich man, against whom, at a cost, the spirit of the Kingdom of Heaven are heaved. Power is already yielded to sinister elements, and I, for one, would not put an opinion about it. China and India alone remain of whom the former is already engaged in a desperate war. India has the advantage of not having to face an imminent invasion as yet. So that, while there is time, she can bring a free mind to bear upon the problem. She has struggle with British Imperialism for her independence by the method of non-violence has already revealed to her, to a great extent, its possibilities. All her traditions and philosophy are at her service. Thus she has nothing to lose. Of course, I do not recommend the sort of change that might come cheaper, and that would be no asset to those who are fighting for independence. She at least a temporary advantage from the communitarian. Above all, she has the advantage of your leadership. It is a privilege she enjoys to have put to grade her doubts, and every privilege to my mind, comes with it corresponding duty.

To declare that preparation should be made for national defence, while retaining non-violence as a method for national liberation, is, in my mind, to make a travesty of non-violence. In the sense in which every free individual understands it, I have no use for self-defence as such. I agree with Ghandi that in the long run "civilization is an elaborate protest of intellectual intelligence and sensibility against

the lack-mustard.' And patriotism is only self-interest, glorified. Individualism, in its finest sense, is not incompatible with what the only valid type of patriotism or nationalism. Then rather depend upon it, individualism should be our aim for judging them. When the Working Committee is engaged in doing, in my mind, is to put the cart before the horse. It is non-violence that should be the end — or rather at the place the end and the means become identical —, and self-determination the means. The question of non-violence not being enough, therefore, must be done not now. Rather non-violence is an essential part of the best type of life that man has if he is to have a life, as it is not. If the forces that maintain that it is not enough become unaccepting. If the latter, he is three away all pretensions of being at a higher moral plane than the British, and frankly confess that we are but making a virtue of necessity.

### The Future

"You make an observation in the effect that it is the will of everyone to live according to the law of non-violence, only it is not possible — that is, owing to circumstances over which he has no control. In a sense, of course, that is true and a ground for optimism. The danger for moral effort (which is the correlate of cause, final cause) is there is no power. But that does not mean that moral effort is easy, or that everyone will willingly take to it. No, an average person, much more so a conventional one, definitely does not want it, is suspicious of it. It is much more pleasant to gratify one's passions. As every man finds much greater satisfaction in his cry of anger than he would if the cause of the anger were removed. The memory of us live by our passions. Our love for our children, for relations, for friends, when it is not based on self-interest is, for the most part, more out of one kind or another, an emotional cry. Patriotism is the most kind of emotional cry, because it is strongest in character and cannot easily be brought to the test. No, it is not easy to live by the law of non-violence the way thought of it is something to most people.

To a real martyr, and that he has no resistance until about a man lives only when he is in close association with the law of duty or virtue. Is that he resembles the creative artist, who looks upon the world as so much raw material for shaping into his work of art. The martyr's very reality as being created from every instant as it were. At least so it is as far as we, these beings, are concerned. Therefore a martyr has an equal taste of reality, for circumstances change from moment to moment, and he has no attachment, for truth is unity. Now you see how far from it is the spirit of a martyr to make provisions for the struggle is a flowing one, and his effort is ever to compare more and more of reality. The tragedy of a crippled person does not consist in his being crippled, but in his spent getting crippled things. The fact of being crippled is distressing but that his vision is distorted. That is why it has been found that cripples have made the greatest progress. But it is at least possible for those to get out of the darkness, and then their knowledge would be as an end, and their condition would be superior to that of healthy, well-forged young men who go on living their lives in obedience to matter. Non-violence as the attitude of a martyr for whose acceptance do not mean, it is, as Gandhi has said, while being as well as a pearl, who as hard as steel. Don't you confused it with mere sentimentalism of pain to others. That kind of non-violence would always be to the advantage of the violent against and would thus defeat its own purpose. Gandhi wants to start the British from India, because he believes

that India has been crippled owing to the British connection, and that that has been most useful for India, not for Britain or British imperialism, which is, obviously, no less responsible for the present war than German Nazism is the result of it. That is why self-determination.

But does a self-determination and self-determination. Gandhi puts a much higher emphasis on that point: 'all those men people evidently do otherwise there would be little justification for his demand for it. Matter is extremely desirable, and there is no limit to which self-determination cannot be carried. Gandhi's Mahatma Scheme, and other similar schemes that have followed and are following in its wake, are the reduction and absorption of the principle. You must not forget that self-determination is only a convenient formula. To clothe it with flesh and blood, as it were, much more is required than a statement of the British connection. For that reason there is the constructive programme of Gandhi. There is the struggle to teach you that economy and self-control are the dynamics of a martyr's life. It will restore the lost self-confidence of millions, level like democracy, and bring about a whole lot more change of worlds which can transform the whole material life it will replace capitalism by co-operation, and place at a discount the vain pursuit of power and position, and force attention to the elements of existence, and thus provide us with our roots. There is the Working Mahatma Scheme with its harmonization of languages in the purpose of education, so that our children might grow up in close touch with the realities, and a scheme especially designed with a view to developing an intelligent comprehension of the affairs of the world. There is the Mahatma Scheme (if there is a 'scheme') a symbol of the martyr's belief in social equity. There was the effort of Mahatma to give strength to the cause of the people of the British in a characteristic way. There are the martyr's groups where special training is being imparted. You see, the Gandhian programme is comprehensive, and is designed to bring about a total change of material morality. It is not that all the 17 crores of India will turn martyrs overnight; but that they would be provided with a new scale of values, and with adequate discipline and training under leaders of world and character they can accomplish wonders.

Now consider what would starting the movement at this moment imply. Imagined it as a virtual sunset in her history, and the very existence of her empire and even country is threatened. If we take advantage of her plight, not to mention the fact that success would be very difficult, we shall for ever have alienated the sympathies of one of the most gifted of nations (let me pronounce against her not blind up to the fact that she is blind), and the solution of the world problem will be pushed further than ever, and our moral force will be considerably weakened. Indeed, it will very probably have vanished. For, if the ideal of non-violence is broken through in one place, it will become exceedingly difficult to save it from complete destruction. We shall have to begin all over again. But I must qualify my statement. A martyr's work pleases another's feelings, except where it is required by the law of duty. If there were not the statement of conscience as strongly lodged in so many of us (which the chance for the movement to be started is a case sign of it), it would not be harmful to start the movement even at this time. The situation cannot be reversed except with no effort of the imagination. The opportunity would be so extremely impressive that self-determination would be more for the taking. The position of the British in our country, under any other conditions, would become untenable. The next step for

[Continued on p. 151]

# *Harijan*

July 4

1940

## SOME VITAL QUESTIONS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

M. K. the Viceroy is again conferring with leaders of parties. I was invited, but not as a party leader or a leader at all. I was invited as a friend to help him, if I could, to come to a definite conclusion, especially to interpret the Congress mind to him. It is better, in the light of what is happening (and things will presently move with lightning velocity), to consider some of the questions that will demand quick decisions if they will not have been decided before these lines are in print.

The first thing that everyone has to consider for himself is whether Dominion Status or the Westminster variety can be acceptable to India. If it has not become a myth already, it will be at the end of the war, Britain herself, victorious or defeated, will never be the same as she has been for these few hundred years. But she must be certain that her defeat, if it ever comes, will certainly be glorious. If she is defeated, she will be because no other Power similarly situated could have avoided defeat. I cannot say the same of her victory. It will be bought by a progressive adoption of the same means as the mechanised States have adopted. I mean say with the deepest pain that British statesmen have revealed the only moral influence they could easily have got from the Congress to turn the scales in Britain's favour. It is no blame to her statesmen that they have not avoided themselves of that influence. They did not see the need of it. It may well be that they did not perceive the moral influence itself which I have claimed for the Congress. Whatever may be the case, it is clear to me that India's immediate objective must be unshaken Independence. This is no time for warring words or hiding our thoughts. I cannot think of anyone winning less than Independence for his country, if he can get it. No country has ever got it without its people having fought for it. Anyway the Congress made up its mind long ago. Even if India is to render effective help to Britain, it can come from a free India. Coercion may be drawn from India as of yore, thousands of men may be hired as soldiers or camp followers out of her common millions. All such contributions will be from a helpless India. They cannot raise the moral status of Britain.

The next question for consideration is that of providing for internal disorder and external invasion. The raising of private armies will be worse than useless. It will never be allowed. No Peking, whether foreign or Chinese, can tolerate private armies. There, therefore, who

believe in the necessity of India having armed forces will be driven again or have to enlist themselves under the British banner. It is the logical outcome of the belief. The Working Committee have taken the decision on the point. If it is to stand, I have little doubt that they will presently have to advise Congressmen to refuse in the usual way. That would mean an end to the slogan of immediate Independence and an end also to non-violence of the true kind. I shall hope in the last chat, for the sake of themselves, India, my Indian friends, and humanity, Congressmen will resolutely decline to have anything to do with the use of arms for any of the two purposes. I feel strongly that the future of humanity lies in the hands of the Congress. May God give wisdom and courage to Congressmen to take the right step.

The offer of releasing the Viceroy's Council is on the table. The Congress cannot countermand it, so long as it stands for Independence and non-violence. But if it obstructs them, it will be logically driven to recommending Congress ministers to the Poles. This means the Congress becomes a vital part of the war machine. The Government of India has no other occupation but that of preparing India for defending Britain. It is so obsessed to talk of preparing India for self-defence. No Power has eyes on India except as a British possession. As such she is a rich prize. Is not India the bright jewel in the British Crown? But I own that, if India is to leave the trade of war, she can never have her apprenticeship to the extent that the British masters will allow.

The Congress has to make its choice. The compromise is possible. Congressmen can appear before Cabinet Ministers. They may also be Ministers or Members at the Centre. They will have to manage into the war machine. They will watch from inside (upon to the extent allowed) the Englishmen at work when engaged in a life and death struggle. They will have to run crises of reason and dispose of them in the war effort. If I have my way, I would have the Congress to treat the inalienable impression and not grudge those who believe in the accepted method filling all these posts. There will be Mathura, Hindon, Sika, Chawara, Faras and others taking up these posts as they have done before now. They are our countrymen. We must give them credit for good faith. Let us who believe in Independence and the only way to attain it, hold fast to the objective and the means. I can see much good coming out of this division of functions. For the Congress to merge itself into the government method would be a disaster of the first magnitude. If, on the other hand, the Congress makes its colours, it is sure to fight its way to its goal even before the war is over, provided that the fight is purely, truly and completely non-violent.

New Delhi, 3-7-40



## A VALID COMPLAINT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent wrote me a forcible letter in which he urged that, though I expect great things from my countrymen, I write only for Hindus which is edited in English, and quietly neglect the Hindustani and Gujarati editions. Both *Mahatma* (Gujarati) and *Mahatma* (Hindustani) have only translations of the writings in English. I must plead guilty to the charge. My excuse for writing in English has been that I had to address English-educated Indians who could understand neither Gujarati nor my faulty Hindustani and also the ever-growing number of Western readers. I hope that the excuse will be deemed valid. But it seems to me that the time has come for me to consider my writings, as far as possible exclusively to Gujarati and occasionally to Hindustani. The reason is simple and, I hope, convincing. I have before me the most difficult task of reaching the masses of the non-violence of the young to the masses. They will not understand the language of the Working Committee's decision. Already I have writings that they will be confused. They will believe that the Congress has given up non-violence and wants them also to do likewise. Then they would say, "But the Mahatma still believes in it. In the midst of these differences whose word are we to follow?" If I lose the masses, the main experiment in non-violence must be voted down as failure. My book would be as well as wrong as ever. But my failure will be equally clear. In such trying circumstances I must not rely upon the translations of my writings to carry my message to the masses. I must use the most effective means available. Naturally, therefore, I must speak at least to the Gujaratis in their own language which is also mine. Moreover Gujarati lends itself to correct translation in any modern language much more easily than English.

But the deeper reason for the proposed change is that when I write in English the English-speaking public is in view. I would not have exactly the same message for them as I would have for the masses. Past experience, too, points in favour of the change. When I began to edit *Indian Opinion* in South Africa, most of the Indians there were almost illiterate. I wrote the language they could understand. When the worldly Indian Congress reached them, for every twenty Indians they had one reader who was of course a volunteer. They listened to and discussed every word of what appeared in *Indian Opinion*. In it there was no padding, no words given to the readers. I used to stress out for them their difficulties. I had no time to discuss theories. They had weekly instructions as to what they were to do. I have no doubt that Indian Congress had a vital part to play in mobilizing and guiding the natives. Had I spoken to them through the English medium, I should have failed. I should

never have been able to feel one with them, if I had spoken to them in English when I knew that I could speak to a large section of them through their own tongue. If, therefore, I hope, as I do, to carry over a section of the masses with me, I must at least speak to them through the tongue they and I understand.

To the English-knowing readers should not be surprised if one day they get my writings in Hindustani translated from Gujarati. I have very little experience in this direction. Mahadevi Desai and Pyarelal have often translated my Gujarati or Hindustani writings. English-knowing readers should know that they have my *Experiments with Truth* and *History of Satyagraha in South Africa* in translation. So is *Mad Swami*, and several other writings of mine. After all, however, in the matter of non-violence I must rely more upon my thought to carry my message to the farthest limits of the universe. All thought does not possess the same potency. Only thought crystallized by a pure life and charged with powerful experiences has potency. The power the life, the greater the concentration, the higher the faith is that Unseen Power from whom all things are, the greater the potency of thought. If I had the purity the concentration and the faith I want, I know that I would do all my work without speech or writing, or with the least use of either, and the power the thought would then carry would be irresistible. That is the power which every human being has to master to and work his effort on. Hence the voice of Silence has never been denied.

New Delhi, 1-7-40

## ON THE ROAD TO SIMLA

On the morning of Thursday last, on seeking our weather Goddip set out with his small party from his road cottage at Beasganga for Simla, in response to the Viceroy's invitation. It had been pointed the whole of the previous day and during the night, taking the road into a strip of soft, pappy mud, so much so that, till the last moment shown, it was a question whether it would be possible to get any transport to convey the travelling lot of the party to the midway station. Apart from these difficulties and considerations of his health which on all four exposure to wind and weather, Goddip, as it well known, is as a rule, does not venture far from a short stay. Nevertheless, he gladly responded to the Viceroy's invitation, as part of his duties for the cause. He knew he was going there without any expectations. The railway journey was leading to a dinner, so that when he landed the car at Kufra he was ready to drop off again and "and off a few more miles of sleep", as he put it.

Before the car had proceeded for a couple of hours, however, a cutting accident happened which converted the journey into one of those excursions which begin themselves upon a road for

life. Without any premeditation or forethought I casually dropped a remark which was of the nature of a grievance against a colleague. The grievance was well-founded and merited redress, but I consented to surrender upon it, and that brought down the exclamation "You have capitulated in an unpardonable generalisation. A matter after which cannot afford to do this," remonstrated Gandhiji. "Darwin by the precise part of his book *Origin of the Species* has simply stated facts upon facts without any theorising, and only towards the end has formulated his conclusion which because of the sheer weight of evidence behind it, becomes almost irrefragable. Yet I have criticised even Darwin's generalisation as being unscientific. Science tells us that a proposition may hold good in nine hundred nine-hundred cases and yet fail in the thousandth case and thus be rendered worthless as a universal statement. That is why in law philosophy so much stress is laid on *Syllogism*. A proposition may not only be able to satisfy the analytical test, but must also be proved corroborative by evidence before an universal validity can be established. And you have dared to build a sweeping indictment on the strength of a single fact."

I was forced to admit that my generalisation was unscientific and therefore unwarranted. But in my heart of hearts I was sorry only for my colleague. I felt I had unfortunately a wrong case, which I could easily make good on another occasion and under better auspices. Besides I did not want to rob Gandhiji of his much-needed sleep by prolonging the discussion. I kept mum. But I was not destined to escape my self-complacency for long. Gandhiji continued:

Your criticism of — is in a way true and yet it is not wholly true. It consists of lack of clarity. It takes no count of the difficulties incident upon one's birth and upbringing. It is up to those who have privileged ground as a result of a congenial start to make due allowance for the unprivileged shortcomings of one another and strive to break down prejudice by the exercise of forbearance, and magnanimity and through loving service."

I felt strange to the quick. I had, with good reason held myself to be the aggrieved party, and here sudden was being turned upon me. I protested. "You know the utter contempt in which the friend holds me, the complete of contempt to which I have been subjected. Yet I have never retaliated. I have never given any cause for complaint. I have even consciously strove — not without some success — to befriend him and make myself agreeable to him. And yet —" "I know all that," interrupted Gandhiji. "I know your grievance which is well-founded. You do not know the bitterness out I gave — for the wrong done to you, and I know too your striving to be friendly of which I have myself been witness. My complaint is not that your conduct was not correct, the question is whether there was overflowing love behind it.

You refer to the contempt you have experienced. Was there not hatred behind what you have described as your 'sincere conduct', a sort of 'superior virtue' attitude that regards the opponent as beneath contempt or even ridicule? If you search within yourself, you will find that the consciousness that has filled you all along has been that of the wrong you have suffered, not that of pity for an sympathy with the wrongdoer who in his turn is a victim of circumstances — is not unaware of his defects. I know he has striven not to overcome them. But one's main motive is not so easily over-come. The consciousness of the past often prevents one wrong for as such cases deserve our pity, not anger. It is only then that I am truly able to extend my sympathies to the wrongdoer. Although I have often criticised them ungenerously there is in me the best understanding of their position, and my heart goes out to them. I fancy that they too realise that as we they have a friend. Two acts of contempt but do not you see that, if your heart were flowing with stream, contempt won't touch you? There was hardly an individual held in such contempt among certain circles in the late Durandian Androm. Yet he seemed hardly to be aware of it, and acted towards those who desperately used him, with an ease and assurance that broke down all barriers and made him accessible. If there were no contempt or hatred in question, where could be the occasion for the exercise of stream?"

"I admit it is my weakness," I finished out, "this has prevented me from working more effectively." I am afraid it is one's own sense of inferiority which makes one so sensitive to the feeling of contempt. There have been occasions when I had an insight into the spiritual weakness and deficiencies, the inner corruption and dishonesty of —. On these occasions I was so deeply moved that I went out of my way to serve and befriend him, feeling neither embitterment, nor even my habitual self-doubt. The fear of contempt did not deter me, and my working was successful. To Gandhiji this was a case of love testing out fear. "When we are afraid," he tells us, "it is not shame that is at work. Love and wisdom cannot co-exist."

Gandhiji had moved within himself. He unconsciously realised 'is the ultimate analysis, I feel that it is my shame that is at work. Others, who should not so much go straight home to me as instead, why should there be dashed and deterrence about me in my little world in Saragpur? If my experiment here were successful and I could find a solution for the little problems that confused me here, I am sure the same formula would provide me a solution for the bigger ones that vexed me in the country. That is why I am so reluctant to leave Saragpur. It is my laboratory for experiments. It is there that I expect to discover the key to Indian independence, not in India.

of New Delhi. I sometimes feel like velvet shoes in light, not to seek discomfort, pain, but in the silence of your solitude to know myself, to see where I stand, to catch more effectively the faint whispering of the 'self' with your wishes'. Then when my experience in silence would be complete."

I left venturing into a world of my other consciousness to be acquainted with the great experiment in which Gandhi is engaged. With such poor instruments to work with, is it any wonder that metaphysics has not fared far better than it has today? I felt words applicable. Accompanying the episode of the constant Aurore Warner came back to my mind.

I to see did pray

Let not be waking, O Lord

Or let me sleep always.

New Delhi, 1-7-40

Pyarali

#### ABOUT WORKING COMMITTEES DECISION (Continued from p. 187)

It would be to ask the British to lay down their arms. What would a handful of Indians stand in face of such a strong world movement? It is often, not often, that only the world. But before all this can be achieved we have to display the non-violence of the spirit, of the true metaphysics.

To regard the non-cooperation movement as merely a device for winning what we cannot by force might, is to detract the whole significance of it. It is a way that and so more, we should be desiring only of contempt, and be so better than those hypocrites who would not step from our door-steps until we have given them what. There is a certain fallacy in asking the Mahatmas to stand, his movement, while considering his strategy. Of course, it is possible to demand that his movement has been a step of his strategy but I have not seen it played. Besides, you should read books on the Mahatmas. It is in the last a perspective to ask to be more than the Mahatmas about his own weapon. And then consider the consequences of depending the Mahatmas' strategy. It is really follows that violence is strategic, this from the nature of things, that was more violence (and they will get more and more terrible and humanity will have consumed itself in one gigantic holocaust, and then Karma, having disposed of the first holocaust will get on to the next round to carry on her business of evidence), and that—what conclusion—selfishness is the only law to follow. Why then blame the British, why blame the Congress or National or Capitalism in any of the existing objects we want our nation again? You may say, it may all be very depressing but since the last incredible My attempt is simple. Consider a beautiful poem or a beautiful story or a beautiful painting, consider the way a loved woman, consider the growth of man's mind—would any of them be possible without the harmony of the world? Biology tells us that organisms have been provided the way of thinking in their various small animals, with greater adaptability, have not only survived, but progressed. Man himself is an example. What is civilization but the art of living together harmoniously? He has shown wonderful adaptability, but not enough. Nature has given him an extraordinary mind, compelling themselves upon his creation by the necessity of biological evolution, he has not bothered much about the matter, so that the mind has never realized and, now finally when he has the means of reducing the Chaos of his creation, he finds that his dreams have gone all wrong.

The real difference in the situation now from that in former times must not be lost sight of. There is hardly left at least the value of giving to a nation for the benefit of persons of a nation, and although feelings between one nation and another were growing thereby, each single nation lived at more or less of itself. And in the world there was still means of communication being less and certainly difficult, one was not too much of an evil. Communication has now completely changed now. The world is a more or less, and we have to extend the idea of cooperation from the nation to the world. Besides there is to be taken into consideration the character of a modern war. It is not only the feelings of antagonism are aroused between the people of one nation and another, but that so one who has been through the colored eyes of a war has even by the same man upon his become spiritually dead (not physically as well, but the one of his life). The human suffer and more surely, anyone who has the experience to play out—hardly the character of nations day after day cannot progress by humanity. Blood helps does help any business, they only distract men's mind and with them for national matters.

You say the Mahatmas are out of touch with the present day world. I, on the other hand, believe this is the appropriate moment for him and for India. Very likely the world today is in the throes of a new spiritual birth and what we see is but the growing pains. The present confusion towards before an act of creation and of change is a dancing star here the birth about it can enough. A message has to be avoided. The same has to wage a terrible struggle with his mind alone below the darkness of the work of art begins to manifest themselves. However, what that is manifested, a certain feeling of relief and ecstasy like this. Similarly we may find the influence of Gandhi (I mean of all Gandhi stands for) actually penetrating and, when shown are it their own, a certain illumination taking possession of humanity, bringing home the realization that it was never thus a loss, that the work of humanity has not ceased. The new spirit will have to be nourished in peace and brotherhood. India has it is her power to set the world on a new basis. It will be done somehow for us to win ourselves in self-defense. Let us not but when it comes to the remedy. That will be the extreme demand made upon our courage. We have when blessed with power for not creating in emotional discomfort. Let it not be said of us that we should have done the same in these regions. If we willingly and wholeheartedly and with perfect businessmen decide not to make any deliberate propaganda, we shall have supported the last rule on the way of our goal of nonviolence. We shall have come into our own. Our dream will then be consummated. But this would come about only by means of the wholesale change of sympathy that the Mahatmas' constructive propositions is intended to produce."

New Delhi 1-7-40

#### Just Published

The long-awaited narrative drama about the life of Gandhi's *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Autobiography) has now been published by the Narayana Press, Calcutta, Assam. This edition contains a few photographs which add to the value of the book. Price Rs. 6. Postage 10. An extra

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# NON-VIOLENCE AND PANIC

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following from a correspondent's letter will be read with interest and perhaps profit:

"In the last non-cooperation movement I suspended my practice and resumed it in the end of the year 1932. Now I am only a few years member of the Congress, a practicing lawyer at the bar, and a habitual winner of blood. Since the Allies have begun to suffer reverses there is a panic in the country. The people have become afraid of the consequences of the failure of the British. They apprehend civil war, communal riots, hanging arson, plunder and prostitution. You are the apostle of non-violence and have been preaching it for the last twenty years, if not more. So far as I can understand from your writings you preach non-violence of the strong, non-violence which is the outcome of love for all and even for your enemy and oppressor. According to you, if I have understood right, we should try to be non-violent to the enemy even when we have got the power to oppress him.

But, so far as the actual effect of your teaching is concerned, I find that in the majority of your followers the conception of non-violence is wanting. They are non-violent because they believe that, if they will use violence to fight a wrong-doer, they will perhaps live with the result that he will use greater violence which they may be unable to resist. This seems to be the background of their non-violence which is clearly an outcome of fear and ignorance, and not of love. For, the idea behind it is to save one's life and not to risk it for a higher cause. I may give one actual instance. During the non-cooperation days of 1931, there was a gentleman who is dead now. He was arrested and imprisoned under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. He was a peace-loving citizen and never political minded. I did not expect that he would ever risk his liberty for politics. He was surprised to find him in jail. I asked him how he dared to court imprisonment. He replied that he was afraid of greater harm outside the jail. His explanation was that the police authorities would lead to riots and disturbances everywhere, and he was sure that the Government would resort to firing. He thought that he would be safe inside the jail and escape death. I do not think that was ever poor wisdom in asking people to court imprisonment. In my opinion, if this is non-violence on account of any weakness in him, he would never have an oppressor.

In these days of panic and general nervousness I strongly believe that a few articles from your pen will dispel all fear from our young men and riden a spirit in those which will enable them to meet the present element of the anxiety. One article of this nature has already appeared in the last issue of *Harjain*. But I suggest that a series is necessary to bring courage and bravery in those who are physically quite fit but are panic-stricken. In my opinion, all fears of nervousness and panic will disappear in case you are kind enough to write a few

lines in *Harjain* on the subject every week. Our nervousness is encouraging the greater anxiety in. The moment it disappears, the panics and terrors of our society will also disappear."

The letter gives a correct picture of the weakness of the average Congressman. The non-violence which a discipline can never take as to our goal. It will have served us well, if we use it as a stepping-stone to the true non-violence of the strong—non-violence which will stand alone defying the combined might of the mightiest powers of the earth. Let all Congressmen ask themselves whether they have the courage to take up non-violence of the strong. Nothing is needed to teach that much-to-be-desired state beyond the will to risk all for the sake of one's cause. The non-violence of the person who went to jail to reveal a wrong has learned how and diagnosed the cause which he used as a shield to escape death. Fear-makers are made of nervous stuff. And, rarely, it is simple enough to see that, if we can bravely face death without flinching or even winking to kill, we have achieved the ability to win and keep Swaraj.

My correspondent asks me to write a series of articles in celebration of peace. Nothing that I can write will alone prevent panic. What is required is a simple more than precept. I have pointed out that the city-dwellers who are reported to have given way to panic were never non-violent even when they went to jail. Our city-dwellers made a headlong rush to the police during the civil resistance campaign launched by the Congress. They should now, by resolutely refusing to their posts, reveal the hearts of the traitor against the temptation to flee from fear or real danger. It is foolish to think that by doing one can trick the dread god of death. Let us treat him as a beneficent angel rather than as a dread god. We must face and welcome him whenever he comes. My host, Shree Chanchandras Shukla, tells me that two many months ago a whole matrimonial family which had converted paper into gold met death in a railway accident which overtook the train that was carrying the family and its precious gold. Vastly that gold was a death trap. Let us not be before the inevitable hour comes as it must come to every one of us, was it not so?

New Delhi, 1.7.40

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# HARIFAN

Editor: MANDEV DEBBI

16 Pages

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[ TWO ANNAS ]

## COMMENT

It is strange that what I would not do in response to the advice of a correspondent I have to do almost immediately after the refusal. I feel, for a very cogent reason. Since my main articles will necessarily be written in Gujarati, I would not like their unauthorised translation appearing in the Times. I have suffered much from translations where I used to write primarily in Gujarati and had no cause myself to produce simultaneous English translations. I have arranged this time for such translation in English and Hindustani. I would therefore ask editors and publishers kindly to regard English and Hindustani translations rather as refused. I have no doubt that my request will be respected.

On the train to Wadga, 2-7-46 M. K. G.

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)  
A Muslim's Dilemma

Q. We Muslims believe that the Prophet's life was wholly dominated by God and truly non-violence, though not in your sense of the term. He never waged an offensive war, and he had the tenderest regard for the feeling of others but when he was driven to a defensive war he drew his sword for a holy war, and he permits the use of the sword under conditions he has laid down. But your non-violence is different. You prescribe it under all conditions and circumstances. I do not think the Prophet would permit this. Whom are we to follow—you or the Prophet? If we follow you, we cease to be Muslims. If we follow the Prophet, we witness the Congress work in a kind of extreme non-violence. Will you solve this dilemma?

A. I can only answer that, since you notice the difference, you should unhesitatingly follow the Prophet, not me. Only I would like to say that I claim to have studied the life of the Prophet and the Quran as a detached student of religion. And I have come to the conclusion that the teaching of the Quran is essentially in favour of non-violence. Non-violence is better than violence it is said in the Quran. Non-violence is enjoined as a duty, violence is permitted as a necessity. I was refused to go in aid of you when the Prophet did I was born my conduct on what the great teachers of the earth said, not on what they did. Prophethood came not from the working of the sword, it came from years of working with

God to know the truth. These three previous years of the present life and you will have studied the Prophet of his prophethood. It is three years of his life which made Muhammad a prophet. A prophet's life, after he is acknowledged as one, cannot be our guide. Only prophets can watch the words of prophets. If a student can judge the words of a soldier, a hero of a warrior, an ordinary man may judge a prophet, much less make him. If I handled a sword as I should surely use it and not use the dagger and probably use the sword of death. How much more dangerous would it be then for me to misuse a prophet! When the Prophet was asked why, if he could far more than the prescribed times, the companions also could not, he promptly replied "God gives me spiritual food which enables even the bodily wants for you. He has ordered the Quran. You may not over eat." I quote from memory.

Ignorance the Root

Q. I am a teacher. I try to follow the principle of non-violence in dealing with my schoolboys and my own children. I am successful to a great extent in case of the school children, excepting a bully whom I would send to the Head Master. But in case of my own children I often feel like beating, though I repeatedly restrain myself. I find that there are really obedient to my words who unlike me, believe in the old saying "Spare the rod, spoil the child." What should I do with my own children? How should a non-violent Head Master deal with a bully?

A. I am sure that that you must not inflict corporal or other punishments on your children or pupils. You can punish yourself, if you like and are qualified, in order to make your children's or pupils' hearts. Many mothers are known to have corrected their children in this manner. I have on many occasions I had to deal with wild boys in South Africa, Madras, Christiana, Pondicherry and Poona. With one exception, I do not remember ever having punished a single boy. The non-violent method invariably succeeded. When a head was established between a teacher and his pupils, the latter will generally yield before their teacher's suffering for their sake. In the case of your "bully", if he has no respect for you, you can communicate with him by sending him away from your school. Non-violence does not compel you to keep in your school a student who does not carry on disciplinary rules.

### The Sermon on the Mount

Q. You often refer to the Sermon on the Mount. Do you believe in the verse: "If any man will take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also"? Does it not follow from the principle of non-resistance? If so, then do you advise the work and poor tenant of a village to submit gladly to the violent attachment of the remainder of his "cloak land" on treasury notes, which so often occurs in a village these days?

A. Yes, I would unhesitatingly advise tenants to evict the land belonging to a tyrant. This would be like giving your cloak also when only the coat is demanded. To take what is required may be profitable, to have more given to you is highly likely to be a burden. To evict a tyrant is to cause slow death. A tyrant wants his coat, he does not want his land. It would be a burden on him when he does not want it. When you give more to a robber than he needs, you spring a surprise on him, you give him a shock although avoidable. He has not been used to it. Historical tyrants are so used to show that such non-violent resistance has produced a wholesome effect upon evil-doers. These men cannot be done mechanically, they must come out of coercion and live at pity for the other man. Nor need you work out all the apparent implications of my answer. If you do, you will come across blind alleys. Suffice it to say that in the verse quoted by you Jesus preaches a persistence and telling manner the great doctrine of non-violent non-cooperation. Your non-cooperation with your opponent is violent when you give a blow for a blow, and is ineffective in the long run. Your non-cooperation is non-violent when you give your opponent all in the place of just what he needs. You have destroyed him once for all by your apparent cooperation, which is effect a complete non-cooperation. A girl who rather than give her living body to a would-be ravisher presents him with her corpse, confounds him and dies a heroine's death. Here is a stout heart in a frail body.

### Compulsory Prayer

Q. I am a worker in the English branch of the A. I. S. A. I believe in prayer but some of my colleagues do not. Shall they have got to join in prayer under the rules of the Society. They are afraid that, if they refuse, they would lose their job. My view is that the Society pays wages to its workers for their eight hours' work. What right has it to make upon including compulsory participation in prayer by their workers into the bargain?

A. There can be no such thing as compulsory prayer. A prayer to be prayer must be voluntary. But nowadays people sometimes know what about compulsion. Thus, if the rules of your institution require every inmate—paid or unpaid—to attend common prayer, in my opinion you are bound to attend it as you are to attend to

your other duties. Your joining the institution was a voluntary act. You knew or ought to have known its rules. Therefore your attendance at prayer I would regard as a voluntary act, even as I would treat your other work under the contract. If you joined the institution merely because of the wages it offered, you should have made it clear to the manager that you could not attend prayer. If in spite of your objection you entered the institution without stating your objection, you did a wrong thing for which you should make amends. This can be done in two ways—by joining the prayer with your heart in it, or by singing and paying such compensation as may be necessary for the loss caused by your sudden resignation. Everyone paying an insurance owes it to obey the rules framed by the management from time to time. When any new rule is found unknown, it is open to the objector to leave the insurance in accordance with the premiums made for compensation. But he may not destroy them whilst he is in it.

New Delhi, I. P. 40

### OCCASIONAL NOTES

#### An American Visitor

An American visitor, describing herself as representative of various women's associations and as a pacifist, came to Saragpur the other day on pouring rain and windy weather. She had not come by appointment, but the trouble she had taken excited her to come there with Gandhi. She had just three or four questions to ask, and she meant business.

"How can I best prepare in India to help in America towards a better understanding between Indians and Americans?" was her first question. The next one was "How could I contribute towards this end in America?"

Gandhi's answer covered both the questions. "One has to show in one's life one's country's best traits, and thus a few one can bring another country to a better understanding of one's own. If you do not show the best in you whilst you are here, you make America liable to be misunderstood and the same thing I would say about Indians in America. If one wants to interpret one country to another he or she has to discover the best in that country and place it before the other country. If you, the student, are nothing good in the life here, then you certainly are not the best person to interpret India to America. In America you find a Miss Mayo bringing out all the evil from the Indian system. You will understand her, and so against one colony trained by a hurry or a pad or an increased shopping you will acquire many institutions gathered out of a sympathetic understanding and knock the business out of that colony."

"What can people Americans do to help the world situation?"

"It is a difficult question. If you mean whether Americans in India, they can do serious harm. But in America they should, I suppose, be able to do a great deal. But it is a question really outside my depth, and I want not say anything more about it."

"I do a lot of writing and speaking, especially about women. Have you any message to give to American women?"

"Not as a message. I can throw out a suggestion and, if it appeals to you, you can develop it. Women can play a most important part in the work of justice. She should refuse to be swept off her feet and so master man's language and refuse to show herself and him to be identified with anything connected with war. For she must know that she can represent peace more than war. She is made for the demonstration and celebration of that silent force which is not less effective because it is silent, but the more effective because it is silent."

#### Princes and the Present Crisis

A few friends, who came from the Princes' India, drew a hard picture of the state of things there—the great and the necessary and the impending anarchy. What are the Princes to do?

Brady put Gandhi's answer thus: "They should cease to be Princes and become servants of the people." He developed the answer in the course of his conversation.

"They will have to descend from their pedestal and seek the co-operation of their people. If they do so they need not use force at all to put down the forces of disorder. The Congress does not want to do away with the Princes, but they are seeking co-operation in bringing about peace and consentment to their State."

"They will have to be genuine servants of the people. When they do so, no one will think of dismissing them. If they are the servants and the people are the masters, why should the masters do away with the servants? You say there are a number of smaller Princes today who are anxious to make up with the Congress. If they are, what prevents them from doing the most elementary things?"

"They," said the interviewers, "want to do certain things, but they are on the one hand afraid of the Paramount Power and on the other afraid of the people. Some kind of fear seems to have seized them that the people will want to get off old scores."

"Both these fears are groundless. If they will do justice, I can scarcely think of the people wanting to get off old scores. Our people are not of a vengeful nature in the ruler of Anand's afraid of any rebellion in his State? He is not, for whom will they rebel against when they know that he has dreamed himself of practically all power? If they want to rebel, I think he is capable of saying to them, 'Come and take charge of my palace, I shall

be content to do and war among the powers of you.' Apparently, the son of the Chief of Anand, is showing away for the people as no servant of the State does."

"But the fact is that the people have to be convinced of their bona fides. Let them do two things. One is that they have to purely show lives and reform themselves to secure sympathy. The billions amounts they spend on themselves are unnecessary. I cannot understand how they can have the heart to squander the people's money in noxious living, when thousands of their people cannot get a square meal a day. Why should they not be content with two or three hundred rupees a month? But my point is this. Let them take what the people will give them. Their privy purse must be visible. No reforms and no budgets can have any value unless the people have the fullest right to say how much their ruler will take for himself. A new age has already begun, and no ruler can conceivably be tolerated whose life does not correspond largely with the life of his people and who does not identify himself with them."

"That is one thing. The other thing is that their policies will have to be above board and therefore independent of them. I cannot say today with confidence that in any State the policies are really independent. And there must be complete and hearty."

"These, then, are the first steps in the way of reform. Their fear of the Paramount Power is groundless. That Power does not openly use or do anything to interfere with how this reform. Whenever they have quarrelled they have made some draw in the particular Prince's character as enemy. The deduction is that Princes should be, like Gandhi was, above suspicion. As for the Congress, let them know that it is ever ready to come to an understanding with them. The Congress is essentially a non-violent organisation. Let the Princes voluntarily go under the authority of their people and the Congress will help them. If they do not do so, there are lions ahead. The Congress, let me repeat, is not out to destroy the Princes, unless it be that they do not need their wars and destroy themselves. Even if there is one Prince who will be content to be the servant of the people, the Congress will stand by him."

On the train to Saml, 27-6-40

M. D.

#### Some Books by Gandhi

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## WHAT LED TO THE DECISION

### A Historical Retrospect 14 Years

Gooding's demand to be responsible no longer to guide the deliberations and policy of the Congress may have come upon the members of the Working Committee and upon the country with a certain amount of suddenness. But it was the natural conclusion of a series of events since 1946—as may I say since 1935? For his warning to the people first came to be accepted after the non-violence in Madras and Ahmedabad. He shocked his followers and aroused his critics by proclaiming that in placing the remedy of civil disobedience in the hands of people who had not learnt the discipline to listen and to obey he had been guilty of a Himalayan blunder. Then came Chauri Chaura and the momentous Bardoli decision regarding satyagraha nonviolently. This gave the followers an even greater shock than that given by the "Himalayan blunder." But Gooding was adamant. He knew that the country would realize the wisdom of the decision in course of time, and that it would be able to prepare itself for another struggle. It took the country six or seven years—years punctuated by communal rioting and counteractive work—to develop non-violent strength to hand defiance against the Government. We had learnt the virtues of non-violence, but it had with most of us a limited meaning and content. And yet it seemed to breathe to a certain amount of success. Then came more organized repression on behalf of the Government, our limited non-violence proved a poor match for it, and with that came the third milestone on the march to non-violence—I mean the Patna decision of 1954 regarding civil disobedience and confined it only to himself.

Throughout the period of fourteen years he belonged to the Congress, he was a member of it, he attended meetings of the A. I. C. C. and of the Working Committee, and actively participated in the deliberations. But the Patna decision had set him shaking. Always anxious to try the means principally on himself, he had begun to discover that the arrest in the growth of the Congress and the corruption in its ranks was due to the fact that the Congress "had degenerated into an organization dominated by one personality, and that is it there was no free play of ideas." There were real differences between him and the Congressmen, but his personality, he felt, had acted like an anvil on them and prevented their self-expression. That was unconsciously encouraging hypocrisy and a subtle form of violence. Kinds and the spinning wheel were there on the Congress programme, "yet only a few Congressmen have a living link with the India-wide power of the wheel." And as for non-violence, as he said in his historic statement issued in September 1954, "after fourteen years of trial it still remains a policy with the majority of Congressmen, whereas it is a fundamental creed with me. That Congressman

do not still regard non-violence as a creed is no fault of theirs. It is undoubtedly my faulty persistence, and will come as faulty persistence, that are responsible for this failure. I have no consciousness of faulty persistence or obstinacy, but it is the only possible inference from the fact that it has not yet become an accepted part of the lives of Congressmen." We had said lip-service to non-violence, and even that non-violence was not of the strong bag of the work. "If we were non-violent through and through, our non-violence would have been self-evident. Not were we able to show to the members that we had greater faith in our non-violence than they in their violence." The argument led ultimately to the conclusion that he should leave the Congress organization as he was convinced that by being outside he would serve the Congress and the country better than by being in it. That was the fourth milestone—the step to withdraw from the Congress being fully dictated by the idea of ending the experiment of non-violence in thought, word and deed more intense. For this experiment," he said, "I need complete detachment and absolute freedom of action. I am only worth this through non-violence, and in no other way, and the freedom of my country, as of the world, is surely included in the search for truth. I cannot suspend that search for anything in this world or another." The wisdom of the decision, which was so to my mind by the Bombay Congress, was proved by a very simple test. The amendment suggested the substitution of the words "peaceful and non-violent" for "peaceful and legitimate" was that simple test. The amendment was thrown out by the members of the A. I. C. C. and proved clearly the wisdom of the faith of the bulk of Congressmen in truth and non-violence.

1934—39

He joined from the Congress in October 1934 and there himself with undivided zeal and vigor into the only kind of work that was an expression of non-violence—service and development of village industries, village service, education through home schools and firing up one's shade in a village which offered in a nutshell all the problems of an Indian village. But the movement was far from giving him the "complete detachment and absolute freedom" of action that he was looking for. For three years he had a certain amount of respect, but the demand to accept office, asked by the Congress on his behalf, drew him once again into active leadership.

Every step, throughout the period of fourteen or fifteen years, had been for him an acceptance in the pursuit of truth and non-violence, and his advice to the Congress to take up the burden of office acceptance was another such experiment. The office acceptance was not intended to work the Act of 1935 anyhow, "in the prosecution by the Congress of its goal of



Complete independence, it is a serious attempt on the one hand to avoid a bloody revolution and on the other to avoid mass civil disobedience on a scale hitherto not attempted." He declined to have any authority over the members or to have any power to issue instructions to them, but "in matters relating to the struggle for Swaraj through non-violent action, I do claim special contribution. For no other organisation has a special meaning even in terms of the Congress manifesto and resolution." The Congress was not only to replace an alien Government, but an alien method of government. It was to rule, he made it clear in the very beginning, "not through the police backed by the military but through its moral authority based upon the greatest goodwill of the people. It will rule not in virtue of authority derived from a superior moral power but in virtue of the service of the people whom it seeks to represent in every one of its actions."

That was said in August 1937. Since then every pronouncement of his has been a confirmation on the principle of action laid down in the very beginning. Trouble in the Shikhar Settlement of "Diamond Tribes" and those against Akmalabad and Cawnpore gave him the first occasion to sound a warning. "Do we really believe in truth and non-violence, in sustained work and discipline, in the efficacy of the four-fold constructive programme? If we are not sure of our own chosen aims, we need not wonder, if one fine morning we discover that we had committed a grave blunder in embarking upon other enterprises. My conscience is as in the great moment in the direction of office acceptance is quite clear. I advised it on the supposition that the Congressmen as a whole were moved not only on the part but also on the truthful and non-violent means."

In 1938 came further mass agitations and they gave Gandhi the opportunity of making the Congress position further clear. The members were to rule by moral authority based on the greatest goodwill of the people, but what was the meaning of that goodwill? The Congress claimed to represent the whole of India, not only the so-called Congressmen—to represent meaning to serve these masses. And in that sense it had to serve the interests of non-Congressmen even better than those of Congressmen, if it was to be true to its creed of non-violence. "It should represent even those who are hostile to it and who will even crush it if they can. Not until we make good that claim shall we be in a position to displace the British Government and function as an independent nation. These words were uttered two years ago, but it means as though they were uttered yesterday. The bulk of the Muslims and others belong to the non-Congressmen's camp. Have we the power—the non-violent power—to represent them today? If we have, we can function as an independent nation in spite of Britain."

But to proceed. The issue in some of the crises of the U. P. and the steps taken by the Congress ministry to quell them made Gandhi positively ask the question: Is Congress non-violence non-violence of the weak and the helpless or of the strong and the powerful? "If it is the former, it will never take us to our goal, and if long protracted may even render us for ever unfit for self-government. If the Congress non-violence does not come out of real strength, it would be lost and hence for the Congress to make such a declaration and make the necessary changes in its behaviour. To the extent that the Congress ministries have been obliged to make use of the police and the military, to that extent in my opinion we must atone our failure."

The end had already begun to get impatient. How long would this experiment last, how long could he continue to give his patience if it was ultimately to be futile? We discover the impatience of the soul in numerous utterances of those days. To some co-workers he said "I am ashamed that our ministers had to call to them and the police and the military. I am ashamed that they had to use the language that they did in reply to the Opposition speeches. I feel as if the Congress had lost and the British had won. Why does our non-violence fail on such occasions? Is it the non-violence of the weak? Even the greatest should not move on from our faith and make us say 'We will send them to the gallows or shoot them down.' They too are our countrymen. If they will kill us, we will allow them to do so. You cannot in quiet organised violence the non-violence of the weak, but the non-violence which the bravest alone can assume. We have, you will say, been sufficiently non-violent. We were non-violent during the civil disobedience campaign, we received both blows and wounds. My reply is that we did, but not sufficiently. We could not get independence at the end of the Dandi March, as one was not the unadorned non-violence of the bravest."

The question of external aggression has cropped up just now, but the question of internal unrest was already there as alive as today. Had we the strength then to say so to the governors, "Kill us, we will not kill you"? We had not. But Gandhi lived in the hope that we should have that strength soon. "Suffering," he said to the Gandhi Seva Sangh people at Delhi, on the 25th of March 1938, "the Viceroy wrote to invite the President of the Congress to meet him and so make the Congress normal, do you think he would have the strength to say, 'The Congress is capable of taking charge of the administration, the British may go.' Do you think we could tell him that we should be able to do without the police and the military, that we should be able to come to terms with the Proprietors, the Zamindars and the Moneylenders? I am afraid we could not honestly say we

about it. I am going to meet with some. And I am going to participate in our movement. I believe we need do these things.

But if the movement had in the middle of 1938, it is true in the middle of 1940 someone asked Gandhi the other day "You think we have not the non-violence of the brave. Well then, I ask you what would you do if independence were to be offered to you today? Would you say No?"

He said "I would say No, I am doing an almost career to an almost certain. The answer is always for independence is not going to be offered, because we are not ready. If we were ready it would be there without our asking it."

But I am anticipating events. There was importance in the work but he was patient with the people. He was staying with the greatest attempt with the people. In spite of our having accepted the volunteer's pledge for 17 years we have not developed the tremendous strength that such acceptance of solemn vows. The reason is that we have not realized, we have not labored to organize such a non-violent army. If we cannot do so if we cannot carry that pledge, it would be well to reconsider our position. The tragedy is that the pledge is still in existence but it exists on paper. If we had on a sufficient scale with a non-violent army as the pledge contemplates, we should not have had these riots, and if there had been, we would have quelled the riots as unaided ourselves in the attempt. We have heard of only one man who met his death. I believe his self-sacrifice. But my heart would have melted with joy if there had been several Gopals.

"If" he said in an attitude was in that mood. "The Congress non-violence is mainly confined to themselves from wanting physical force to the British officials and their dependents such non-violence can carry forward as independence it is bound to be wanted in the final hour. Indeed we shall find it to be worthless, if not positively harmful, long before the final hour is reached." And then the solemn warning: "If we find that we shall not be able to discipline the British power without a violent struggle, the Congress must say to the nation and prepare accordingly. We must do what is bound to do all the world over — follow what we can believe as true. If that is to be our creed, or policy, we have lost previous generations' faith. But it is never too late to learn and mend."

The long train of the Frontier Province that followed were with the sole purpose of preparing the promised field for the non-violence of the future.

And it was not that the movement wholly failed.

What's done we partly may complete  
But all that's missed

It will never be forgotten that the history of the war of 1947-1948, in the eight provinces, we would find that they had some strands of non-violence in their midst. But God holds Himself in many ways. If the situation had continued, would they have been ultimately forced waiting? May it not have been foretold that the situation caused by the war came to a profound and compelled the movement to change? Who shall say? But again I am anticipating events.

#### A Narrow Escape

The next bad night came with the international crisis of September 1938 and the rape of Czechoslovakia. But the desired peace at Munich saved us. The Working Committee sat and deliberated for some days, but the next in the shape of war did not come. Gandhi played the implications of non-violence before the Working Committee in a manner that could not be mistaken and the Working Committee was in unanimous with him that he was in a position to proceed. "The Working Committee had almost come to the conclusion that a would deny itself the opportunity of striking a blow with England, but would make no contribution to the world peace, to the defense of Czechoslovakia and to India's freedom by declaring to the world by an action that the way to peace with Britain did not lie through mutual slaughter of the innocent, but that it lay only and truly through the practice of organized non-violence even unto death."

And in the course of a private conversation he said words which had a prophetic ring, as far as far as he himself was concerned.

"You may not wonder that whatever happens there will be no surrender by the Government. For me, even if I stand alone, there is no participation in the war even if the Government should surrender the whole control to the Congress. Who would have thought antecedents to be a personal policy fifty years ago? Who would have imagined in this country, thirty years ago, that thousands of innocent men, women and children would be ready willingly to march to prison? The weapon of ahimsa does not need weapons or explosives to build it, bands of courage can use and have used it before this war began. At my late friend's mention of the Working Committee did express their readiness to put their names on the roll. That was more than I was prepared for."

But we were not weighed, and our houses remained silent. At any rate we did not the labor our death. What the Committee would have done if the crisis had actually come it is difficult to say, but as we have seen it filled Gandhi with great hope.

#### The Crisis

Exactly a year after that the crisis was upon us. In that first hour of war, the Congress was weighed and not found wanting. It did not mix the Working Committee long to meet us

majority on the Congress committee in 1931. Gandhiji feared a sign of retreat. The feeling that frequently troubled him caused him to say, "If the Congress had accepted his advice, in the initial stage, of offering unconditional co-operation or at least the British Government had acceded to the Congress demand for a declaration and the Congress had offered co-operation in response, the position for Gandhiji would have been the same. For the co-operation he had contemplated was moral co-operation and no other. But who knows? It may be that even there there has been considerable intervention. If the Working Committee had then taken the matter—the very honest stand taken—then it has taken now, the difficulty both for the Committee and for Gandhiji would have been immense, the situation more delicate. But as I have said God intervened."

The crisis in the shape of the collapse of one European nation after another in quick succession came soon too soon. Gandhiji had waited in patience so long, trying to wear a difficult course through rocks and breakers. He had valiantly crossed the position of the Generalissimo. Was it worth it? The speeches at the Ramgarh Congress were a matter of the creation of his soul. In private he had repeated the Working Committee and the Muslims to release him of the position. It was simply with a view to being able to make greater service to the Congress. "I am putting upon myself an undue strain, but as it is not yet a strain on my conscience, I shall continue to serve you, if you will insist on my doing so. But it is a terrible strain, and I would suggest you to free me. I should then pursue my experiment of ahimsa with absolute freedom." I am quoting from memory, but that was the substance of his remark to the Working Committee. And when they did not release him he poured out the depths of his soul in the two speeches at Ramgarh.

But the main importance concerned. Would the Working Committee then or could believe the content given? Perhaps they were taken by surprise but not Gandhiji. The European situation had for him a lesson that was immeasurably dear. "I like me with the unique non-violence," he said. "I cannot think of a better thing to offer to Britain and the defeated nations than non-violence. It is impossible for me to withdraw over the death of Hitler as of those who fought as failed to fight him. There is nothing to choose between the victors of Hitler and the defeat of others. But I have no doubt in my mind that even a patched-up non-violent army would take the word out of Hitler's mouth. I need not have his aeroplane, tanks, etc. He need not destroy our homes. Our non-violent army would welcome him, and it may be that he would not dare to resist. I know that this may be a dream. But I cannot help the principle of a lifetime on which our my dependence of the past twenty years. If we have not the non-violent enough

in the time to fight against and against him, it is not our duty to resist him as a violent man, but as a strong, non-violent in the spirit of our own hearts."

The Working Committee did some better thinking in the days. There was the door of non-resistance for them. The logic of Gandhiji's proposition was reasonable, but could they go with those propositions to the people? Were they so thoroughly saturated themselves with the spirit of non-violence of the brave to be able to carry conversion to the people? Gandhiji even drafted a resolution for them. But first as they might have it, surely as they felt the weight of having to do without his leadership and his advice, they could not be untrue to themselves. "We feel we could not secure your personal work our mind and heart and soul, and we feel we should not sacrifice you," they said to him in effect. "And if that is so why should we accept an unreasonable position merely to retain your conversion? It would be a fraud on ourselves and others."

But if they could not be untrue to themselves, neither could Gandhiji be untrue to himself. He said to them: "I must be left free for my self-expression. I must be free to pursue my march, and I know you will believe me when I say that I am only to be of more effective service to the Congress, to you and the nation. Of course I shall be available when you want me. But I can no longer identify myself with the direction of your policy and programme. You will, therefore, my dear lot to do without me and have your meetings in future not in Wardha but elsewhere."

It was odd of old to be a Teacher to his disciples. "Ye are the salt of the earth but if the salt have lost his savor, wherewith shall it be salted?" Had those who he as have been "the salt of the earth" lost their savor? One cannot say. But there were those words also uttered of old. "Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid. And they may yet be these lights in the meanwhile Gandhiji went and gave an address. "I should work single-handed in England; but that what I feel to make dear to my countrymen, my policy shall be dear to them some day of itself or, if God will, a through some apostle. He may put in my mouth, or some apostle work which He may prompt me to do." These words were uttered in 1934, but they might have been uttered only the other day.

New Delhi, 1-7-40

M. D.

#### *Autobiography*

The long awaited one-volume chapter edition of Gandhiji's *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Autobiography) has now been published by the Narayan Press, Calcutta, Unpublished. The edition contains a few photographs which add to the value of the book. Price Rs. 4. Postage 20 Ag. extra.

Available at Marjorie College—Page 4.

## Harijan

July 13

1940

### "A CRY IN THE WILDERNESS"?

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

અસહ્યકારી એ એ અસહ્યકારી જી :

અસહ્યકારી એ એ અસહ્યકારી જી :

"With heads spread I cry:

(That none listens to me!)

Dharma' pehla Bhai Anand' and Kanch'

Why is fast Dharma not observed?"

Rajaji Arey no too way back from Delhi and a Spang van to me at Delhi on Saturday. Whether we work together or none to be weekend or opposite directions, his love for me was, and so he never misses an opportunity to look in whenever I may be. He expresses himself freely before me, and often shares with me a view or two from his considerable store. During his Delhi visit he sympathized with me for my having had to sever my connection with the Congress, but he sadly comprehended me. "They should, I think, leave you in peace," he said, "and let you go your way. I said your speed up every Dharma. It will fall on deaf ears. But that does not matter to you. You would be telling them what you feel to be their Dharma (Duty). But it is not enough that they will not listen to you—unless that the Congress would not let them to you at the critical moment. When even sage Vyasa failed to make himself heard, how should others like him hear? He had to conclude his great Epic—Mahabharata—with a verse which reveals the cry of his soul." With this he cited the verse I have quoted at the head of this article. He thereby comprehended my faith, and also showed how difficult was the way I had chosen.

And yet it has never seemed to me as difficult as it is imagined to be. Though the leader's way and mine seem to diverge widely, it does not mean that our hearts also diverge. It was in my power to say him from meeting him me. But we did not seem to be proper to do so. And it would have been equally wrong to write with Rajaji on what he freely regarded as his dear duty toward freedom, of demanding Rajaji I encouraged him to follow his course. It was my clear duty to do so. If I have the power to carry my experience of shame to success in an apparently new field, if my faith endures, and if I am able to thinking that the masses are fundamentally non-violent, Rajaji and the Sardar will again be with me as before.

What are these apparently new fields for the operations of non-violence? Those who have followed the Working Committee's resolutions and writings at Haripur are now familiar with

these. Non-violence in its operation against continued authority is one field. We have reserved this up to now with a fair amount of success, and I have always described it as the non-violence of the weak. This non-violence may be said to have come to its end with Congressmen.

The other field is the matter of shame in internal disturbances.—Hindu-Muslim riots and the like. We have not been able to show visible success in the removal of shame in this field. What then should the Congressmen do when internal shame is so persistent? Will they merely blow for blow, or will they cheerfully bend their heads to success without blow? The answer to this is not so easy as we might think. Instead of going into the numerous I should say that Congressmen should try to save the situation by laying down their heads, not by taking war. He who meets death without striking a blow fails to his duty even per cent. The result is in God's hands.

But it is clear that this non-violence is not the non-violence of the weak. It does not give us the joy of self-sacrifice. One can have that joy and also move thereby the ill-will one harbours as his basis against the Government. One can also co-operate with the Government. But where wounds, knives, bullets and stones are freely used, what is a man to do non-violently? Is it possible for one to remove these deadly knives with ill-will in one's heart? It is clear that it is impossible to do so, unless one is saturated with charity. It is only he who feels one with his opponent that can remove his knives as though they were so many flowers. Even our such men, if God favours him, can do the work of a thousand if weapons and force—moral courage—of the highest type.

The man or woman who can display this non-violence of the brave can easily stand against repeated violence. This is the third field for the exercise of non-violence. The Congress Working Committee were of opinion that, while it might be possible for us to remove shame in internal disturbances, India has not the strength to remove shame against the invasion of a foreign foe. This their want of faith has destroyed me. I do not believe that the untrained millions of India cannot remove shame with success in this wide field. It is for Congressmen to remove the Sardar, whose faith in shame of the wrong law for the moment been shaken, that shame is the only weapon that can tear India in the fields mentioned. Let us not ask, "But what about the moral issue in India?" For me that is all the more reason why Congressmen should train themselves to defend their country with a non-violent arm. This is an entirely new experience. But who, save the Congress, is to try it?—the Congress which has tried successfully in one field? It is my unshakable faith that, if we have a sufficient number of non-violent soldiers, we are sure to succeed even in this new field.

ment from the evils of the machine were of course of essence.

I am therefore hoping that every Congress Conference—men and women—will declare their adherence to shame and reassure the Sankar that they will never resort to violence. Even if there is some hope of success in the course of violence, they will not prefer it to the course of non-violence. We are sure to learn by our mistakes. "We fell to rise, are baffled to fight better, sleep to wake."

On the train to Wardha, 7-3-40

(Transcribed from Gujarati)

## THE DELHI RESOLUTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have just seen the news that the Working Committee's fearful resolution has been referred to the Press. It was passed in my presence, but I wanted to say nothing before it was actually referred for publication. It will be a profound mistake to suppose that the members passed the five solid days in wrangling. They had to discharge a heavy responsibility. Though typically the resolution is no departure from the Rangoon resolution, it is an undoubted departure from its spirit. The latter often remains constant, the spirit changes. Up to now for one reason or another the Congress policy was: No participation in the war except for the moral influence that the Congress can exercise if the real demand was satisfied of Britain's own free will. Such was not the position of all the members of the Working Committee. Hence at the critical moment every member had to make up his or her mind independently of the rest. The five days were days of continuous heart-searching. I had produced a draft resolution which almost all thought was the best, if they could bring to bear a living belief in non-violence through and through, or if they could truthfully say that such was the belief of their constituents. Some had neither and some had individually the required faith. Only Kisan Sahab was clear as far as his own faith and that of his beloved Kshatriya Kshatriyas were concerned. So he had decided even after the last Wardha resolution that he had no place in the Congress. He had a special mission and a special duty to his followers. So the Working Committee shrewdly permitted him to retire from the Congress. By retiring he saved the Congress all the more even as I hope to do. Who knows that those of us, who were may not be able to give our comrades the faith they seek, for the moment, to have lost?

Rajagopal was the framers of the resolution. He was as certain of his position as I was of mine. His persistence, courage and water-bombing language has converted Sankar Patel was his greatest prize. He would not have even thought of breaking up his resolution if I had chosen to prevent him. But I give my comrades the same credit for persistence and self-confidence

that I claim for myself. I had long known that we were drifting away from each other in our outlook upon the political problems that lay on. He will not allow me to say that he is a departure from shame. He claims that his very shame has led him to the point which culminated in his resolution. He thinks that I suffer from shame owing to too much brooding on shame. He almost thinks that my vision is blurred. It was to see my returned the compromise though half joking I said, I have no proof, save my faith, to question his counter faith. That is evidently absurd. I could not carry the Committee with me at Wardha and so I got my absolute. I at once saw as clear as daylight that, if my presence was not acceptable, Rajagopal was the only real alternative. I therefore encouraged him to persist in his effort, though all the while I held him on by hopelessly in the wrong. And by exemplary patience, skill and consideration towards his opponents he got a good majority, five remaining neutral. I had a fearful moment. Generally such resolutions are not carried by the majority vote. But at this juncture when I was not to be exposed I advised that Rajagopal's resolution should be enforced. And so at the last moment the Committee decided that the resolution should go forth to the world.

It was necessary for the public to have this background to the tremendous step the Committee have taken for good or ill. Those Congressmen who have a living faith in the non-violence of the wrong will naturally shudder. For the moment, however, what they can do is wholly irrelevant. Rajagopal's resolution represents the considered policy of the Congress. Non-Congressmen, who were eager for the Congress to be free of our religious bias to adopt a purely political attitude, should welcome the resolution and support it wholeheartedly. So should the Muslim League, and even the Hindus who think of India more than their principles.

The British Government have to make their choice: Independence they cannot withhold unless their wisdom is as much blotted as Rajagopal's that man is. If Independence is compromised, the acceptance of the other part of the resolution follows as a matter of course. The question is: do they want to impose help from India by virtue of their reluctance over India, or will they have the help that a free and independent India can give? My individual advice has already gone. My help always has been promised. Acceptance of that advice can lay evidence that beyond. But if they cannot accept it, I advise, as a disappointed but staunch friend, that the British Government should not reject the hand of friendship offered by the Congress.

Seagram, 5-7-40

Mahatma Gandhi

By S. Raghavachari, (New Edition) Rs. 1-20-0.  
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## MORE ABOUT HANDICRAFTS

### A Rock Bottom Query

Some time back Gaudin had an interesting discussion with a group of noted economists. The theme of discussion was, is handicraft economical as compared to well cloth? Incidentally they also covered the subject of handicrafts. The view of the economist friends was that hand and handicraft were all right as a means for providing industrial relief to the unemployed in the present stage of India's transition, and as such destined to be supported but they would not be given a central place in national planning. It would be wrong in principle, they held, to prop up inherently 'economically inefficient', as they considered hand and most other handicrafts to be, in order to make them compete with machine products in the detriment of the living and thereby curtail the productive capacity of the country. Gaudin's contention was that it was the factory product that was today being subsidised by society in a number of ways at the expense of handicrafts. For instance, the factory system depended for its success on cheap railway transport, special managerial facilities, assistance and collaboration of a number of collateral key industries, ample banked and numerous facilities, a high level of general technical education to ensure an unending and plentiful supply of specialised and efficient labour. All these meant an enormous cost. Handicraft did not struggle as the neo-conservative tendencies of life which resulted from it, i. e. quick travelling, motor cars, the cinema, radio, electric lights, and a thousand and one things provided by what Henry Chase has called "the tops of modernness" and what the up-level intellectual, who today makes our social decisions, wants. The handicrafts on the other hand, depend for their success on a different system of economics. If a recommended society provided these, no power on earth would be able to compete with handicrafts. But then such a society shall have to be content with the simple joys and necessities which the community provides and not dream of a utopia in which all the citizens would be equipped with the latest 'modern conveniences'. The so-called economical character of factory production as compared to handicrafts production today is not an inherent quality, but only a conferred attribute depending on the standard of values which society has adopted as consistent desirable to adopt. The only sustainable and rock bottom test of whether an occupation or method of production is economical or otherwise, is how far it satisfies life's vital needs, what the making of it means to the producer.

### Value of Handicrafts

Mr. E. H. Sayer examines the case for handicrafts from this standpoint in his *Russell Foundation volume Handicrafts of Eastern Highlands*, a copy of which he has sent to Gaudin. The *Russell Sage Foundation* was established in 1897 by Mr. Russell Sage "for the improvement

of social and living conditions in the United States of America." In carrying out its purpose, the Foundation maintains a staff which, among other duties conducts study of social conditions, undertaken by the General Director, "where new education, an analysis and interpretation were necessary, in order to formulate and advance practicable measures aimed at improvement." From time to time the foundation publishes the results of these studies in book or pamphlet form.

In the present volume the author furnishes some valuable testimony as to the aesthetic, educational, therapeutic and recreational value of handicrafts. The testimony is all the more valuable since it comes from the representative of a nation that has travelled further on the road to mechanisation than any other, and therefore bears the hall-mark of experience. "To a handicrafts worker," observes Mr. Sayer in the introduction to his book "his work will help him not only to preserve much of the beauty of the world about him, but what a man's greatest privilege to identify himself with it. Each handicraft has its own special crowd, but there are a few commonplaces which all handicrafts bring to him who works at his open window." First, and perhaps greatest of these, is the opportunity for self-expression which much of life's work with its modern advancement does not give. Another commonplace is a growing appreciation of beauty in the things of everyday life. The effort to make a useful object pleasant to the eye or touch gives the craftsman "an understanding of the age-long struggle to borrow no degree of duty on that quality that makes their ownership one of life's little events. And recognizing beauty in things that he had not noticed before or looking at had regarded as commonplace, he finds himself a just person; with those who have designed them and with all others who enjoy them. The craftsman brings him into close touch with nature "the source of all the arts."

"The handicraft which he holds a house or the small block on which he carries a design, opens his window upon the trees of grove and forest, through morning he sees the clouds, the sun and the colour fields, or through his poetry he comes to know the many days and hours from which centuries, generations or building bricks are formed."

From such personal experience the worker in handicrafts will wish to share the privileges which have meant so much to him, and he will ask him self if there are not things ways by which the sense of beauty could be extended from the narrow narrow fields of art to the broader field of human existence. And he comes to see that to ask the question is in part to answer it.

He begins to have a share in the larger world. Recalling experiences in which some of the loveliest words have been done beautifully, it becomes clear to him that it is not what we do that determines a work of art but the manner in which it is done. An object of art may be a painting, an carving, a sculpture in stone, but it may also be a

with 'small' and beautiful hand-crafts, is not of hand-craft nature passed' (1) (p. 100) is wrong, that 'we must not put more of hand-crafting that really is in the hand-crafting as goods than hand-crafts. These means are the only way to serve the market of goods of hand-crafts place it is to serve.

### Handicrafts Movement

Because of his insight into this demand, Harrison which is the very end of handicrafts production the market is able to point out the danger of engineering handicrafts production on orthodox economic and business principles. His conclusions are sets of proposals "assembly made to forward the interests of the Handicrafts handicraftsmen which would quite differently from what has been intended."

The first one of these is the market, the speed of production by installing modern machinery. "The advice to apply power to handicrafts and to use other machinery," observes Mr. Harrison.

It is natural and gives out of the spinning wheel to save time for other things and in recent years, he would care to cut down the cost of production." But this proposal involves a fallacy. "Time is a relative matter and is quite a different thing in parts of the Highlands where the image of living and working differs from anything that modern industry and urban life know. Good tools, simple machinery, cheap and practical power will be a loss to the Highlander if gradually introduced on a basis that he can afford and become accustomed to and if they shall not bring the skill and maintain the quality of his product." But speed is neither his first nor is most want he most pressing need. To make time for good work is better than to save it for working less expertly. The argument applies mainly valuable in India where handloom weaving and village handicrafts are often sought to be recognized by the Department of Industries, if what was aimed at was to transplant machine weaving mills and factories into the villages where the competition of mass production comes much. No wonder they refuse to take one or show rivalry.

The other fallacies mentioned by Mr. Harrison are:

2. Take the work out of homes and establish centres where producing and working conditions can be controlled.

The principle of working for a uniform product is in many cases desirable. "But there is a strong feeling," remarks Mr. Harrison, "among those who have participated in the handicrafts revival that the Swedish industries must remain in the large and not be turned into small factories. Moreover, 'as good hand-weaving as has ever been done in the industries has been done in the home looms, and it is considered that there is no work so difficult that it cannot be produced as well there as in a weaved centre, and at a lower cost.' Whatever, therefore, is done to finance and develop new and special workshops, concludes the author, should not take away

from the hand-craft worker the advantage which he derives, adding up in time, work by making by them.

3. Reduce quantity through department and other industrial stores.

This is wrong as it demands standardization of products and a heavy overhead charge on the cost of production. Under the present circumstances, therefore, it is highly doubtful whether the regular channels of trade engaged to respond to mass production can be utilized to market handicraft to any great extent.

4. Insist efficiency cost systems and make only articles that can be sold at a profit.

This won't do, as actually it is not easy to establish a handicraft worker's cost because there are few standards by which it can be measured, and also because when time schedules are not operative in the movement. The history of handicrafts in the Southern Highlands presents many an instance where had efficiency systems of measurement been insisted on, the nearest accusations would have been copied in the very beginning.

5. Employ expert designers and use only their designs.

This again is fallacious. While co-operation and co-ordination between trained designers and workers who are to execute their designs can be helpful, sole dependence of "the former will discourage new expression in various kinds of work" which is the end of handicrafts production and the secret of its vitality.

6. And above all produce standard articles and eliminate wastefulness, close the craftsmen from the work.

To do so is to lose sight of the fact that producing a handicraft is not merely an economic—a method of production—but a way of life. A handicraftsman lives as much by his work as by what he produces and earns. Anything that impairs the life-giving quality of a handicraft chokes the very spring of its vitality.

Designs 25-4-40

Portland

### Congress Membership and Non-violence

A *Panama Congressman* writes: "Can those who openly declare that they do not believe in non-violence in Congress members can they take part in Congress deliberations and what should one do if such were to be a member in a Congress conference?"

Now that I am out of the Congress movement, my opinion has little weight. I cannot say what decision the Congress will give on your question. But I am quite clear that those who do not believe in non-violence cannot belong to the Congress. I am also clear that no Congressmen can take part in deliberations, such as Congresses. If you had yourself in a moment, the non-violent way for you is to withdraw from the Congress.

On Delta World's map, 8-7-40

M. E. G.

(Translated from Gujarati)

## ABOUT THE WAZIRIS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Waziristan is one of the regions on the border of the Frontier Province. Everybody knows that there are a number of tribes living on the North-Western Frontier of India. The popular notion about them is that they are born only to rob and plunder and harass the British Government. Such views cannot be far removed from reality. These nomad-tribes who are born and bred in extreme poverty. Life among these nomad-tribes is a tale of chronic hardship and misfortune. India owes much to them for sending their pecuniary need by robbing Britishers, there are not lacking people who in order to save their own political ends are ready to mortgage them and set them on the wrong path. Our knowledge about these tribes, therefore, is almost confined to their raiding activities. Khushab has told me that these tribesmen are very simple and honest by nature. Whenever I have visited the Frontier Province I had tried to go across and make acquaintance with these tribes. My first effort in the direction was made at the time of the Iruin-Gandhi Pact. I had to give it up as Lord Irwin and his Government would not entertain it. I next sought permission through correspondence but was equally disappointed. I renewed the attempt at the time of my first Frontier tour and approached H. E. the Governor in that behalf, but he could not give or rather could not claim for me the necessary permission. Recently the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee tried to send a deputation among the Waziris but with my political motive has simply to do without work. But the permission could not be obtained. The Working Committee has now decided to send a deputation consisting of Shri Shalibhai Doss and Jash Araf Ali, but we hope the deputation will be given the necessary permission.

The object of the Working Committee's deputation is not political but purpose simply is to find out how help can be rendered to the border tribes and friendly relations cultivated with them. It is compatible with our dignity to be in constant dread of them. Ignorance is at the root of most of our fears. If I suspected my neighbour, naturally I would be afraid of him. But if I knew all my neighbour, the fear would automatically go. For years we have proceeded on the assumption that the tribesmen would under no circumstances allow us to cultivate friendly relations with the border tribes. The Government, on their side, have under the spell of their pet bigot, spent crores of rupees on building forts and black houses and so making our military expenditure into the total necessary. It should be a duty of the Congress as to its intimate friends and friendly relations with these folk. The proposed step of the Working Committee is, therefore, to be welcomed. Let us hope that the Congress, having before the eyes, will pursue it to the end.

On the train to Warha, 5-7-40

(Translated from Gujarati)

WORKING COMMITTEE  
AND THE WAZIRIS

The Congress Working Committee passed the following resolution at its session held at Delhi this week.

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan has reported to the Working Committee that an attempt was made by the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee to send amongst the Waziris a deputation with a view to see them without with the tribesmen and to wear them from darkness, misapprehension and the like. It is the conviction of the Provincial Congress Committee of the Frontier Province, which comprises the Working Committee there, that it is possible to cultivate friendly relations with the tribesmen of the surrounding country. With this end in view, the party was to proceed to Waziristan to ascertain their economic conditions, and to render them such aid for their social welfare as was possible for the Provincial Congress Committee to render. It was their intention also to find out the causes of the darkness. But the deputation was not permitted by the Government to proceed to Waziristan. The deputation had offered to take any official work done, if the Government thought such a step necessary. But for reasons best known to them, the Government of India declined to sanction the proposed. The Working Committee regret the decision, and take this opportunity to declare to all the tribesmen that the Congress can have nothing but goodwill towards them. The Congress has always sought to establish the friendly relations with them, to share their sorrows and to help them in all possible ways, especially in the way of educating their children, improvement of their economic condition and medical and hygienic welfare. The Working Committee have no doubt that the tribesmen will reciprocate the Congress goodwill, and endeavour to the best of their ability to wear these tribesmen who must so darkness and the like which the Working Committee have reason to believe have no political or religious motives, but are prompted by poverty or by process of political mechanism.

The Working Committee hereby appoints Shri Shalibhai Doss and Jash Araf Ali, Shri Shalibhai Doss being leader to proceed to Waziristan and carry on the work that the said deputation would have done. The Working Committee have that all facilities will be given to the deputation to proceed to Waziristan. The Working Committee trust that Shri Shalibhai Doss and Jash Araf Ali will forthwith proceed so that mission and report to the Working Committee the results thereof. The Working Committee advise the people of the Frontier Province to discover the causes of the darkness from the tribesmen, not to get frightened, but patiently to discover the ways and means of cultivating neighbourly relations with the tribesmen.



## MYSORE LAWYERS

[By M. K. Gandhi.]

Several Mysore lawyers who had taken part in the Mysore satyagraha struggle have been disbanded by the Mysore Chief Court. The last victim is Sri H. C. Dasappa, a most respected Mysorean and a practitioner of twenty years' standing. Serious as the debarring of a member belonging to a liberal profession must be, such cases have happened before now on insufficient or purely political grounds. Such inquiries have to be based with imagination and foreboding. But the order of the Chief Judge in Sri Dasappa's case as reported in *The Hindu* has made for me more painful reading. Sri Dasappa had the hardihood to defy a magistrate's order not to address meetings in a part of Mysore, and had the equal hardihood under my instructions to advise satyagrahi prisoners to boycott the departmental inquiry by Justice Nageswara Iyer. For these grave offences Sri Dasappa has been disbanded for ever. He will be ordered to pay, if the Judges could help it and if their verdict has any potency beyond the paper on which it is written. Sri Dasappa becomes a man without a character to be despised and shunned by society. I happen to know Sri Dasappa personally. I told him to be a man of spotless character and unswerving honesty. He has been manfully striving to preserve non-violence to the last of his ability. He has done what many potent lawyers as we lawyers have done in British India. And now, day after day, the judges take no notice of their members, and the public have made of them heroes. Advocate Mohdulla has been Advocate-General of the Bombay High Court. He has defied law. So has Advocate Manna, and so has Chakrasen Rappapolschian. They have not been disbanded. Two of them have been Ministers in their Province. Public inquiries have been boycotted before now with impunity. Neither the law nor the character of those who have brought about such boycotts have been injured. In my opinion the Judges of the Mysore Court have forgotten themselves in delivering their judgment. Sri Dasappa has not suffered. He will rise in the estimation of the people of Mysore. But I make bold to say the Mysore Judges have suffered by allowing themselves to be carried away by prejudice.

Such severity of justice has happened before now. A Durban Magistrate who was carried away by some stupid prejudice had condemned an innocent man. His judgment was reversed, and the Supreme Court condemned it as such archaic wrong that the Magistrate had to be removed. The Judges of the central law days in the Punjab were not removed, but many were thoroughly disgraced because they had pronounced judgments which could not be supported by evidence before them. The Mysore judgment is worse than the Punjab judgments. Then there was pure Murder. Had been committed by the arch and eminent men

were tried not by ordinary courts but by special law tribunals. In Mysore nothing of the kind has happened. The Chief Judge's order is a cool and calculated attack on the honour of a man who could not defend himself against reckless statements from the Bench. Judges sometimes forget, as these Mysore gentlemen have done, that there is the law of public opinion which is no respecter of persons.

My condolences and pity go out to the Judges who have delivered a judgment which, let me hope, in their cooler moments they will regret. For Sri Dasappa and his colleagues who have been disbanded I have nothing but congratulations. I would ask them to turn the punishment into a blessing. It is well that they cannot appeal before Judges who can be so grossly prejudiced as the Mysore Judges have proved themselves to be. Let these lawyers be proud of their poverty which will be probably their lot now. Let them remember Thoreau's argument that possession of riches is a crime and permit a voice under an unjust administration. This is an eternal source for satyagraha. The disbanded lawyers have a rare opportunity of so remodeling their lives that they can attract the above voice. Let them remember that practice of law ought not to mean more taking daily dues, say, a village carpenter's wage. Let them make redoubled efforts to produce such a state of affairs on Mysore that the career of the nation I have denoted may become impossible. It is no pleasure to me to have to write as strongly as I have done. But I could do no less if I was to serve Truth.

Srinagar, 9-7-49.

## A NOTE

Perhaps a brief note of facts is necessary to explain Gandhi's remarks on the extraordinary order of the Mysore Chief Judge directed Sri H. C. Dasappa as to be removed off the rolls of the High Court. The first charge against Sri Dasappa was that he had disobeyed the Kolar District Magistrate's order prohibiting him from addressing meetings in a certain area. The other and, in the Judge's opinion more serious, charge was that Sri Dasappa as President of the Mysore Congress advised the Congressmen not to participate in an inquiry appointed by Government. The inquiry was to be made into serious allegations of corrupt deals by the Congress against police officials. It was entrusted to a Judge of the Mysore Court. The Mysore Congress, acting on Gandhi's advice, decided not to participate in the inquiry, as it was not of an impartial and independent character. This action on the part of Sri Dasappa as President of the Congress could be on stretch of imagination be described as having anything to do with his conduct as a lawyer, but it was ordered by the Chief Justice as "a defect of character entitling him to be an advocate of the High Court".

He was asked by the High Court to explain his conduct. He naturally questioned the procedure as irrelevant, but described in a statement the circumstances leading to the decision for non-participation in the inquiry. This is what Sir Gwyer said in the course of his statement.

"The Government appointed James A. R. Napier as a lawyer to carry on what was admittedly a departmental inquiry, not open to the press or the public. Attempts made to have the inquiry composed with a view to settle it as an amicable settlement in the matter, were of no avail. It was then that the Ministry of Commerce was advised by Mahatma Gandhi to request for a change in the personnel of the inquiry. The evidence submitted that the inquiry was only a departmental one and there was no cause constituted for the purpose. There was no legal obligation whatever on the part of the Government to order evidence at the inquiry. The moral obligation would only arise in case the tribunal was satisfactory."

It is these words that provoked the ire of the Chief Justice, and in continuing them he has made certain statements of astounding audacity: "To make a foul allegation against one's neighbor and to refuse either to withdraw it or substantiate it, was a conduct in which no decent-minded man who had any love for his country would demand or advise others to descend." Again "I understood from the Respondent's statement that the aim of his political assertion is to get Responsible Government established in this State. This is a form of Government which none of us would advise, and all of us, who are not judges, are at liberty to advise. This is not an occasion on which it would be proper to discuss the advantages or disadvantages of that form of Government. But I think we shall agree that that form of Government can have no chance of success in any country in which there is not a general spirit of fairness throughout the country. The Respondent, in the matter of denouncing his followers from withdrawing or substantiating their charges against their fellow-subjects, has shown himself devoid of that spirit of fairness. He has tried in one part of his statement that he did so at the instance of a person outside the State. No man fit to be an advocate of this Court can submit his conscience to anyone else in that way. It is no excuse for such conduct."

Again, The Chief Justice, proceeding, observed, says The Hindu report, that "it was surprising that the Respondent, the professed votary of truth, should have believed in such a way. Perhaps it is because truth is so often degraded in this country into nothing more than a political expedient that the Respondent has lost all appreciation of its meaning and value. It was a red thread valued for anyone to have so degraded himself and to have lowered his moral standards. It would not be fair to require other members of the respectable profes-

sion to associate in the work of the Courts with a man who had allowed his morals to be so debased, nor would it be safe to allow litigants to allow their cases to be heard. In my opinion it is quite clear that the Respondent has become by defect of character unfit to remain an advocate of this Court."

Savagery, 5-7-40

H. D.

## "FOR HE HAD GREAT POSSESSIONS"

Englishman Asmit Kaur writes from Delhi under the above heading:

"Lovers of English art must be familiar with the beautiful picture of one of those great artists entitled 'For he had great possessions'. Those familiar with the Bible will know of the story of the rich man who refused to leave to ask him the way of salvation and here, when the Master asked him to give up all he had and follow him, "the young man went away sorrowful, for he had great possessions." This picture has been coming vividly before my mind during this time of anguish. I love Europe, in particular do I love England where some of the happiest years of my life have been spent. I owe much to her people, to her educational institutions, and to her generous literature. My woman's heart bleeds today when I hear and read of the various ways of life and material destruction that is being meted out to that lovely continent. There is nothing but vengence and looting and blood and hatred talked over the radio. The destruction of an emperor or a monarch or a king or a ruler is an occasion for rejoicing, thus a glancing over the face of His Highness when one would have thought a capable of having a life are bound to say that they would give their necks to kill Hitler or any member of Germany. It must be the same to Germany."

It is heart-breaking to think that the spirit of love within the people of the various nations is so dead that all sense of brotherhood and humanity is absent. But if they were to pause and think as to what the war in Europe and the war in the Far East is being fought for, the answer is so clear as daylight. It is for the greed of possessions. How then can your outstanding appeal to every Briton have any response? The eyes of all these women are blinded with love, and they will never see the folly and stupidity of their ways until the idea of possessions leaves them. The Prime Minister of England has uttered of 'the curse of Hitler being lifted from the bones of men'. It is the curse of possessions that must be lifted from our hearts if peace is to be established once again on earth and if it is to be a true and lasting one. 'Possessions is driven people in the love and they say there are two truths', is a well-known English proverb. But as my work leads daily grows stronger in conviction, I am convinced that possessions is the blemish of the law of life. If Britain could only realize this today, your appeal to her great people would not fall on deaf ears and she would rejoice in doing justice by India. And if we in our homeland would realize the great truth also, there would be no criminal demand and no retreat in us."

## Notes

### The Late Changanacherry Pillai

The readers must have learnt about the death of Sri Changanacherry E. Parameswaran Pillai of Travancore. He was one of the true and consistent Harijan workers. He was a retired Judge of the Travancore High Court. He was a member of the Executive Council of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. As a man he was most unassuming and lovable. His secretary sends me the following pathetic account of his death.

"I should like to unashamedly say as one who was Private Secretary to the late Sri Changanacherry E. Parameswaran Pillai—The purpose of this letter is to give a description of the sad demise of Sri Changanacherry, of which you are already aware.

After the first stroke of heart paralysis in November 1935, Sri Changanacherry recovered sufficiently well to come about by February 1940. Recently he had been taking much care about his body. He spent the summer at the Cape. On return from there, he looked thoroughly fit and sound. He purchased a new car and used to go to the beach every other or the average. On other days he had his evening walks. In fact his constitution had so much improved that it seemed he had never looked so well. In spite of all physical improvements, his cerebral defects persisted. He could talk fairly well, but could not speak the names of some persons, etc. remember them when he wanted to. Colours' discrimination for two months together was also impossible. Nevertheless, he began to show interest in all the public institutions with which he was actively associated till he retired from public life. It is interesting to record that the day before his death he sent cards for Ekam at Valara village, then came Kani Akkara, a weaving school and a primary school, which institutions together with two acres of land were given as a gift to the Harijan Sevak Sangh some years ago. The institutions except the school had not recently been working due to paucity of funds. I was deputed to inspect the institutions and prepare a scheme to revive them. I had actually prepared the scheme but had no opportunity to place it before him. The day before his death, he had his usual evening walk, and rather unusually, in company with his little children. On returning home at 7-30 p.m. he announced that a few days next day, wonderful in the case of a man who always ate to live. The morning of the fatal day he spent discussing the plan for a new building to be erected on his property at the time, with a contractor. At 12-30 he partook of a sumptuous lunch and retired to his bedroom for a nap.

His wife was in the room also. At about 3 P.M. he woke up showing some consciousness. His hands and limbs were quivering. Seeing this unusual behaviour, the doctor who was being sent down was sent for. He arrived within ten minutes to find the patient without pulse. An operation was administered but to no effect. The doctor was preparing to give another injection when death lay on my hands on the great leader. It is supposed the end was

due to another stroke of heart paralysis which this time proved fatal. The death actually took place at 3 P.M. on this June.

The cremation took place at 11-30 P.M. on his own property at Poojappara. A large crowd had gathered to pay homage to the dead leader. He leaves behind his wife and eight children. The eldest is a daughter and she was married recently.

I may also add that the C. F. Parameswaran Iyer sent a condolence message the next day morning.

The consensus of opinion here is that there never was a greater Travancorean with such versatile talents, who was so consistently associated with all the public activities of his race. The whole country is in mourning."

Death promised the first. As the secretary truly says he was to live. But God confounds our wisdom when He wants to take us away. None of us can boast that we would do better than the late work. It will be creditable if we can cheer our lives as did this great Harijan worker. May God bless his spirit and give courage to his widow and family to bear their loss, and let me hope that they will follow in his footsteps.

Scrapton, 5-7-40

N. K. G.

### Is Islam Inspired?

A writer in a Muslim paper has suggested that, if I regard Islam as an inspired religion and Muhammad as the Prophet of God, I should declare my belief, so that Muhammad's claims may be deplored and Hindu-Muslim unity may possibly be more easily achieved. I read the suggestion about a month ago, but I did not think it necessary to respond to it. But as somewhere I read in many Muslim papers as I sat, in order to amuse myself with the Muslim mind, and as I find them so full of passion and conscious or unconscious emotions, I feel it necessary to reflect on my opinion about Islam, though I think it is well-known. I certainly regard Islam as one of the inspired religions and describe the Holy Quran as an inspired book and Muhammad as one of the prophets. But even so I regard Hinduism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism as inspired religions. The claims of many of them have been already disproven, for the simple reason that these religions and those prophets related to the particular ages for which and peoples for whom they flourished. Some principal religions are still current. After a study of these religions to the extent it was possible for me, I have come to the conclusion that, if it is proper and necessary to discover an underlying unity among all religions, a master-key is needed. That master-key is that of truth and righteousness. When I watch the claims of a religion with this master-key, I do not find it difficult to discover its likeness with other religions. When you look at these religions as so many leaves of a tree they seem so different, but at the trunk they are one. Unless and until we perceive this fundamental unity, wars in the name

of religion will not cease. These are not confined to Hindus and Mahomedans alone. The pages of world history are filled with the bloody accounts of these religious wars. Religion can be defended only by the purity of its adherents and their good deeds, never by their quarrels with those of other faiths.

On the train to Wardha, 9-7-40 M. K. G.

(Translated from Gujarati.)

### SUBHASHCHAKR

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

On the return journey to Wardha a recent man at Nagpur station asked why the Working Committee had not taken any notice of Subhashchakra's arrest. I was at a loss and so gave no reply but took note of the reasonable question. I have no doubt that hundreds of our thousands must have asked themselves the question the young man put at Nagpur. Is it true that Subhashchakra is an ex-Rajahputra of the Congress? I have stated in numerous places that he has a record of great sacrifice to his country. He is a leader here. All these qualities alone will not warrant a protest against the arrest. The Working Committee would be bound to take notice of it, if it could be condemned on merits. Subhashchakra did not defy the law with the permission of the Congress. He has frankly and courageously defied even the Working Committee. If he had asked for permission to take any action for the sake of the present position, the Committee would, I think, have refused it. Hundreds of cases of greater importance can be discovered but the country's attention is for the moment turned upon one single man. Preparations are being made to take up direct action at the proper time on that issue. Therefore, if the Working Committee had taken any action, it would have been one of disappointment. That the Committee would not do so I might also have guessed the youth's remark. But I felt that no harm could accrue by my putting the arrest in its proper setting. The arrest of a big man like Subhashchakra is no small matter. But Subhashchakra has laid out his plan of battle with deliberateness and boldness. He thinks that his way is the best. He honestly thinks that the Working Committee's way is wrong, and that nothing good will come out of an "inconscient" move. He told me in the threadless manner that he would do what the Working Committee had failed to do. He was impatient of delay. I told him that, if at the end of his plan there was Swami, during my lifetime, mine would be the first telegram of congratulation he would receive. If while he was conducting his campaign I became a convert, I should whole-heartedly welcome him as my leader and enter under his banner. But I warned him that his way was wrong.

My opinion, however, matters little. So long as Subhashchakra considers a particular course of

action to be correct, he has the right, and it is his duty, to pursue it, whether the Congress likes it or not. I told him he might be sure in the right if he resigned from the Congress straightaway. My advice did not commend itself to him. Even so, if success attends his effort and India gains her freedom, it will justify his rebellion, and the Congress will not only not condemn his rebellion but welcome him as a saviour.

In strategy a sound impression carries its own praise. There can be no greater space for an impression for a breach of the current law of the land. On the contrary, the position has been so completely covered and reasons and facts explained to make them so obvious that the Committee could not do so in Subhashchakra's case. Let me remark in passing that the Committee has taken no notice of the numerous arrests and imprisonments that have taken place even of prominent Congressmen. It does not mean that the Committee does not feel anything about them. But in life's battle there is such a thing as a more important to many a wrong. If it is deliberate, a stronger strength which, if the situation is well conceived, may well become successful.

Savagun, 9-7-40

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# HARIFAN

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## NOTICE

*Harifan*, which was hitherto published every Saturday, has changed on day of publication, and will hereafter be published every Sunday. Against and readers will please note that, as a result of this change, they will get their copies a day later than hitherto.

HARIFAN

## SOME MISCONCEPTIONS

### Has Gandhiji Changed?

One question I have heard repeatedly being asked during the past few days is: "Gandhiji has—well asked people in Bombay in 1931 and exhorted the people at Solapur to defend themselves violently, if they could not do so non-violently. Even tonight, backed by the use of force, is better than object coercion, he has said to us once without number. Has he then changed his position now? The Working Committee would seem to have gone no further than Gandhiji himself did in the two cases mentioned."

Gandhiji has not changed to the least. He would give the people the same advice, but what we dispute is the claim with which it was coupled: "You may then defend yourselves, but not in Congressman's. The Working Committee's resolution, to whatever extent it allows the use of violence, affects the Congressman's position. That, Gandhiji holds, is contrary to the position we have held for the past 11 years."

What if the Working Committee members had the same absolute faith in non-violence, but joined the resolution as an allowance for the weakness of faith of the rank and file of Congressmen? They could not do so. They had to hold to their faith and allow themselves to be thrown out by those who had not their faith, if these latter went to a majority. Or they might have remained valiantly if they found themselves overwhelmed by the others. Thus the position taken up by Gandhiji is not new. In an article on the growing corruption in Congress ranks written two years ago, he made this position crystal clear:

"With all the seriousness I can command I therefore stand with every Congressman who believes in his pledge to make his choice: either to accept the purge I have suggested, or if that is not desirable because of the Congress being already overmaneuvered by those who have lost faith in its creed and its constructive programme on which depends its real strength, to secede from it for its own sake and prove its living faith

in the creed and the programme, by pursuing the former and prosecuting the latter as if he had never seceded from the Congress of his ideal. If not on the other thing is set down, I am given danger of the Congress collapsing by the weight of its own weaknesses."

In another article last year analysing the responsibility of violence if it broke out in the Franco's India, he said: "The responsibility will have to be shared by the Paramount Power, the Franco, and also all its Congressmen. The first two have never claimed to be non-violent. Their power is frankly derived from and based on the use of violence. But the Congress has since 1931 adopted non-violence as an ethical policy and has undoubtedly agreed to set up to it." The whole question at the present critical moment is, are we to stick ourselves with those who have never claimed to be non-violent, or are we to live up to our creed? Even the British Government, and all Governments for the matter of that, follow the policy of "firmer when we can, but when we must." Are we, when we come to power, to be like the rest, or are we, by holding out to the new creed we have blessed for twenty years, to make new leaders? It is likely that we may fail, but let the failure apply to our inability to govern, not to our inability to abstain from the use of force. Let us then step aside, and allow those who insist by the use of force to govern."

### If the Rank and File Refuse

But if the Working Committee were wrong in their assumption that the rank and file have lost their belief in non-violence and that they cannot come up to the standards in terms of creed, the rank and file have to reassure the Working Committee. That is what Gandhiji said, with special reference to the Congress, in his article last week. He explained the whole thing in much greater length to the joint meeting of the Gandhi Bhai Singh and the Gandhiji Singh held soon after the Wardha meeting of the Working Committee. "Now is the coming time for you," he said. "The Working Committee let us say, were weighed and found wanting. Can the Gandhi Bhai Singh do anything to repair that failure? The Working Committee's resolution does not mean that you cannot appeal to people to declare their faith in non-violence. You can do so, and they will be the members of the Working Committee. You underlined our faith. We are going to hold by the creed." I tell you the Working Committee

members will not only not consent that, but will simply dance with you. Some of you are members of the Congress. It is the duty of those who are members and who believe in non-violence to persuade the members of the Working Committee, to declare their faith before the meeting of the A. I. C. C., and even before the open Congress of the next session. But you may not replace your creed as Congressmen and create an arbitrary human being, your behavior in Congress affairs and in non-Congress affairs. Your non-violence, if it is true, must be part of your normal life, must be in your thought, word and deed and must color all your behavior. Then and then only can you give the Working Committee the assurance I have referred to, and compel them to alter their resolution."

#### The Test of Consistency

"But," he added, "let me explain this further. You will examine every action of yours in the light of the creed. That does not mean that you will be misled as persuaders. Your conduct will have to be sacred. When I began observing violence it meant an effort on my part. Now it has become part of my nature, and to break my silence means an effort in the same way without non-violence may be part of your nature. It is likely that your reliance everything to non-violence may be logically wrong, but it is not wrong for you. I may be wrong, in the eyes of others, in my belief that work every creed that I drew I am keeping steady never, but for me the belief is as true as the fact that I eat. That saves me from being my enemy. This spinning wheel is a symbol of non-violence for me. The wheel as such is useless, but when I connect it with non-violence it becomes a living thing for me. So soon as it is needed, it is cast with non-violence. If it is unneeded, it is cast in some work it, for it indicates carelessness on my part. The steel spindle one can use as a daily weapon, but we have put it close for the best possible use. So we have to be tremendously careful about every part of the wheel. Then and then only will it produce the music and spinning will be a true sacrifice."

"But this kind of violence, you will say, may take thousands of years. It may take some a thousand years, and it may take some others only one year. Don't think that, it is one of my 30 years practice of it I am still imperfect, it must take you many more years. No, there is no rule of these laws. They may succeed quicker than I. I must wait what I want in South Africa. "You had at one time the violence of the brow. I had nothing of it. Now if you believe in achieving non-violence of the brow, you will do so much more quickly than I, and you will leave me behind." This applies to every one of you. In South Africa I was the first to learn non-violence and so I taught it to others. But those others soon left me behind. It was because I was a true teacher. Now if I was a true teacher

of shame, I am sure you will soon leave behind your teacher. If that does not happen, it will only mean that I was an able teacher. But if my teaching function, there will be millions of shame in every home.

"I want to know how many of you are with me. If none goes with me, I am ready to find my path alone. But I know that I am never by alone as God is close with me. You are all companions perhaps (perhaps) with me. I am old, but you have many years before you. And yet let me tell you that I do not feel the weight of my years. I do not think my power of growth or capacity for strength has come to an end.

"So you have to go forth and find out how many actual believers in shame there are among Congressmen. The Working Committee members are your representatives. If they were available in answering the faith of their election, you have to correct their judgment. My position was different from theirs. I consider myself a confirmed representative of shame, and so I severed my connection with the Congress in 1934. I could not help doing it. If I had not done so, I should have been untrue to my creed.

"No one knows my superstitious beliefs than I, but what little power I possess is derived from my shame. What is it but my shame that drives thousands of women to me in thousand confidence? The number was one I even made on our camp. We have to be up and doing every moment of our lives, and go forward in our efforts. We have to live and move and have our being in shame, even as Hitler does in honor. It is the faith and perseverance and single-mindedness with which he has possessed his weapons of destruction that commands my admiration. That he uses them as a monster is unimportant for our purpose. We have to bring to bear the same single-mindedness and perseverance in ending our shame. Hitler is awake all the 24 hours of the day in perfecting his machine. He wins because he pays the price. His tremendous surplus has become that it is his single-minded devotion to his purpose that should be the object of our admiration and emulation. Although he works all his waking hours, his machine is undrained and unwearying. Are our soldiers undrained and unwearying? A more belief in shame or the machine will not do. It should be fearless and creative. If another plays a large part in the field of violence, I hold that it plays a larger part in the field of non-violence."

With this he referred to the work of Richard Gregg in the discussion, and described how the latter had come to the conclusion that appeared as a symbol of non-violence is good enough not only for India but for the world.

Continuing he said "The Working Committee's decision was simply an echo of the atmosphere around them. My decision could not be an echo. For shame is my special medicine, not that of the Congress. I sympathize the members on

their beauty and their courage, though I am sorry for myself that I could not share them with confidence in our creed and in my leadership. We have now to show that we have faith in the non-violence of the future. It does not mean the development of the capacity to go to jail. It means working hard in the pursuit of constructive work to bring about change, and in constructive work being a vital part of the programme of change."

#### Why an Imperfect Man Chose?

To those who have been saying that if Gandhiji had failed in perfecting his chosen, failure is certain in their case, he had already given the answer. But in the concluding part of the speech he presented another aspect of his perfection. He said "In playing over shortcomings before construction work I was wrong, and I did not profit by the Hindustani Master that I had committed. I feared that I should arrange my co-workers, and so carried on with imperfect chosen. But I am not sorry for my blunders. My imperfections and failures are as much a blessing from God as my successes and my talents, and I lay them both at His feet. Who should He have chosen me, an imperfect instrument, for such a mighty experiment? I think He deliberately did so. He had to serve the poor dumb ignorant millions. A perfect man might have been their despair. When they found that one with their failings was working so towards change, they too had confidence in their own capacity. We should not have recognised a perfect man if he had come as our leader, and we might have driven him to a cave. Maybe he who follows me will be more perfect and you will be able to receive his message. Maybe some one of you may be that perfect teacher who is to come."

#### An Imperfect Mind?

But are we not being driven to philosophical uncertainties? Is there not an impossible ideal? These questions were asked by a philosopher friend some months ago and Gandhiji gave him replies which I think will be useful today.

"Does anyone know true non-violence?" he asked.

Gandhiji immediately replied "Nobody knows it, nobody can promise perfect non-violence."

"Then how can it be used in politics?"

"It can be used in politics precisely as it can be used in the domestic sphere. We may not be perfect in our use of it, but we definitely demand the use of violence, and grow from failure to success."

"You would govern non-violently. But all legislatures are violence."

"No, not all legislatures. Legislatures imposed by people upon themselves as non-violence in the current is as possible in society. A society imposed and run on the basis of complete non-violence would be the purest society."

"Do you think it is a realistic ideal?"

"Yes, it is realistic by the widest non-violence is realistic. That State is perfect and

non-violent where the people are governed the least. The nearest approach to perfect actually would be a democracy based on non-violence. The European democracies are to my mind a step towards democracy."

"Do you think that non-violence or the democracy that you envision was ever realised in the older ages?"

"I do not know. But if it was not, it only means that we had never made the attempt to realise the highest in us. I have an desire in my mind that at some stage we were there, and that we have to grow wiser than we are today in order to find what business we hold in between perfect. Perfect non-violence is impossible so long as we exist physically, for we would want some space at least to occupy. Perfect non-violence while you are maintaining the body is only a theory like Buddha's point or straight line, but we have no continuous every moment of our lives."

Savagran, 19-7-48

M D

#### Myrao Justice

After I had sent my note on Sir H. C. Duggan's case, I received the following from a Bombay advocate:

"You have now material which is sufficient to give an indication of the competence of the Myrao Judges. It is undoubtedly under the control and lead of Sir D'Arcy Bailey. The other Judges in the High Court follow in his footsteps, and no single instance can be recalled when any Justice of the High Court of Myrao has had the courage to dissent in even the smallest amount by the Chief Justice in the judgment, term and vote of his judgment. The Government, which pretends and is content with other the High Court or the Judiciary is evidently well satisfied about the Judges of the High Court of Myrao. For a dozen years important judgments have come from the Judges of the High Court which have clearly shown that they have yielded to the pressure of the bureaucracy while professing fear of God and of no man. Probably it is the greatest charity that has made the Government Order on Political Violence in the State silent to the point of being unable to provide recommendations for the release of the January in the State. The only reason the Government in Sir H. C. Duggan's case that "in the country such is so often degraded into a political catch word." The silence in the country is wide enough to be mentioned and mentioned so as to influence all people whether Congressmen or others not whether they make it in the State or in British India. What have had Sir D'Arcy Bailey for such an acceptance? And what evidence had he the such a general change against a whole country? Is it moral in the past of the D'Arcy Bailey to condemn Sir H. C. Duggan and other men on the ground that he preferred a change that he could not move, and in the same way make a different point in a judgment?"

My correspondent's complaint is right. But Judges are above all law, at least in Myrao. Like kings they can do no wrong.

Savagran, 20-7-48

M. K. G.

# *Harijan*

July 31

1940

## UNREPENTANT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

By writing that 'Appeal to Every Indian' I have invited upon my head an entire load of work which without God's help I would be ill able to bear. If it is so He will show I should shoulder it. He will give me the strength to carry on.

When I decided to write myself mostly to writing in Gujarati or Hindustani, I had no notion that I would have to write the appeal in came to me like a flash, and the message to write it came with it. I had named all them all pressure from English and American friends to give guidance. But I could not do my way. Now having addressed that appeal, I must follow up the response to it. A large amount of correspondence is pouring in upon me. Save for one angry criticism, I had nothing but friendly criticism from Englishmen and even opponents from home.

I was grateful to H. E. the Viceroy for forwarding my offer to His Majesty's Government. The correspondence with regard to it, the readers have already seen or will see in this issue. Though no better response to the appeal was to be expected, I cannot help saying that it was the knowledge of the determination to carry this war to a victorious end that had prompted my appeal. No doubt the determination is natural and worthy of the best British tradition. Nevertheless the awful dangers that the determination involves, should induce a search for a better and better way to achieve the end. For peace has no victories more glorious than those of war. The non-violent method would have meant no direct surrender. It would have confounded all modern tactics of war, which rendered them of no use. The new world order which all dream of would surely have been found. I hold a new order to be responsible of the war is liable to a final or moral exhaustion leads to a patched-up peace.

Let me, therefore, stimulate the response advanced in a letter received from a friend. Here it is:

"Two English friends who advise you, say your appeal to every Indian cannot have any other aim than to be acceptable to every one. The aim is the direct to do a complete volte face with any degree of understanding—indeed it is responsible for the understanding to do so you say, without a hint about it non-violence. The way to world a new world as you have will be after the war. They realize your way is the right one, but they say it needs entire preparation and education and by leadership—none of which they possess. Regarding

India they say the attitude of the present authority is deplorable. Long ago India should have been declared an independent as Canada, and her people should be allowed to work out their own constitution. But what they are extremely perplexed about now is that you want absolute independence straight away, and the next day you will take a 'no further help to Britain in the prosecution of war, surrender to Germany, and opposition to her by non-violent means'. You must explain what you mean or must deal to us to remove this misunderstanding. This is an urgent question."

The appeal was intended to produce the effect now. It could not come out of a mathematical calculation. If the conviction could have come, it came in an easy manner. The most solid response under pressure. That the appeal has not produced the intended result shows that either my word has no power or that God has a purpose of which we have no knowledge. The appeal has come from an unquiet heart. I could not suppose it. It was not written for the moment. I am quite sure that it constitutes a truth of eternal value.

If the ground is not prepared from now, there may be no time left after a formal termination of the war for evolving a new order. Whatever the order, it will be in response to a condition of unpreparedness effort from now. Indeed the effort began before my appeal. I hope that it has succeeded in, perhaps given it a definite direction. I suggest to the non-official leaders and members of British opinion, if they are convinced of the truth of my position, to work for its adoption. Compared to the lot now faced in my appeal the question of Indian independence pale into insignificance. But I hold with the two Englishmen that the British Government's attitude is deplorable. The two friends are wholly wrong in the direction they have shown from the assumed compromise of India's independence. They forget that I am not of the present. Those who are responsible for the Working Committee's last resolution have meant free India's co-operation with Britain. With them, there is no question of surrender to Germany or non-violent opposition.

But I never met here carry on Indian independence and its implications, wrapping though the subject is.

The criticism and correspondence before me say that the Congress spectrum of my address is obvious from preparation for voluntary defence of India prohibits me from making the appeal to Britain or from expecting a favourable response. The argument is plausible, but only plausible. The critics say that, if I have failed with my people, I have no right to expect Britain while she is in the midst of a life and death struggle to leave to me. I am a man with a mission. India's millions have never tasted the horror of war as the British have. Britain, if she is to fulfil her declared purpose, needs a radical change in her policy. I feel that I have



the change that is needed. My inability to persuade the Working Committee is irrelevant to the theme under discussion. There is no analogy between India's case and Britain's. I am, therefore, wholly unoppressed. I maintain that in issuing my appeal I have acted wholly as a lifelong friend of Britain.

A writer, however, comments: 'Address your appeal to Hitler.' In the first place, I did write to Herr Hitler. My letter was published at the same some time after I addressed it. In the second place, there can be no meaning in my appeal to Herr Hitler to adopt non-violence. He is marching from victory to victory. I can only appeal to him to desist. That I have done. But to Britain, which is just now on the defensive, I can present the really effective weapon of non-violent non-cooperation. Let my method be rejected as meretricious, not by bringing in itsi analogies or unavailing arguments. The issue raised by me, I venture to think, is of universal importance. The usefulness of the non-violent method seems to be granted by all the critics. They gratuitously assume the responsibility of human nature, as it is constituted, responding to the stress involved in non-violent preparation. But that is begging the question. I say, 'You have never tried the method on any scale. Is so far as it has been tried, it has shown promising results'.

Scraps, 17-3-40

## KHANSAHIB'S AHIMSA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In the storm that swept most of the members of the Working Committee Khansahib Abdul Gaffar Khan stood firm as a rock. He had never any doubt about his position, and his statement which I reproduce below should serve as a beacon light to all of us:

"Some recent members of the Congress Working Committee maintain that they are entering the use of non-violence in the fight for India's freedom against constituted authority. How far and in what manner this will have to be applied in the future I cannot say. The near future will perhaps throw light on this. Meanwhile it is difficult for me to comment on the Congress Working Committee, and I am ranging from it. I should like to make it clear that for non-violence I have believed in and preached as my brethren of the Khudai Khidmatgar a *much wider*. It affects all our life, and only this has permanent value. Unless we learn the lesson of non-violence fully we shall never do away with the deadly hands which have been the cause of the people of the Pakistan. Since we tend to non-violence and the Khudai Khidmatgar played themselves to it, we have largely succeeded in ending these hands. Non-violence has added greatly to the courage of the Pathans. Because they were previously addicted to violence far more than others, they have profited by non-violence much more. We shall never really and effectively defend ourselves except through non-violence. Khudai Khidmatgar mean, therefore, by what our name implies — pure servants

of God and humanity — by laying down our own lives and never taking any life."

It is worthy of the Khansahib and all that he has stood for during the past twenty years. He is a Pathan, and a Pathan may be said to be born with a rifle or sword in his hand. But the Khansahib deliberately armed his Khudai Khidmatgar with all weapons when he asked them to join the struggle against the Rowlett Act. He saw that this deliberate giving up of the weapons of violence had a magical effect. It was the only remedy for the blood-floods which were headed down from sky to sea and which had become part of the normal life of a Pathan. They had decimated numerous families, and non-violence returned to the Khansahib to have come to a longed-for solution. The violent blood-floods would otherwise have no end and would spell the end of the Pathans. He saw as clear as daylight that, if he could persuade his people not to retaliate, the violent floods would cease and the Pathans would be able to give a better account of their bravery. They took up his message, and put into practice what with them became non-violence of the brave.

Being so clear about his own faith and that of the Khudai Khidmatgar, there was for him no escape from resignation of his membership of the Congress Working Committee. His continuing on it would have been anomalous and might have meant an end of his life's work. He could not ask his people to join as recruits in the army and at the same time forget the law of tribal resistance. The simple Pathan would have argued with him—and the argument would have been irreconcilable—that the present war was a war of retaliation and revenge, and that there was no difference between it and their blood-floods.

I do not know how far the Khansahib has succeeded in carrying his message to his people. But I know that with him non-violence is a matter not of intellectual conviction but of sensitive faith. Nothing can therefore shake it. Along his followers he cannot say how far they will adhere to it. But they does not worry him. He has to do his duty which he owes to them. The result he leaves to God. He desires his chosen from the Holy Quran. He is a devout Musselman. During his stay with me for over a year I never saw him more than Khansa (prayer) or his Remembrance (recitation) when he was ill. But his devotion to Islam does not mean disrespect for other faiths. He has read the Gita. His reading is slight but selective, and he immediately remembers what appeals to him. He listens long and patient and does not take long to make up his mind. If he succeeds in his mission, it would mean the solution of many another problem. But the work he sees his problem: "The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord."

Scraps, 12-3-40

(Adapted from Gujarati.)

## THE BEST FIELD FOR AHIMSA

( By M. K. Gandhi )

Last week I wrote about three fields for the application of ahimsa. I happen to invite attention today to the fourth and the best field for the application of non-violence. That is the family field, in a wider sense than the ordinary. True members of an institution should be extended to a family. Non-violence as between the members of such families should be easy to practice. If that field, it means that we have not developed the capacity for pure non-violence. For the love we have to practice towards our relatives or colleagues in our family or institution, we have to practice towards our foes, enemies, etc. If we fail in one case, success in the other is a chimera.

We have generally assumed that, though it may not be possible to practise non-violence in the domestic field, it is possible to do so in the political field. This has proved a mere delusion. We have chosen to denigrate our methods adopted so far as non-violence, and thus caricatured non-violence itself. If non-violence it was, it was such poor stuff that it proved useless at the crucial moment. The alphabet of ahimsa is best learnt in the domestic school, and I cite my own experience that, if we secure success there, we are sure to do so everywhere else. For a non-violent person the whole world is one family. He will show fear none, nor will others fear him.

It will be reported that those who insist such a test of non-violence will be few and far between. It is quite likely, but that is no reply to my proposition. Those who profess to believe in non-violence should know the implications of that belief. And if these stare them away, they are welcome to give up the belief. Now that the Congress Working Committee has made the position clear, it is necessary that those who claim to believe in non-violence should know what is expected of them. If, as a result, the ranks of the non-violent army thin down, it should not matter. An army, however small, of truly non-violent soldiers is likely some day to multiply itself. An army of those who are not truly non-violent is never likely to yield any use whether it increases or decreases.

Let no one understand from the foregoing that a non-violent army is open only to those who strictly believe in their lives all the implications of non-violence. It is open to all those who accept the implications and make an ever-increasing endeavour to observe them. There never will be an army of perfectly non-violent people. It will be formed of those who will honestly endeavour to observe non-violence. For the last fifty years I have striven to make my life increasingly non-violent and to inspire my co-workers in the same direction, and I think I have had a fair amount of success. The growing delusion around, far from damping my zeal and damping my faith, brightens them, and makes the implications of non-violence more clearly visible to me.

Swadesham, 13-9-40 ( Translated from Gujarati )

## THE CORRESPONDENCE

The following correspondence between Gandhiji and His Excellency the Viceroy is released for publication.

Gandhiji's letter to Lord Linlithgow dated Delhi, July 3.

"You must have seen in the press my public appeal to every Indian. Nevertheless, for the sake of courtesy, I enclose herewith a copy. You will note the last sentence of my appeal. Will you please convey the contents of it to the proper quarters? The appeal and the office at the end represent my personal and humble contribution to India's cause. It is the best I could give."

Lord Linlithgow's letter to Gandhiji, dated Simla, July 13.

"I duly conveyed your letter of July 3 and your appeal to His Majesty's Government. I have now heard from them that with every appreciation of your motives they do not feel that the policy which you advocate is one which it is possible for them to consider, since in common with the whole Empire they are firmly resolved to prosecute the war to a victorious conclusion."

### The Annual Spinning Sacrifice

Shri Narendra Gandhi has issued his usual appeal for intensive spinning during the 31 days before my anniversary birthday. He began this way of celebrating it six years ago with an appeal for 60 thousand yards. Last year he made an appeal for 70 lakhs of yards, and the response was beyond his expectation—over 4 crores of yards of pure spun yarn.

I commend his appeal to all. The response to his appeal should increase with my increasing years. If the annual quota of the National School in Raypur is any index, the response would seem to be on the increase. But the appetite of Dardasrajan is insatiable, and it demands still greater response. It is a Herculean task to stimulate the unarmoured and starved-out of means of people. Let me hope that every house of the wheel will contribute but a few yards to this task and make the sacrifice a worthy one. Let them approach the task unflinchingly and with a proper regard for its sacredness. Let them, therefore, devote not only more time to spinning, but also endeavour to do it better by keeping all their spinning tools in perfect trim, and thus increasing their speed. If they will watch the revolutions of the spindle and find out the secret of getting up the speed, I am sure that at the end of the sacrifice they will have greatly doubled the speed.

Swadesham, 10-7-40

M. K. G.

( Abridged from Gujarati )

### Autobiography

The long-awaited non-violence chapter about of Gandhiji's *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Autobiography) has now been published by the Navjeevan Press, Bombay, Ahmedabad. This edition contains a few photographs which add to the value of the book. Price Rs. 4. Postage 10 Annas.

Available at Harijan Office—Page 4.

## QUESTION BOX

## How to Cultivate Ahimsa?

Q. What is the good of your trying 'ahimsa ahimsa' in words and out of words? Will it by itself teach people to be non-violent? Would it not be better, instead, to tell people how pure ahimsa or the ahimsa of the strong can be cultivated?

A. Yours is a very timely and opportune question. I have attempted before the no more necessary than one to answer it. But my effort has, I confess, been rather desultory. I have not concentrated upon it, or given it the weight I ought have. This was all right while I was devoted all my energy to finding means to give help to the Government. But it had the streak of retarding the growth of pure ahimsa, so that today we are not even within ken of the ahimsa of the strong. If we now want to advance further, we ought, at least for some time, to completely forget the idea of offering non-violent resistance to tyrannical authority if non-violence in the domestic field is successfully achieved, we shall surely see the non-violence against constructed authority reveal in its purified form, and it will be irresistible.

Now that I am, no longer in the Congress, I can not offer civil disobedience even in my own person in its name. But I am entirely free to offer civil disobedience in my individual capacity whenever it may be necessary to. No one need suppose that all civil disobedience will necessarily be taken while the country is still being educated in the ahimsa of the strong. But those who may want to join the non-violent drive of our conception should not entertain any immediate prospect of civil disobedience. They should understand that, so long as they have not realized ahimsa in their own person in its pure form, there can be no civil disobedience for them.

Let not the mention of pure ahimsa frighten anybody. If we have a clear conception of it and have a living faith in its marvellous efficacy, it will not be found to be so hard to practice as it is sometimes supposed to be. It will be well to remember the immortal Mahatmas words in this connection. The first step there is loudly proclaim to the whole world that Dharma includes within itself both ignorance Aha and Kina, and asks why men do not follow the moral road of Dharma that leads to both earthly and spiritual bliss. Dharma here does not signify mere observance of externals. It signifies the way of truth and non-violence. The sages have given us two immortal mantras. One of these is "Ahimsa is the supreme Law of Dharma." The other is "There is no other Law of Dharma than truth." These two mantras provide us the key to all worldly Aha and Kina. Why should we then hesitate to set up in them? Strange as it may appear, the fact remains that people find the name of things ahimsa to be the most difficult to follow.

The manna, or better a term from the science of physics, lies in our hearts. Physicists tell us that matter is as essential, and in its own place a more useful, quality of matter. It is that clear which creates the universe and pervades it from first off at a crystal. But for it the latter would be a chaos of motion. For matter becomes an anchor and a vice when it ties the hand down to old ways. It is this kind of matter which is responsible for our noted propensity that we practice pure ahimsa is difficult. It is up to us to get rid of this matter. The first step is the decision is finally to realize that all search and labor shall hereafter be taken to us, whatever sacrifice it might seem to involve. For, the good thing may seem to abound in its appearance only, but in reality it is deadly poison. If our teacher is firm and our conviction clear, it would mean half the battle won, and the passage of these two qualities would come comparatively easy to us.

Let us realize ourselves in ahimsa. We have all along retarded the spinning wheel, village crafts, etc. as the pillars of ahimsa, and so asked they are. They must stand. But we have now to go a step further. A vision of ahimsa will of course lead upon non-violence, if he has not already done so, all his relations with his parents, his children, his wife, his servants, his dependents, etc. But the real test will come at the time of political or communal disturbances or under the menace of thieves and dacoits. Here resolve to lay down one's life under the circumstances is not enough. There must be the necessary qualifications for making the sacrifice. If I am a Hindu, I must fraternize with the Mussulmans and the rest. In my dealings with them I may not make any distinction between my countrymen and those who might belong to a different faith. I would seek opportunities to serve them without any feeling of fear or uneasiness. The word 'fear' can have no place in the dictionary of ahimsa. Having thus conditioned himself by his selfless service, a vision of pure ahimsa will be in a position to make a life offering of himself in a communal configuration. Similarly, to meet the menace of thieves and dacoits, he will need to go among, and cultivate friendly relations with, the consciousness from which thieves and dacoits generally come.

A brilliant example of this kind of work is provided by Ravabanker Maharij. His work among the criminal tribes in Gajpur has evoked praise even of the British Secret authorities. There is an almost unlimited field for this kind of work, and it does not call for any other talent so one needs pure love. Ravabanker Maharij is an utter stranger to English. Even his knowledge of Gajpur is barely sufficient for everyday use. But God has blessed him with unlimited neighborly love. His simplicity really wins all hearts, and is the envy of everybody. Let his example provide a cue and inspiration to all.

from the news for steadily exposed the other side of the picture.

Telegram, 12-7-40

(Translated from Spanish)

### TRAVANCORE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Some Travancoreans have thought I had neglected them. But I had not. It is no pleasure to me to criticize any State. Much of my work is done by negotiation. I continue when I must. So when I was told by common friends that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar would like to meet me if an opportunity occurred, I stopped all reference to Travancore affairs. But the matter was not to be. In reply to my inquiry I have the following extraordinary note from him:

"Have just received your telegram. It was disappointing to learn including your recent statement and resolution at Working Committee with similar ones though different in expression, and also having noted to the effect though unacknowledged common meeting between many of the leaders of Travancore State Congress and common address which have come to light after arrest of E. C. George, and in view of the equally laconic statement of Mr. T. M. Varghese and of Mr. Q. Ramachandran who has been chosen by you to give address at Travancore, as useful purpose as likely to be served by any meeting. In these circumstances you are of course free to comment on Travancore affairs, but it is hoped that you will not accept requests furnished by persons who are dissatisfied here and who depend on their influence, collection of funds, and their political activities, on possibility of getting powerful statements from you as warranted then furnished by them. Most of the leading members of State Congress including Messrs V. K. Velupillai, H. K. Ponnambalam Pilla and others have already disassociated themselves from State Congress activities. They number over 60."

I had to see the connection between the Working Committee's resolution and my recent statement on the one hand and Travancore affairs on the other. The Working Committee have not even mentioned themselves in Travancore affairs. The idea of our meeting did not originate with me. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar thought of it months ago. Even a date was fixed, but owing to a pressing engagement he had to keep, our meeting was postponed. As late as the 3rd of April he had word saying he was writing to me about the matter. Here the Working Committee's resolution and my statement so showed the situation that our meeting has become undesirable? The other things that the worthy Dewan refers to are the very things which would have made our meeting fruitful. He had but to convince me that the State Congress was involved in commonest activities of a dangerous nature, and I would have waived my hands clear of the local Congress and its designs. All

concernment is not dangerous. I do not know that Sir E. C. George is a communist. I was the Dewan against being persuaded by the mere name. I know many friends who debate in calling themselves communists. They are as harmless as a dove. I call myself a communist in their company. The underlying belief of communism is good and as old as the hills. But I have stopped.

If Sir T. M. Varghese and Sir Q. Ramachandran are trustworthy, again our meeting is necessary to convince me of their trustworthiness. I must confess I have profound admiration for their courage, self-sacrifice, shrewdness and integrity. Sir Ramachandran is an old member of Salaman who has never given me cause for distrusting him. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar knows me enough to feel sure that I would not hesitate to own my mistake if I discovered it. He was his duty, as it will be, to make an effort to convince me that the content of my information was correct. The extraordinary remark has made me conclude that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar has nothing against the Congress or its members except that they are patriots without approach and without fear, he loves their philosophy and seeks to crush them. All the evidence in my possession points this way, and the telegram confirms my impression.

I have made an offer which I repeat: Let there be an impartial open inquiry into the whole conduct of the State Congress and its treatment by the State. Let the police register be considered of human dignity. I shall advise the State Congress to accept the findings of such a court.

If this simple offer is not accepted, I must be pardoned for repeating the numerous demands by officials of the State Congress allegations and believing them and asking the public to do likewise.

Telegram, 17-7-40

### Standard Paper

Our purchases and sales of Standard's paper for the month of June have amounted to Rs. 1740-15-3 and Rs. 1350-1-6 respectively, bringing the total figure of purchases and sales from January 1 to Rs. 11,281-15-3 and Rs. 7652-3-6 respectively. Rs. 1,800-0-0 have been given for paper-cutting and overprinting.

Manager, Harpan

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# HARIJAN

12 Pages

Telugu Monthly 1940

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## NOTICE

The next issue, to be published on 4th August, will contain twelve pages and will be printed at not more than six paise per copy. Agents will please notify changes in their requirements, if any, by Friday next. Manager

## SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have avoided mention of the tragedy that has overtaken Gokhale's greatest creation. Through the kindness of Pandit Kanoo I was kept informed of every happening while the Society was going through the agony. It was no small matter for the Society to have to expel members or to lose one of its oldest members by resignation. The trouble had been brewing for many months. But the chief members were putting off what to them was the evil day. They tried to bridge differences. They failed. They tried to evolve discipline out of what had almost become a state of anarchy.

The Society has a high ideal. To serve India so as to purify politics and withdraw a selfish motive or the desire to attain power for the sake of it, is itself a noble ideal. Gokhale created a certain standard of conduct and conduct for the Society. Those who could not carry it out obviously should not seek to enter the Society, or on having changed their viewpoint after entering it, should not remain in it. Such was the case with Shri Parthasar and Miss Gokhale. Their subscribe to a philosophy which includes advocacy of violence for the redress of wrongs economic, political and other. There was no question of their ability or their sincerity. Both are estimable qualities no doubt. But they were irrelevant to a consideration of conformity to certain rules or discipline. The quality of the violence too would be irrelevant to such consideration. So when the Society could not induce these members to resign, it had to perform the very painful duty of expelling them, if the Society was to function as a properly organised body with one purpose and one policy. I know that the President and the other members felt no room remained to avoid the action. They viewed the associates in essence the whole situation. The President put himself at their disposal. And it was on their unanimous recommendation that the Society took the final step.

So far as Shri Joshi is concerned it is wrong to say, as has been said, that he was compelled to resign. For valid reasons the President and

the Council thought that he should be transferred from Bombay. Shri Joshi, however, would not move from Bombay, and resigned. And the Society voted a protest and respectfully accepted the resignation. Such is the unvarnished version of the case through which the Society has passed. I have felt it a duty to take notice of the incident because there has been wicked criticism and because I consider myself an unofficial and sleeping member of the Society. The reader may not know that immediately after the Chief's death I might have myself become a candidate of a protest vote. My name was suggested for membership. Some members were afraid of my entry as for them and truly, I was an unknown quantity. As soon as I came to know of differences, I withdrew my name, and everything went off happily. We came closer to one another by this natural process. How soon a world would have been if Shri Parthasar and Miss Gokhale had followed the example set before them in 1925! If they knew the welfare of the Society at large, they could serve it in a variety of ways in matters in which they have no differences of opinion.

Servajan, 22.7-40

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Our Most Reverend?

Q. Does not the resolution of the Working Committee mean that a vote was given to the strong faction?

A. I do not think there is room for such a fear as doubt. Let us see what happens in the A. I. C. C. If it is found that a large majority of the members are between us strict non-violence I have no doubt that Sardar Vallabhbhai and others will be extremely delighted. It was no pleasure to them to arrive at the decision they did, and they acted in their representative capacity. They acted in the belief that there were very few Congressmen with a genuine faith in non-violence, and they had sufficient reasons for that belief. Had it been a question of their individual belief, I am sure they would have unanimously voted for non-violence. Assuming, therefore, that the truly non-violent are in a minority, it will be their duty to have the Congress and thus move the Congress all the better. Their continuance in the Congress would lead to friction, for the majority would, in carrying out their policy have to adopt many instances which the followers of us and our

non-violence could not accept. That would lead to clashes which should be anything but non-violence. The aim and aim non-violence, therefore, will gladly return and devote themselves exclusively to communist work. They will also co-operate with the Congress whenever they can do so without a clash, and yet they will not think of being in any connection. I am fearful of anyone that, if we are living into being an array of truly non-violent persons, the Working Committee's decision will be found to be a wisdom to dispute. If every person has on hand of truly non-violent soldiers, they will not only add to the glory of the Congress but contribute effectively to bringing the Congress nearer to non-violence than ever before.

#### What May Bantles Bantles?

Q. What work besides moment can an active citizen do in cases especially in Bombay?

A. I shall reply to your question by a counter-question. Why do you want anything else besides speaking? If you have no interest in speaking, you can be an agitator, active in passive. For all agitators pronounce the significance of speaking, and this has been before the country for twenty years. You can, therefore, do no better than give all your spare time to speaking. Do it in a scientific way. If there is no room for a speaking wheel, you can fly the kite. A way has now been devised for easily expressing the spirit on the table. It comes a table and it can be placed in the little corner of the house. If you are not doing your own talking, you must do it now. You may have no space for a speaking hour in your room. You should in that case read according to the Andrew method adopted by Wicks. If you can narrow yourself to this, it will add considerably to your useful knowledge. When you come to think of the science of science, you will get out of it an interest the best novel cannot give you, and you will probably discover the solution of the problem of Indian poverty. Therefore if you want to be a true agitator, if you want to cultivate true science, I would suggest in your speaking and nothing but speaking, no matter where you may be. Take it from me that without scientific speaking non-violence means a responsibility.

But if you have enough time on your hands and you are already doing all the speaking that would satisfy me, and if you are happy to do some afternoon sort of service, I can suggest quite a number of things. For instance, there is Harpur service. Try to enter Harpur's life, go and say to Harpur officers, coach them, advise them who are ill, show them the way and means of improving their economic condition. All this offers a wide field of work. Talking Harpur is now going to spend a lot of time in Bombay. Go and talk his guidance.

Then I would ask you to cultivate disinterested friendship of the Mussalmans. It is likely that you do not even know your next-door neighbour. Make their acquaintance and try to make what

service you can to them. If you do not know those of other faiths, try to cultivate acquaintance with them. Your contacts will be the test of your broad-mindedness.

Then you can help in the black propaganda. Go to Kishore of the main Khadi Mandir in Bombay and ask him if he can make your services for black-propaganda and similar work.

There are but a few examples. The field of service is limitless. In a city like Bombay, especially, the measure of service is so immense that you can never complete it.

#### Do Not Judge

Q. Many Congressmen in Bombay have joined the Congress for the sake of office. They never come. Some have coming which is their home; you for show. What about that?

A. Do not judge others. Be your own judge and you will be truly happy. If you will try to judge others, you are likely to lose your finger. If I were secretary of a Congress committee, I should see that those who do not observe discipline are struck off the Congress roster.

#### May Harpur's Effort at Harpur?

Q. I am a Harpur worker. I believe in military training. May I encourage Harpur to enlist as recruits? Those who join the army are not of fair and unscrupulous and have self-respect. What is your advice?

A. You have gone to the wrong man with this question. You know that I do not believe in military training. Nor do I believe with you that Harpur who join the army are so suddenly transformed. But I should not make an attempt to demand that Harpur who voluntarily want to enlist as recruits. If some of the willing-do go to the military training and if Harpur would like to follow that example, how can I prevent them? It is a definite thing one day to reach the house of shame. How can one purchase shame to those who are doubtless oppressed? The wonder to me is that even among the suppressed there are some Harpur who have truly learnt the lesson of shame.

#### Calvary v Day

Q. You have decided not to launch civil disobedience in order that you may not embarrass the British when they are engaged in a life and death struggle. Don't you think that slavery is unshaken and that you are falling to your duty to serve on the fight for Swamy?

A. I do not think so. If I were to launch civil disobedience my shame would be as high, and the disobedience would come to be evil. I should never think of saying Swamy out of my heart. It would be something like slavery. Mine is shame, not unshaken. Swamy is a real part of shame. Shame without it is love, a sense work.

#### Implications of Unscrupulous

Q. Is unscrupulous enough that often comes up the question of the significance of unscrupulous by Bhat the actually is the case. If absence of unscrupulous comes simply in

reaching the Harizan, accountability does not exist in Bhar. But if it reaches beyond the Harizan into your water pot and exchange water with non-Harizans, if it includes attendance and allowing them to enter your church rooms and houses, even Congressmen are not free from this accountability. What do you say to that?

A. Absence of accountability in me will be really observed only when I behave towards Harizans as I should towards my own kith and kin. There is no accountability today in Congress leaders. And so if Congressmen in Bhar observe accountability as regards money, I should be disgustingly surprised. Believe me that Swami will be deluged in protestations to our failure and halfheartedness in carrying out the different aims of the constructive programme. It is impossible to attain Swami non-violently unless there is self-purification. I do not allow me this word cowardly, but it is there in an important Congress resolution. It has been a vital part of Congress policies since 1920. Letters of the late Pandit Moolvi and other leaders written during that period are worth perusal. Their lives had undergone a conversion. How we descended from that high pedestal?

#### Denial of Violent Money

Q. Supposing a man has earned money by exploited labour of his poor brethren and made a gift of them to a Mahatma like you and supposing you use that money for the benefit of humanity, is the exploitator absolved from sin? Does not some blame attach to you too for having accepted the ill-gotten wealth? How can one remain blameless in this wicked violent world? How is ahimsa to cope with the immoral exploitations?

A. Let us assume for the purpose of the simile that I am really a Mahatma, and then try to solve it. The gift of what you assume to be ill-gotten gains cannot leave the guilt of the exploitator. If he had kept the money for himself, that would have been an additional crime against him. If instead he makes a gift of it to me then pure motives, he escapes the additional sin. It is also likely that a good use of his gift may save the exploitator from immoral means of making money. But no blame attaches to me for having accepted the gift. As the foul waters from drains flowing into the sea purifies of its purity, even so does tainted wealth become pure when put in the power use. There is one condition however, that we have ascertained viz. that the gift is made and accepted out of pure motives.

Exploitation of the poor can be compensated not by offering the destruction of a few millionaires but by removing the ignorance of the poor and teaching them to non-cooperate with their exploiters. That will convert the exploiters also. I have even suggested that ultimately it will lead to both being equal partners. Capital as such is neutral, it is its using one that is bad. Capital in some form or other will always be needed.

#### A Fine In Ahimsa

Q. You have appealed to Harizans to lay down arms and to adopt non-violence. But that seems a moral difficulty. Ahimsa provides it no basis and makes him desperate to appeal to his heart. If a non-violent man comes up against an aggressive thief, his non-violence will have no effect on it. There is, therefore, some law somewhere in your belief. Is it likely that ahimsa may have success in a restricted field? If so, what use is it for universal purposes? Your claim therefore, of its universal use fails to the ground.

A. Ahimsa cannot be dominated so lightly as you think. Ahimsa is the strongest force known. But if all men use the strongest force with equal aim, it would lose its importance. We have not been able yet to discover the true measure of the immeasurable properties of an article of daily use like water. Some of its properties fill us with wonder. Let us not, therefore, make hubris of a force of the subtlest kind like ahimsa, and let us try to discover its hidden power with reason and faith. Within a brief space of time we have arrived to a fairly successful conclusion a year experiment in the use of this force. As you know I have not yet made more by it. Indeed I have hesitated even to call it an experiment because, according to the legend, as Ravana's mare was enough to first woman, even so the movement carried on in the name of ahimsa brought about a great weakening in the country and moved us ahead. It is difficult to forecast the possibilities when men with unflinching faith carry this experiment further forward. To say that those who use violence are all miserable is an overstatement. Some do seem to love their money, but we are bound to be members of it we try to lead a moral law on those exceptions. The silent answer is to lay down laws on the strength of our usual experience, and our usual experience is that in most cases non-violence is the real solution of violence, and it is safe to infer from it that the highest violence can be met by the highest non-violence.

But let us consider for a moment inanimate objects. He will surely break his head who strikes it against a stone. But supposing a stone comes against us through space, we can escape it by slipping aside, or if there is nowhere to slip aside, we can bravely say, where we are and receive the blow. That will mean maximum injury and, in case it proves fatal the death will not be as painful as it would be if we made an effort to ward it off.

Extend the thought a little further and it is easy to see that, if a sensitive man is left alone and no one tries to hurt him, he is sure to exhaust himself. Indeed it is not quite unreasonable that the living members of many may bring an angry man to his senses. Instances are not wanting of stubbornly mean people having come back to their senses.

Sewanee, B-T-B (Translated from Gujarati)

## OPEN LETTER

Madras, India  
July 17, 1940

My Dear Gandhi,

After all these months of hopeful expectancy and suspense my Manuscript Board has at last called "Your manuscript *effectiveness* seriously impaired, *making necessary with urgent immediate recall*."

I had already contemplated writing you about your second sheet, and now that the essence of our little part in the coming "War without Violence" is about to change from India to the United States, I wish more than ever to do so. We are accepting it as God's closing of our door and the opening of another. We are content to trust His judgment as to the "effectiveness" of our work here or there. The present world is not at the mood to judge effectiveness. As the great Lowell expressed it,

"We are dumb in the present what is small and what is great.

Slow of touch how weak—no arm may turn the iron keys of fate."

I am still hoping and praying daily that Congress may see that no supreme opportunity is not to win a doubtful political victory over a few bars, is as lost like this, to win the lasting friendship of all who love liberty in England and in all the world, by revealing the only adequate road by India's defense or defense of democracy in the world—the non-violent war in the fields against the whole structure of man's inhumanity to man. The non-based might of India, building a third-rate military force, can at best but become the sport of harassment and damnable efficient international gangsters. But defense committees and those who know no better way should not be discouraged. When I do mean it that, at the same time, those who understand and love peace should build up a non-violent defense force for the peace purposes for which military force is being established. Like the military forces, these should also be non-political and voluntary. Besides being negatively hostile to the interests of the Defense of India, such a force should at the very earliest stage stand at the disposal of the Government for the purpose either of defense or offense against all the loss of liberty in India, or elsewhere, as the non-violent army of India. The first hope should be that such an army would lead directly and speedily to the organization of a war Peace Army for the whole world. I believe that plans are busily in every head ready to flock to the standards of such an army. Governments will soon be in a mood to trust a force that has already in many ways revealed itself as uncomparable. The need is urgent.

I think that the war has already revealed that armed force cannot defend even the institutions of democracy without first violating them and soiled destroying them. Further, the very strongest military defense force in the world has not been able to make its little voice in the war-torn world. I am convinced that a non-violent war against all aggression, the economic as well as the political, not only will prove more effective than all the armies

but can very rapidly be made available, if the non-violent of the world will but put their minds and hearts to the matter. It matters not that they are few. The first step is to approach the Victory for the "Colapsed" to the movement I believe it will be readily forthcoming.

Is there any other way that the priceless treasures of civilization can be preserved? Military force cannot give democracy better violence, even without being used, is the way to democracy's doom. When it becomes even the process is lost forever. Because power without security is actually separated around violence, not only is war inevitable, but democracy had, before the outbreak of war, only a hollow pretense of life. The violent society and its democracy were inseparable. Two ways have been found out of this. The laying down of democratic institutions, *Freedom*, and the laying down of violent organizations, *Communism*. But violent organizations could not be laid down with violent methods. The result is that communism neither treats life nor serves it at its highest. It remains for the better way of Love for Life to show that these priceless treasures of civilization, liberty, equality of opportunity, justice and brotherhood can be re-established. The world's task is far more than preserving this liberty. It is the task of re-establishing liberty already dead in most of the world, the task of bringing them out of our morally parchments and embracing them again within our hearts. We accept at the same time defend our liberties and defend our comfort and privileges. Defend our Western means essentially surrendering all advantages over other people. Until we will do that, we accept my one simple a success.

Traditional democracy theoretically reserved the right of violent rebellion to aggrieved people whose will was no longer represented in their government. But pure democracy must repudiate the violence, while reserving the right of rebellion. This is because violence, however employed, is the antithesis of democracy, and cannot be adopted to without at least temporary surrender. But non-violent resistance to the loss of democracy, on the other hand, can release the democratic spirit of mankind from its blood and its skin. This has already been revealed again and again in the non-violent warfare waged in the interest of the national states in India. As long as the development of socialism in the United States remained non-violent, as it did between 1830 and 1844 under a great saint, Theodore Dwight Weld, there was always a blood show of compromise among slaveholders of the South. Further than that it is interesting to know that historically under the domination of the first thirteen colonies, not that of the American empire, was actually won by war. The war of rebellion only served to serve a constitution. There followed twenty-five years of worse slavery than they had ever known and actual border bloodshed. The way of freedom was a way of non-violent non-violent advance, most remote from the method of war. War had only produced confusion, strife and chaos. The pertinent question about that war is: Could that question have been solved in a better way to have avoided all that misery of a full quarter of a



century. I believe that it could, had that war been better. As for the American negro, he is still not yet free. Such freedom as he now knows has been wrought out since the Civil War, in the compass of two-violence over the violence in human hearts of both North and South. The most surprising feature of non-violence has had as free as all the years since has been the human spirit of violence created by defeat in war on one side and answering there for revenge on the other, so intense it put the great Lincoln to death because he sought the way of nonviolence. I do not think there is a single instance in history where violence was ever settled the problem for which the defender later supposed they fought. But Denmark, on the other hand, is the supreme instance of a nation using itself on the road to liberty by the deliberate eradication of the "giving" of temporal conquest or defense of integrity.

Nonviolence has already taken an unimagined road for the non-violence of Christ in Masses, in its two confessions. It will perhaps be necessary to stand shortly in order to make its present position fully clear in the face of the new turn of events, though that may mean nonviolence. Many nonviolence have recently received copies of *Nonviolence II*, under which all non-Greek nonviolence serve as labels. It was a surprise to most of them to note that the Government had provided for them to "advance" policies in the interest of something in the preservation of the nation's security and well-being. Here then, I believe, is the supreme opportunity for Christian love of brother, necessary and non-necessary, to serve their nation and the world while adhering to their Masses' agreement not to take up the sword. I can only say for myself that I was prepared to surrender fully to the great cause, and do hereby pledge to follow your leadership if you decide to launch the *Salvage Army of the World*. I do this because I believe it is the only way that the real aggression can ever be stopped from its use in mankind's self-interest and the world which relied on a basis of justice, equality and peace.

Whatever the ardent supporters of armed defense maintain about the need to resist aggression in all other form of liberty, is true. I would not say to them, "Do not resist." I would say, "Resist with the only really effective method." Both violence and non-violence are methods only because armed. Both are in reality something more psychological, more uncontrolled and more. Violence is "violent" only because thought has found aggression in its deed that it is first the thought that has decided brother from brother. So also nonviolence is a method only when thought has found aggression in its deed that it is first and always essentially the thought that moves brother to brother, even to enemy! Democracy is but a part of the essential non-violence. Non-violence is, therefore, the only possible answer to the violent structure of our present world. If the organized structure of violence in thought and life is not conquered, no violence dead, war, can serve well. This means an end of the present social system so far as it is possible within it for anyone

to secure and maintain advantage in superiority of opportunity. It is because there are the exact opposite of democracy. The strange thing about this age is that there are people who cannot see the truth that you cannot have democracy and aggression in the same place.

The war in 1914-18 produced the war (its consequences) in 1919 following. That sequence of events is inevitable so long as the non-violent war against the violence in the present structure of man's thought and life is not carried to its ultimate victory. Like democratic slavery of the last century, the undemocratic war must be completely rejected, whether the accompanying conditions. Most of us will not live to see the day of that final victory. It is for us all to do that which God calls us to do in our own day. We can all pray "I do not wish to see the distant scene too early enough for me." We can well state our future, our security and our best in the War without Violence, for without it there will remain in confusion with the name.

I can see no hope whatever in the way the United States and England have so far taken. The war of 1940 will never be won. There can be no over color, instantly your civilization, necessary over democracy, darkness over light, and violence over goodness. That has already happened over a large part of the world and is fast coming to the rest. But genuine application of goodness can still arrest this in every part, especially where men in large numbers are ready to lay down their lives for the Truth that is in them. They can arrest that the "light-bearer" has already broken in the darkness of the world's present despair.

I pray that God may lead you in His own way. You have countless friends working for truth. Through the instrumentality of non-violent resistance to the momentous developments and stupidity of our age, the way may yet open into the new day and a peace of full justice prevail among the nations.

With the deepest appreciation of your single-minded devotion to Truth, and with the warmest affection, I am

Yours for the World Salvage Army,

Ralph T. Temple

[I gladly publish this letter. Mr. Temple represents a growing number of Western sympathizers. There are just two reflections spring out of this letter. I wish to say that Denmark's is not an illustration of non-violent action. It was more probably the most prudent course to adopt. When armed resistance is true, it is fully to spill blood. The second is that I do not expect to lead any sympathetic army of the world. So far as I can see in present, every country will have to work out its own programme. Non-violent action if possible.

Scraper, 21-7-40

M. E. G.]

The Power of Non-violence by Richard D. Gregg  
Pp. 2+3 A.

Malabar, Gandhi

By S. Radhakrishnan (New Edition) Pp. 8-18-2.  
Part 2 A. Available at Margins office-Poma 4.

# *Harijan*

July 28

1949

## NOT QUITE SO BAD

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend writes from a letter received from an English friend:

"Do you think that Mahatma's appeal to every Indian is going to produce right reactions in the mind at least of a single British? That appeal has probably created more ill-will than anything else recently. The line is exceedingly well timed, and it is infinitely difficult to decide what should be done. At any rate we should try to avoid obvious dangers. So far as I can see, Mahatma's unadvised policy must inevitably lead to disaster for India. How far he himself intends following it I do not know, for he has a wonderful way of adapting himself to his material."

Well, I happen to know that many more than one single heart have been touched by my 'Appeal to Every British'. I know that many English friends were anxious for me to take some such step. But I do not want to take comfort from the apprehension, however plausible in itself, of English friends. What is of value for me is to know that at least one Englishman thinks as stated in the report. Such knowledge should put me on my guard. It should make me more careful, if possible, in the selection of the words I use to express my thought. But no Englishman even of the deepest faith can put me off the day I see clearly in front of me. And the duty of making the Appeal was so paramount that it was impossible for me to put it off. As common as I am written thus, the world has to come to the state in which I have reached. Human. Those who will be witnesses of that happy and not far-off event will recall my Appeal with gladness. I know that the Appeal has benefited its advent.

Why should a single British receive an appeal to him to be better than he is, or be better than he is in every respect? He may plead inability but he cannot be displeased by an appeal to his nobler nature.

Why should the Appeal have any effect at all? There is no cause given for it by the manner or the matter of the Appeal. I have not advised cessation of fight. I have advised lifting it to a plane worthy of human nature, of the dearest man shown with God Himself. If the Indian moment of the remark is that he should the Appeal I have misinterpreted. Man hush the suggestion that one least striving. Here India can only be confounded by the adoption by Britain of the novel method of fighting. At one single stroke he will find that all his tremendous resources have been put out of action. A warrior lives on his own whither offensive

or defensive. He suffers a collapse if he finds that his winning capacity is unavailing.

My Appeal is not from a coward to leave people to shed their lives, and it is a matter from a fair-weather friend to one in distress. I suggest to the writer to re-read my Appeal in the light of my explanation.

One thing I am sure, at every crisis, may say I am a fool without any knowledge of the world or human nature. That would be a harmless confession which need cause neither ill-will nor anger. It would be harmless because I have earned such confessions before now. This one would be the last of the many admissions, and I hope not the last, for my foolish experiments have not yet ended.

So far as India is concerned, my unadvised policy can never harm her, if she adopts it. India as a whole cannot, if there can be no harm, anything except to those who may foolishly possess it. The correspondent has lighted upon my wrong point when he says "Mahatma has a wonderful way of adapting himself to his material." My excessive knowledge of my material has given me a faith which cannot be moved. I feel within me that the material is ready. My manner has not betrayed me once. But I must not build much upon past experience. "One step enough for me."

Suratgam, 28.7.49

## A WORTHY EDUCATIONAL EFFORT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Bala family have been running an institution called the Bala College at Pilani in Jaipur State. I have been often asked to visit it, but in spite of my best desire to do so I have never been able to find time for it. The late Raja visited the institution and gave me a glowing account and pressed me to visit it. Late Chhatrasalji Bala has now issued a booklet to acquaint the public about the origin and growth of the institution. The object is to invite concern and to prompt the public with an novel horizon, maybe for adoption. The writer has lavished on the booklet all his art of writing, aided by fine printing, beautiful illustrations skilfully arranged, making the whole thing very attractive. For two months Mahadev waited for a suitable opportunity to place it before me and imagining that I should have some spare time on our journey to Sanku he requested to give it to me on the train. The moment I took it up to read, it gripped me. It is a quaint one booklet of 61 pages and I could not give it up until I had read it from cover to cover. I would ask all concerned in education to write for it to the Secretary of the Bala College, Pilani.

A brief history of the enterprise may be given here. The institution has grown out of a small school called Bala Pathshala opened 40 years ago in an unimpressive little building. Now it is a big enterprise with an Intermediate College,

splendid buildings for school, college and hotels, and vast playgrounds. It has 30 staff quarters and 5 hotels accommodating 235 students (including 27 Marjanes). There are 12 playgrounds, a library with 3,600 Hindi and 6,772 English books. There is a high school with 784 boys, a college with 165 boys, and a girls' school with 157 girls. The Bala Educational Trust runs besides 126 village schools with 4,535 boys and 108 girls. Physical instruction and games are compulsory, and so is music. There is an agricultural farm with a dairy on modern lines. Among the crafts and vocational taught are spinning and weaving, carpentry, tailoring, dyeing, printing, book-binding, weaving, carpet-making, shoemaking and leatherwork. The agricultural farm and dairy have numerous cows, sheep and goats. The basic education scheme is also being given a trial. Hardly anything has escaped the attention of shops as change—paper, collected and industrial training, balanced diet, health consciousness, and health preservation. An endeavour is made to develop individual contact between the students and teachers on a family basis.

The whole movement has grown out of Seth Shrinivaspji Bhatia's desire to provide for the education of his two grandsons Ramchandra and Ghanshyamji. He did not like the provision to be confined to the needs of his grandsons, and so he established a school in 1900 with a village teacher on Rs. 5 a month for all the children of the village. This was called the Bala Pathshala—the seed out of which has grown the vast tree that the movement now has become. It combines family interest with philanthropy which has now become a distinctive trait of the Bala brothers. But Ghanshyamji, of all the brothers made a special interest of education, health and kindred aspects, and the growth of the movement at Palam is mainly due to his persistent resourcefulness, and interest in education. Sir Maudslayi Gwyer and other distinguished people have visited the institution and spoken in high terms about it. Ghanshyamji's ambition is to make a Degree College of the Intermediate College, and he has been trying to do so for some years. But things move slowly in British India, and so his ambition will remain unfulfilled. It is hoped that the Japur Trust will lose no time in encouraging this worthy enterprise and accord permission to turn it into a full-fledged college. In my opinion there are few institutions in India now with such care and attention. If we assume the necessity for modern colleges the Bala college has succeeded in combining several features which are scarcely to be seen elsewhere in India.

Devagram, D-D-40

(Translated from Gujarati)

#### Aesthetics

The long awaited narrative chapter about of Gaudin's *The Story of My Experiences with Truth* (Aesthetics) has now been published by the Narayan Press, Lalpur, Ahmedabad.

Price Rs. 1. Postage 12 ½ paise.

Available at Narayan Office—Pune 4.

## TWO JUST COMPLAINTS

(By M. K. Gaudin)

1

### Right of Translation

A Calcutta telegram recently against the violation of copyright in translations of my Gujarati articles, saying that my articles are the property of the nation and therefore there could be no copyright in them, and that I myself had taught that Hindustani was the proper source of India, and that I should therefore reconsider my decision. The grievance appears on the face of it to be just. But it is however, that I have prohibited translation from Gujarati into all other languages. Experience had taught me that English translations of my articles written in my Indian language were faulty, but it would not have been proper to confine the copyright to translations into English. All important Gujarati articles would be translated simultaneously into English and Hindustani and published almost the same time. There is, therefore, no hardship involved, for there is no copyright in the translated article which can be and are being reproduced.

My object was clear and unambiguous, I wanted to enter the hearts of the Indian masses. I should write in an Indian language and that language could be no other than that in which I could write with the greatest ease. If I had the same command over Hindustani as over Gujarati I should have written only in Hindustani.

2

### Are Gujarati More Non-violent?

The other complaint is this:

"You could not have begun to write in Gujarati set of your personality for Gujarati, but it would seem as though you believed that you would be able to influence the Gujaratis more quickly than others. That is to say, you have assumed that they are more non-violent than others. I think that they are. You may have more workers in Gujarati, but you do not seem to have a greater hold on the Gujaratis than on other masses. Indeed in conversation, you have always emphasized pronounced removal of non-violence and non-violence of India. Now I suggest that no other province in India has the core of non-violence to the extent that one finds in your Gujarat, especially you believed Gandhism. Indeed we have heard you have expressed that opinion. Again according to you there have no better there. Gujarati is the seat of the textile industry. I submit that the large number of workers in Gujarat are all Gandhians and they have all personally shed non-violence. But my complaint is against the masses in Gujarat. Where the masses are not ready, what hope is there of your influencing them more than others? Why not, therefore, address the Indian masses in your imperfect Hindustani, that is your more perfect Gujarati? For the masses of Hindustani-speaking masses are much larger than the Gujaratis, and I make bold to say that your influence on them is certainly the same as on the Gujaratis, if not even greater."

This complaint is cranked in from Hindustan and made in all university. I have summarised it in my own words. The correspondent will, I hope, admit that as doing so I have not only not been unfair to him, but have even put his argument more forcefully. This I have done with a purpose as my reply to him will reveal.

I claim that consciousness as my part of my belonging to Gujarat has never meant any exclusiveness. I have always believed and described myself as an Indian. When I went to South Africa I found that there were divisions among our countrymen into Tamil, Telugu and Gujarati. Immediately on my landing I abolished the divisions. For myself I knew that all the immigrants from India were Indians, and that provincial or religious divisions between them were irrelevant. It was true that they belonged to different provinces and to different faiths and that they spoke different languages, but all belonged to the same country, all had the same joys and sorrows, and all were under the same alien rule. Besides even the people of the country where they had gone did not know and did not recognise the distinctions of caste, religion, language or province. To them we were all Indians, all English, all women, and all to be governed by the same law. We have ceased to be called castes and creeds, but we have not ceased to be Indians. Thus able by temperament and from experience I have been against these divisions, as I think everyone should be.

Nevertheless when I began to think in terms of the talent God has given me and of the use I should make of them for the service of the motherland, I cannot afford to ignore the province of my birth. As Gujarat is my mother-tongue and as I know the Gujaratis more intimately, I could serve India best through Gujarat and the Gujarati language. It was this consideration that was at the back of the choice of Gujarat as my place of abode on my return from South Africa. But I deliberately did not choose Porbandar or Rajkot, though I had invitations from and feelings to both the places. For I had ceased to belong to Porbandar and Rajkot, ceased to belong to my caste. My choice has been advised to be one per one ruler. It could not be otherwise, as I believe that no foregoers are paid for God, and all my life is based on this belief.

If the argument presented above appeals to the reader and to the co-worker who has made the complaint in question, I need not labour it any more. But something more I must say for the sake of the work I want from Gujarat and from the other provinces of India.

I do not even elsewhere the same intimacy and extent of contact as I do with the Gujarati workers. And so if I succeed with them, I should have confidence reinforced the rest of India. Some of them believe that I should again take up my abode in Gujarat, but I do not think so. If I stayed in their midst, they would lose

interest, and cease to work independently. They have a trial leader like the Father to guide them at every step, and I feel that if I stayed in Gujarat my talent would not be put to the fullest possible use. It is God who has guided my steps to Serapam. It may be a difficult field of work. If it is, surely I may not shrink at. Stay in Serapam has taught me, a teaching not, a lay that is new. If I can be one with its six hundred souls, if I can unite them in constructive work and in the necessary work of reform, and if I can really make a noteworthy army of them, I should disregard the fact to do the same work in the whole of India. If I choose a hot city I should get lost, puzzled and perturbed. Much of what has been done and planned in Serapam has been done from the point of view of India. It is, therefore, less sure that I must direct my steps through Serapam and to Gujarat.

There is one fact which can upset the plan of leaving myself in Serapam. The Khudai-Nawaz may summon me to his province whenever he likes for his work, which indeed is also my work. If he succeeds in expressing real ideas, I firmly believe that the whole country can be saved. For the experiment there is one and one that of non-violence of the heart. God alone knows whether it will or will not succeed. Thus I know that wherever I go I will do the work. I regard the women of India independently by non-violence means as God's own work, and if that is achieved the whole world would be saved from being destined to a sea of bloodshed.

The reader will now see that I am prompted by passion for neither Gujarat nor non-violence. If there is any passion, it is the TRUTH and NON-VIOLENCE. It is through these that I can have some glimpse of God. Truth and non-violence are my God. They are the divine and supreme of the same class.

My co-workers complain it true that in the absence of non-violence and in love of which Gujarat has behind other provinces. But this does not mean that I should leave Gujarat alone. If these two aims cannot be accomplished in Gujarat, Gujarat will be an obstacle to the independence of India. If I can inspire the Gujaratis to lay down their lives for the destruction of the forces of non-violence and non-compliance what a glorious thing it would be! It would be a gift for all India to see and copy. Hindu-Muslim brotherhood would automatically come to an end, for the moment we cast out non-violence from our hearts Hindu-Muslim unity will be an accomplished fact and many another good thing would follow as a matter of course.

All this is only a dream rather. But it is in order to realise that dream that I have under taken in my old age this Gujarati experiment. If it is God's will that to take work from me age will be no bar.

Serapam, 22-7-48

(Translated from Gujarati)

## TRAVANCORE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In the hope of having a talk with Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and possibly working at some way out of the impasse, I was supposing the manifesto sent to me by succeeding elected Presidents. The last received was from Shri Ariththan, a Marathi advocate, about the last week of June. From the manifesto I extract only statements of facts, confined as far as possible all argument and inference.

"Processions and meetings have been vulgarly broken up by the special police and the ordinary police without even the assistance of preliminary orders. To quote from the speech of Sir K. Ramaswami A. I. A. (Gandhi) which he delivered at Madras after a long visit to Travancore, he said: "My experience is that in police raj in Travancore. No one could speak with any sense of security as to future matters even was brought. The Government appear determined not to allow any discussion or responsible government, and are willing to resort to any methods to prevent it. All normal channels of public expression have been stopped."

Experience has created nobility along three main lines: 1. Legal terrorism, 2. Police terrorism, 3. Complete monopoly of the Press.

1. Legal terrorism has taken the shape of "the Defence of Travancore Proclamations". It is not the actual number of those arrested and detained for indefinite periods under this Act, but the threat of it against every man and woman with any voice sympathising towards the State Congress that has created a great terror. Several people have been arrested under the Act and then let off, just to show that the authorities can do anything with anybody. Many important leaders have been imprisoned under this Act without trial and for indefinite periods.

2. Police terrorism has created more than what will be commonly understood by that term. In Travancore it has meant more than the forcible dispersal of processions and meetings. It has meant more as well as open punishment by what are called the special police who wear no uniforms and who get only Rs. 3 a month. This body of special police contains in many cases the worst rascals and desperadoes in various localities. Their special business is to quarrel and with the crowds and start violence proceedings. It has become physically impossible to hold any decent meeting or procession or demonstration in the face of such procedure. In Nayanthoor, Alappuzha, Putha, Kanyakumari and many other places such procedure has repeated itself.

3. Monopoly of the Press. No doubt there are several papers in Travancore which appear regularly. Not one of them would publish reports or news of State Congress meetings and demonstrations. Similarities noted by Acting Presidents of the State Congress or by State Congress leaders never appear in them. In many cases people in one part of the State never know anything of what happened in another part except when news appearing in the

English papers at Madras. This was proved when police light-bulbs occurred in Nayanthoor and Putha.

But the Travancore Government did not rest content with the above state of repression. Every effort from the highest to the lowest went about the country treating every State Congressman as sympathiser and merely as one belonging to a disturbing political party but as an enemy to be broken down by every means at their power. Another source told me that several of the people who have been police violence in 1944-45. Travancore who are under arrest and awaiting trial are matchless in number and very often discharged after several weeks of detention without trial.

Every time State Congress leaders published letters, notes against the Travancore police, the Government at once came out with categorical and wholesale denials. But Shri G. Ramaswami Aiyar's specific allegations regarding police terrorism at Nayanthoor and Putha published in The Hindu of Madras supported by indisputable facts have at last compelled the Government to order an official enquiry. It is significant that the enquiry has been ordered long after the Government had published categorical and wholesale denials of the allegations! The police are still creating the backlog of the enquiry.

The most disturbing development in the present situation has yet to be stated. This is the direct and open encouragement given to the various communal organisations in Travancore by the authorities including the Dewan, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar himself. At one time Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar used to say that it was the province of various communal organisations in Travancore which prevented him from inaugurating any scheme of responsible Government in Travancore. But today his policy clearly appears to be to encourage such and every communal organisation to develop along separate lines and thus make political unity impossible. Officers of Government including the Dewan take part in meetings of the various communal organisations. Leaders of Travancore know that if this process is allowed to continue, Travancore will soon become a hodge-podge for the various communal organisations.

I know that there will be an official counter-claim. I have already suggested that such counter-claims can have no value unless they are backed by a definite process of an impartial enquiry. Officials make nothing when they make irresponsible counter-claims, whereas State Congress Presidents stake their liberty and the prestige of their institutions when they make such statements.

The balance of probability, therefore, must be in their favour. The question given by Shri Ariththan from Shri Ramaswami Aiyar's speech is not to be lightly brushed aside.

I sent a copy of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's note to Shri Ramaswami Aiyar. He sends a comment from which I take the following:

"I am sure that our Working Committee kept 'uncommunal terrorism' clearly and absolutely out of the struggle. Mr. K. G.—George who is referred

to win out of the second stage of the Workers Committee, and considered our work and programme as thoroughly useless... It is absolutely false to say that we depend on Rago's personal statements for collecting our funds and for our existence. If that were so, there should be today no State Congress. During the last night or this morning Rago has not used a word about Transvaal. Our cause is so generally just that it does not depend even on Rago. It depends on its own inherent justice. There are of course help our cause. But that is different from saying that our movement depends on Rago...

Most of the leading members of the Transvaal State Congress including Sir V. K. Veluthandan and Mr. N. Panamaramba Pillai and others have openly denounced themselves, says Sir C. P. Tan, these two professions have done up. Most members of these two and that the State Congress is in the wrong. Sir Veluthandan stated that he withdrew in obedience to the Members of the Indian Congress movement which has now been captured by the hands of Sir C. P. Panamaramba Aiyar. Sir M. N. Panamaramba Pillai has openly apologised and requested his name to be printed too. How do these actions touch the demand and the programme and the stand of the State Congress? But besides these two gentlemen as prominent leader of the State Congress has gone back in my opinion. The number 66 requires close analysis. Then there is no second statement on the Paka statement which The Hindu published and a copy of which I am enclosing. It was then stated on behalf of the Transvaal Government that there would be an official enquiry and a press campaign. It is weeks now since this appeared, and no enquiry or campaign has been heard of. It was a type error and which the Transvaal Government was pulled by words and catchphrases. They had denied everything in their first communication. Then when I replied, they said there would be an enquiry and a campaign. But nothing has happened yet.

I believe every word of what Sir Ramachandran says. The terrible criticism was that the work of the State Congress. But even if there is one true representative left to hold aloft the torch of non-violent liberty, he will be quite enough to motivate himself and every Transvaalian towards an episode of life-giving freedom. A friend sent me the other day a few lines of an American President: "One true man of courage represents a majority." I have quoted from memory. But there is no mistake about the meaning. Let every member of the State Congress take it to heart and believe that speaking a lie or one word that survives the repression. As it is I know that there are numerous men and women of the State Congress who are untrained enough to stand the most serious repression that the wit of the successful Diogenes of Transvaal and his adherents can devise. Saranam, 23-7-49

Letter of July 1 to V. of Saranam, with serious criticisms, see he had been on for 3 or 4 or 5 or 6 or 7 or 8 or 9 or 10 or 11 or 12 or 13 or 14 or 15 or 16 or 17 or 18 or 19 or 20 or 21 or 22 or 23 or 24 or 25 or 26 or 27 or 28 or 29 or 30 or 31 or 32 or 33 or 34 or 35 or 36 or 37 or 38 or 39 or 40 or 41 or 42 or 43 or 44 or 45 or 46 or 47 or 48 or 49 or 50 or 51 or 52 or 53 or 54 or 55 or 56 or 57 or 58 or 59 or 60 or 61 or 62 or 63 or 64 or 65 or 66 or 67 or 68 or 69 or 70 or 71 or 72 or 73 or 74 or 75 or 76 or 77 or 78 or 79 or 80 or 81 or 82 or 83 or 84 or 85 or 86 or 87 or 88 or 89 or 90 or 91 or 92 or 93 or 94 or 95 or 96 or 97 or 98 or 99 or 100 or 101 or 102 or 103 or 104 or 105 or 106 or 107 or 108 or 109 or 110 or 111 or 112 or 113 or 114 or 115 or 116 or 117 or 118 or 119 or 120 or 121 or 122 or 123 or 124 or 125 or 126 or 127 or 128 or 129 or 130 or 131 or 132 or 133 or 134 or 135 or 136 or 137 or 138 or 139 or 140 or 141 or 142 or 143 or 144 or 145 or 146 or 147 or 148 or 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to give them five minutes, but he actually gave them half an hour which he devoted to sponsoring himself with the members. One of the members asked Gandhi the question: "Why should we open now that there is no definite civil disobedience in the offing? Some strategists have actually gone so far as to say that civil disobedience has receded into the background." "That is no doubt," replied Gandhi, "that they would have made but poor strategists, and it is far the best that they have dropped out. I think if these first-weather customers could be good for anything, for good or for ill, we have adopted the spinning wheel as the weapon for our non-violent struggle. A soldier who will possess his weapons only when action is in sight will surely come a scupper in the time of the test. A strategist's soldier always looks and plans for ahead of him. If we have faith in the efficacy of the weapons we have chosen, we shall never give it up or lay it down but keep it always recharged and ready. Today our non-violence is on its trial. The Workers Committee's resolution is based on the assumption that the country is today not ready for the practice of pure ahimsa. They would be but too glad to discover that this assumption was wrong and reverse their decision accordingly. It is for those who have a living faith in non-violence to prove the same and convert the Workers Committee to their view instead of seeking as the first course to rule from their faith. If the fifty-two members who are on the roster of your club have the right faith in them, they will soon multiply into fifty-two hundred. But once thirty-sixhilling won't do. If the salt loath is wrong, whatworth shall it be asked?"

"I have not a shadow of doubt that through the spinning wheel we can develop the non-violence of the strong which rules as salt hovers overwhelming and knows no defeat. Weapons forged out of iron and steel do not convert me. They might enable you to smother death over the strong and to capture a measure of the power by order works over you. But this will not have the same nor the better. They will continue to grow under the rule of the powerful and the mighty. I am not interested in an order which leaves out the weak—the blind, the halt and the maimed. My interest is even for the least in the land. This can come only through non-violence."

"Non-violence of the weak is bad. But violence of the tyrants—vengeance violence—is a worse. That is what is today creating the atmosphere. Here spinning is a work will not purge the atmosphere of this poison."

#### Dhyanis + Faith

Another member of the club remarked that they could not pretend to have a faith in the spinning wheel which Gandhi had, but they were prepared to spin for discipline, which was quite honest a word to take up. Gandhi, while admitting that spinning for discipline had

value at one time, contended that it was altogether inadequate to the need of the hour today. To create a truly non-violent atmosphere in the country spinning with faith was necessary. Supposing there were even imported the loss of thousands of innocent women and children and the consequences threatened to spread over the whole country, it would be up to those who had come forth in non-violence to measure themselves between the two-considered routes and quell their fury by their self-immolation. Spinning for discipline will not give them that faith.

"Discipline," he continued, "has a place in non-violent strategy, but much more is required. In a strategist's army everybody is a soldier and a servant. But in a peak every strategist's soldier has also to be his own general and leader. Here discipline cannot make for leadership. The latter calls for faith and vision. That is why I have said that spinning for discipline, whatever else it might be capable of achieving, cannot help us to win the strategic fight which requires the non-violence of the strong."

#### Under Thakkar Bapa's Wing

The Harpur Industrial House at Kingsway, meeting under the fostering wing of Thakkar Bapa, is another interesting feature of the Imperial Cup, and claimed from Gandhi one special visit. The special occasion was at the time of the evening prayer in which Gandhi joined. He was much impressed by the program that the boys had made in the reduction of the paper waste and their correct presentation. At the end he addressed them a few words to encourage in them the practice of regularly congregating at the morning and evening prayer. "There can be no better course to build character and to build unity into a homogeneous society than to come through prayer. It purifies us and gives us the true strength—the strength that comes from purity and high resolve. May God bless you with both in an ample measure."

#### A Permanent Questioner

A little girl asked Gandhi the question as to how strategists could avoid against making them the sky who would deal death from above and with whom the strategists would not be able even to make contact. "By dying non-violently rather than retreating," replied Gandhi. "But who will then live to enjoy freedom?" asked the persistent little questioner. "The survivors, if there are any," replied Gandhi. "But may I put you a counter-question?" he continued. "Who enjoys the freedom when whole dreams of armed soldiers rush over a hill-side of hill-top to be mown down? Why, those who might succeed in capturing the castle by passing over their dead bodies. The soldier who fights never expects to enjoy the fruits of victory. But in the case of non-violence, everything seems to start with the assumption that the non-violent method must be set down as a failure unless he himself at least lives to enjoy the fruits thereof."

This is both stupid and erroneous. In any case, it seems more than an armed warfare, it may be said that we find life by losing it."

#### Back to Swagman

The bulk of the time in New Delhi was, of course, taken up by the Working Committee's deliberations which were both long and arduous. We returned for the summer back to Swagman on the evening of the 7th. Almost the first question which Goodlap was asked at a warlike session was whether the Working Committee had given the gajaks to non-violence and whether people were now expected to exchange the rifle for sarungas and offer themselves as the King's recruits. Goodlap had gone off to sleep when the train made the next considerable halt. A swarm of people gathered at the window and began to ask, "Why is our Mikhasany, according to his word, asking for contributions for the Harjans?" I told them that he was too tired to keep awake at that hour, but he expected them just the same to contribute their mite to the Harjan cause. A storm of protest, due fitly then, burst at the remark, and almost at the same they contributed generously to the Harjan fund.

Swagman, 17-7-40

Pyarelal

## Notes

### Impossible

Miss Mabel Lester writes

"See how you are misquoted by Sherwood Eddy in his latest book *I Saw God Do It*. I have been asked to send you this cutting from it so that you may reply to it if you want to. Here is the extract.

"We have mentioned throughout this chapter that some are called to be concentration objectives or show-line pariahs to challenge the whole war system, but that the majority will feel it to be their duty loyally to defend their country when it is attacked or its vital interests are threatened. Gandhi himself, the most effective and the greatest living pariah, is not an absolute but a relative, a reader and, to a large degree, a practical statesman. He is effectively using one violent measure to achieve the independence of India, but he recognizes that a modern State cannot be maintained without both a police force and an army. What the writer asked him previously how a divided India army could be commanded by a Muslim, a Hindu, or a Sikh, he told me they could first ask an American or some foreign agent to lead their army. But Gandhi protests and Indian nationalists would defend their country if attacked by Japan or Soviet Russia or any other foreign power by the full force of their arms. So, I believe, should our own country."

I can only say that I have no recollection of my having ever made such a statement. I know Dr Sherwood Eddy well. I remember too his view. The accompanying statement put into my mouth before all I have ever written or said

about the defence of India. Even if I believed in armed defence, I should never want a foreign general to lead my army. I may have foreign contractors but not officers. If, therefore, Dr Eddy uses these lines, and instead of correcting himself persists in his statement, I can only say I must have been almost-mad when I made the statement reported to me. I cannot say I must have been drunk, because I do not drink.

Swagman, 16-7-40

M. K. G.

### Our Tangle Wane

I summarize the following from an article of Shri Yashu in the *Manila Free-Press-Times of Warids*.

"Ten or twelve years ago, India consumed 14 yards of cloth per head. Now it is reckoned at 16 or 17. A moderate standard demands the consumption to be raised to 20 ft. *Jaminalal* would like to raise it to 30.

It is necessary to consider this question from a different standpoint. A rise from 14 to 16 does not necessarily mean that the consumer is now more 'cloth-hal' than before. For cloth-takers have not stopped upon the usual length of cloth used in the past, but upon the number of items in which it has been used simultaneously. Thus, for instance, if A has used one pair of good stout shoes (12 yards) during the year, while B has used two pairs (20 yards) of less durable ones, apparently B's consumption is twice that of A. But if both of them have used only one pair at a time, it has no made B more 'cloth-hal' than A.

So it is necessary to consider not only how much yardage is consumed per head per annum, but also of what durability, and to fix the standard of measuring yards used, both the dimensions should be measured, i.e. 12 yards of 12 months' durability.

To this must also be added the important information whether the increase in consumption has reached the poorer. For, some increase of the average does not signify much. If, in a village of 500 souls, there is a very rich family at the head has increased its textile consumption from 500 yards to 1,000 yards per year, the average of the village will show a very great advance. But only he would have got the advantage of the increase. Between the Women and the Godwin at the one end and the Ashraf and the Harjan at the other, the balance is so great that the degree of per capita income, consumption etc., hardly give any picture of the reality. Therefore really demands a knowledge of how the whole has. This is done by the *laddi* method."

M. K. Madhupratap

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# HARIJAN

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[ ONE ANNA SIX PIES

## THERE IS VIOLENCE IN IT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

San Swamiji, a speaker from Bombay, who reads my articles usually in Haripalwadia, the Gujarati edition of Harijan, has expressed his candid surprise that in my article on the Working Committee's statement issued from Wajikha, I had written in the effect that 'I was unhappy that the privilege of a friendship of many years had now become a thing of yesterday.' 'Is there not violence in these words?' he asks. I was startled to see these words put into my mouth, and went to him at once that I could not have said them. For I had no doubt that there was violence in the very thought that a friendship of twenty years had become a thing of yesterday. I could say this of no friendship I have formed, much less of my friendship with the Sardar. Having opened all these years the process of loving even one's enemies, how could I break my friendship with a colleague like the Sardar? My differences with Mahadevi and Shastree have not affected in the least my friendship with them. Thus a friendship should not bear the stamp of difference in cases in a case up to a lifetime.

So I returned to Haripalwadia and found that what Swamiji was referring to was a translation of the following words: 'Unhappy because my word seemed to lose the power to carry with me those whom I was my proud privilege to carry all those many years which seem like yesterday.' These words could not possibly bear the meaning that was attributed to me in the translation. Besides it was plainly inconsistent with the words I had written only a few sentences before: "Though it is a break in the common process of a common ideal or policy, there is no break in the friendship of twenty years standing." My subsequent was not over any break of friendship — there was no such break — but over the fact that my word seemed suddenly to have lost the power that it had until yesterday. The friendship endured, but I had to do more self-sacrifice to attain the co-operation that I had lost. That was the burden of the article.

But this accidentally erroneous translation shows that my decision to write in Gujarati was right in many ways than one. Translations made by translators, however competent, are likely sometimes to be faulty. The Bible was translated by some forty able scholars, but it has been found in certain errors, to say ever so few.

The friendship, then, will endure. There will even make it stronger if possible. But that does not affect the fact that in spite of my best efforts I have not been able to prevent differences on a fundamental issue. Yet the more I think about it, the more I feel that in adopting the attitude it has done the Congress has gone off the rails. It has lost the capital boat with passengers aboard.

Perhaps it may be said that the Congress had really no such regard to lose. For the non-violence of the Congress was confined to its struggle against constituted authority. That remains intact. It had not defied an authority — there was no occasion for it — with regard to other fields. The permission to use force in individual self-defence had been given as early as the Ghandi Congress. There is force in these arguments, but I know that a fair number of Congressmen believe that the Congress non-violence applied to all the fields, including internal discipline and external aggression. Non-violence narrowed to a struggle against constituted authority is like a corpse lifeless. But no amount of argument for or against can shake convictions that come from the heart.

All honour to the Sardar and others for holding fast by their convictions. The Sardar is no man of words but a man of action. He does not look around or about himself when he has decided upon a course of action. He simply goes ahead. May he always be thus.

My war is clear before me. But what of those who have followed the Sardar and me in the belief that we are always of one mind? They are in a difficult position. If there should be a part of their being but only a reflection of mine, it is their duty to follow the Sardar. I have no doubt that the Sardar has gone off the track or rather that it is beyond his capacity to go any way. He has shown a different path with my consent, my encouragement. Therefore those who are in doubt should follow the Sardar. I believe the Sardar will see, his eyes will come back to the way he has abandoned, when he discovers in himself the capacity that he feels he has lost. When that happy moment arrives, if it does, the rest will also come back to me with the Sardar. This is the safest way for them.

But those who have no doubt about their course, those who have remembered shame, those for whom shame is the only way out of all diffi-

colours, should quietly retire from the Congress and bury themselves in various non-violent activities. If they are truly non-violent, they will prevent a split in the Congress. Their retirement makes any split out of the question. But even after retiring they will not come in conflict with the Congress. They will give the Border any help that be necessary for non-violent activities, and they will try to lay down their lives whenever there is an occasion to do so in the event of national disturbances.

If it is possible to form small bands of men-galies after we return it is of course desirable. They should be able not only to keep the flag of Khudai Qudus, but should also be able to convert Congressmen by their intelligence and actions. For there are many Congressmen who desire that Khudai should be the rule of life in all fields, only they desire an opportunity. It is our duty, and that of those who think with us, to dispel their doubts by successful applications of Khudai in the new fields.

Srinagar, 29-7-49. (Adapted from Gujarati.)

### TIDBITS

The following interesting tidbits are taken from the Harjan Sewak Singh's monthly bulletin dated May 20th.

**Scandal.** In the new election of the Calcutta Corporation one Harjan politician has been elected as an Alderman.

**Rider.** It is hoped that in the budget for 1948-49 the Government of India have provided Rs. 75,000 for the housing schemes of Harjans.

**C. P. Mission.** was made in the last monthly letter about the strained relations among workers of the Harjans and the Comm. Hindus of Garhwal. Now Pt. Jankashil Mishra has also appealed to Congress workers to take up the campaign in higher ranks.

A dispensary for the benefit of the Kulis has been started under the auspices of the Singh at Khan in Muz. Tehsil of Alakhnand District. The General Secretary performed the opening ceremony of the dispensary on 27th April.

**Kashmir.** A new centre of Harjan work has been started in Wadhwani.

**Bombay Province.** Dr. Maria Montessori visited the Harjan Ashram, Salween, in March, and performed the opening ceremony of the Bal Mandir building at the Ashram, where many Harjan children are studying.

(1) The Gujarat Harjan Sewak Singh has received a handsome contribution from a Bombay friend who wants to remain anonymous for the repair of Harjan wells in Ratnaji and Shani District. So far 34 proposals at an estimated cost of Rs. 4,500 have been sanctioned.

(2) The Bombay District Board had passed Res. orders to close from 1-4-49 the only remaining 12 schools which had no Harjan children in them. Now 20 of them have started to admit Harjan children and so ultimately only 2 have been closed.

(3) The Kheda District Board have also notified the closure of 4 more schools on the above ground. The two schools at Panol and Dandi which had been closed year before last have been reopened, an assurance being received from some people that Harjan children will be admitted.

The Bombay Provincial H. S. Singh has brought out a brochure, giving details of 71 temples in Bombay city which have been thrown open to Harjans and also of 232 more which have not been thrown open to them. The brochure is in Gujarati and is priced 5 Rs. The Secretary of the Bombay H. S. Singh reports that in village Elwan near Bombay, as a school which is attached to the remains of a pre-war temple, a Harjan teacher was refused admission by the village people. On representation by the Asst. Secretary of the Singh, the School Board decided to close the school one month before the vacation, and also decided to transfer a Harjan teacher to the new school who reopened it at another place.

**C. I. of Rajasthan.** An A. P. L. message says that the present ruler of Jhalwar State has taken charge of a Harjan boy, who is being brought up in the palace, playing and mixing freely with the brahmins.

A correspondent from Ujjain writes:

'There is a custom in most places in Greater State that during the Hindu festival high caste Hindus, specially Rajputs, play Holi with Chamars. This is now generally frowned, and the women taken to jail in the degrading custom. On a refusal to prosecute, the Chamars are beaten and maltreated. In village Madhwa in Mand District of Greater State, it is said that on the last Holi day (22nd March) the Rajputs of the village went for Chamar women to visit. The Chamars refused to meet their women. The Rajputs got infuriated and fell upon the Chamars with lathes and other weapons, severely wounding seven, of whom two have since died and one is lying in a precarious condition. The Chamars tried to take the dead body to the police station. The Thakur's men forcibly confiscated the dead body and got it secretly burnt. The H. S. Singh deputed a local Harjan worker to the village on April 15 to investigate the matter but the Rajputs secretly hid himself from him. The matter has been reported to the higher authorities and to H. H. the Mahants Sahib, and Shri Dary also went there in May to investigate.'

It may be remembered that last year the Indian H. S. Singh organised a literary campaign and regular classes were commenced to keep up the literacy. Now in these summer months additional classes are being opened to give greater facilities to Harjans to learn the alphabet, and since April 15 extensive literary work has been undertaken in night classes. At present about 30 workers teach about 600 Harjans.

A. V. Thakur  
General Secretary

## SPINNING AND CHARACTER

(By M. K. Gouda.)

The Secretary of the A. I. S. A. Harward Branch sends me the following report of the spinning work done in the government schools.

When Mr. R. N. Chatter-Wilson, the manager of the Haldi movement, and Miss E. W. Brown, Lady Superintendent of the central school in the movement, read in the paper that the Harward Branch of the All India Spinning Association had sent members to the Tapes and Gudiya movements to teach spinning and spinning to the unemployed members of these movements, they began to think whether they should try the experiment in the Haldi movement also. It was the enthusiasm and courage of Mr. Wilson and Miss Brown that provided upon the branch to take up the work in the Haldi movement.

We took up work in the Remand Home for boys. The Remand Home contains about 24 boys of all ages between 5 and 15. The boys are kept in the Remand Home either for their parents or the police for being looked after by the superintendent. The usual reason for keeping the boys there is their wayward conduct or tendency to commit petty thefts. The managers of the Remand Home naturally found it difficult to keep the boys in a complete path. Most of them run away, and had to be captured, searched out and brought again to the Remand Home. The boys could not be sent to any of the primary or secondary schools in the city as they were always the fear of their running away. The movement authorities had not let upon any reliable work to keep the leaders and members of the boys engaged.

The A. I. S. A. deputed an instructor who worked in training the boys for 1½ months. The presence of clothing and cooking the cotton as well as that of spinning are in the Indian home. The older boys that are between 14 and 15 were taken up for training. Each boy is spinning about 1,500 to 1,600 yards per day, the cost of the yarn being 25 to 30. I am satisfied by the manager of the Remand Home that there is much improvement in the conduct and behaviour of the boys since they began to have regular work with some remuneration. Miss Brown's letter speaks for itself. I do not wish to add anything I believe which the letter conveyed to."

The following is the Lady Superintendent Miss Brown's interesting letter to me.

"I am asked by the All India Spinning Association to let you know about the spinning that we are doing in our central school.

1. We started the class for spinning in January this 1945.

2. The boys range from 14 to 16 years, and we were surprised to find how much they appear to enjoy doing it.

3. Indeed, they are almost wild with no particular excitement as we could not afford to start any expensive machines. Now they are happy and busy engaged, and they seem to have no desire to run away.

4. Now they are getting from 2 annas to 3 annas 2 paise per day for their work, doing about 2

hours a day. They are paying back the amount advanced previously to start the spinning work, a little is given now their hands and the rest put in their credit, so that they will have something on hand when they leave the home. As they have been so successful with the looms, we have begun this week teaching the same girls in the Girls' Central Home. We thought the news would interest you, therefore I am writing you here and sending a photo of the boys who do the spinning. You will appreciate how happy they look."

There is ample evidence to corroborate the foregoing testimony as to the swelling influence of spinning. I hope Miss Brown will continue to send me periodical reports on the progress of her experiments. Secogram, 26-7-45

## A TESTIMONY FROM ENGLAND

[I publish the following statement by Michael, a sample of how some English youths are reacting to the non-violent movement in India.

Secogram, 24-7-45

M. E. G.]

94 Park Tower, Oxford  
May 23, 1946

Dear Mr. Datta,

I am writing under the deepest impression of gratitude towards your journal *Harjan*. In fact it is the real terror of this "mechanical world" now approaching me at home—and I can hardly believe that you can imagine what it means for us women with children to avoid this approach with nothing but "moral resistance" in our hands. The human machine is gone back to a collective step. At such times all values stand out clearly with the brilliance of night stars against a shimmering background. The soul drives only to the deepest realism. Again and again I turn to Mahatma and find upon the concept and line of truth I had in my pages. I feel humbled when I realize the dependence of Europe on India, that the ancient village life of India will survive this storm, and beauty will not have entirely vanished from the earth. But let the leaders of India face the task bravely. There is some danger of English Liberals which wander into a kind of dream. The spectacle of armed force is horrible, degrading, but a waste. Continue to oppose all such force with all the spiritual forces of a great nation. This is the greatest service you may do for your own race and for humanity.

Yours very sincerely,

E. MARY MICHAEL

P.S. I am sending you a specimen. I have completed the work of an Indian village post. It is on Indian handmade paper and bound in khadi. I hope you will accept it as a mark of gratitude for all that your paper has meant to me during the past months. I wish that all newspapers were so simple, true, and free from the vulgarity of advertisement.

## Handmade Paper

Our purchases and sales of handmade paper for the month of July have amounted to Rs. 2,013-9-0 and Rs. 1,287-3-8 respectively, because the total figures of purchases and sales from January 1 to Rs. 15,457-7-0 and Rs. 9,377-12-8 respectively. Rs. 1,118 have been given for paper cost and another for paper.

## A HOT GOSPELLER

I must work with people who have a message and burning faith in a given or a stated belief, whether we agree with them or not. And when they are conscientious they seem to radiate energy and infuse new life into us. I have to mind, as I write this, people like the late Sir Daniel Hadravsky, the present Metropolitan Bishop of India, Dr. John Moyo, and James Macpherson. I had the same feeling when Lady Emily Karamal was here the other day to deliver on Gandhiji the gospel of Chama. Lady Karamal belongs to a family which has done a lot for the spread of the gospel. Her mother, the proudly serene, had two sons—V. M. C. A. and India, and the three daughters, including Lady Emily, all unswerving, have tried to give their best to their mother's cherished objects.

Lady Emily seems to be a regular reader of *Harizon*, and though she is 55 is full of energy and enthusiasm. She must have known that, if she comes change at her age, neither can Gandhiji, but evidently she gave Gandhiji credit for a more open mind—perhaps because he is younger, and he respectfully addressed her as 'mother'—when she came to deliver the message of Chama to him.

She seemed to doubt the utility of Gandhiji's 'Appeal to Every Person', but she said: 'Don't you think Denmark has carried out your ideal of non-violence?'

'Not a bit,' said Gandhiji. 'It was a surrender, and when I have asked for a non-surrender, but non-violent resistance.'

'But Denmark did not resist and did exactly as you have advised Britain today!'

'But I have not asked for unthinking surrender or exploitation. I have appealed to Britain and everyone in their plight to display the highest courage that man is capable of, viz. to refuse to use arms and so defy the enemy to walk over their dead bodies. Denmark did nothing of the kind!'

'But Denmark had no time. It was all so sudden, and there was nothing for it but for her to offer no resistance.'

'I know, I know,' said Gandhiji. 'This is a such weakness that even non-violence to the test. It was so dumbly prudent on her part to offer no resistance. But violence is not the same thing as non-violence. Non-violent resistance is far more effective than violent resistance, and that is what I have asked for from those nations which are so accustomed to violent resistance.'

'Well, well, what's the good of it?' said Lady Emily excitedly.

'What was the good of Jesus Christ dying down His life?' asked Gandhiji.

'Oh, that was a different matter. He was the son of God.'

'And so are we.'

'No,' pronounced Lady Emily. 'He was the only son of God.'

'Is it there,' said Gandhiji, 'that the mother

(she) and son (Gandhiji) must differ. With you Jesus was the only begotten son of God. With me He was a son of God no matter how much purer than us all, but every one of us is a son of God and capable of doing what Jesus did if we but endeavour to express the Divine in us.

That gave Lady Emily the cue for her sermon. 'Yes, that is where I think you are wrong. If you accepted Christ in your heart and appealed to your temple to do likewise, you could deliver your message with greater ease and far better effect.' I was quailing from memory, as I have no notes of the interview. But I am sure I am not being unfair to her, as she repeated this message to me in a long interview with me two days after the interview with Gandhiji. 'He is our witness, and without securing Him in our hearts we cannot be saved,' she added.

'So those who accept the Christ are all saved. They need do nothing more?'

'We are sinners all,' said Lady Emily, 'and we have but to accept Him to be saved.'

'And then we may continue to be sinners? Is that what you mean?' asked Gandhiji, laughing heartily. 'You do not, I hope, belong to the Plymouth Brethren, do you?'

'No, I am a Presbyterian.'

'But you talk like some of the Plymouth Brethren I met long ago in South Africa.'

'Yes, I am afraid you were so unfortunate in the Christian contacts you formed in South Africa. You did not meet the right kind of people.'

'Surely you will not say that. I met a number of admirable people. They were all honest and sincere.'

'But they were not true Christians.'

Gandhiji then gave a graphic account of his contact with a number of Christians in those early days, ended up with the warmest contact with F. W. Meyer. 'Do you know F. W. Meyer?' he asked Lady Emily.

'Oh yes,' she said.

'Well, then, let me tell you,' said Gandhiji, 'that it was F. W. Meyer who after a long talk with me asked the other Christian friends to let me alone. He said to them that I was as good as converted, and that I did not need any formal process of conversion. But of course they did not accept them. And old A. W. Baker, who must be much over eighty now, is still as fit as me. He writes to remind me once and again that unless I accept Christ in his way I cannot be saved.'

Lady Emily was on the same mission as Mr. A. W. Baker, but she thought she had an entirely new message to deliver. And no wonder. Everyone who is fired with a message must feel that every one he delivers it he has something new to

\* For a detailed account see chapters XI and XV of Part 2, Gandhiji's *Autobiography*, of which a cheap edition has been published just now by the Narayana Karachon, Ahmedabad, and which is also available at the Harizon Office.

me. But the very mention of London, Miss O'Neil, Mrs. Hanna, Spencer Watson, S. W. Meyer and others was a joy to Lady Easy. For she read with almost victorious delight. 'But you do think of those Christians, Mr. Gandhi, even at this distance of time?'

And she wondered why we were so obtuse as not to see what was so obvious to her—the outstanding superiority of the message of Christianity in any other message. The Bible had been translated into several hundred languages, and the teachers in the remotest parts of the world, who knew not a syllable of English, was aptly surprised to find God's message delivered to him in his own dialect.

'That proves nothing,' said Gandhi upon hearing Lady Easy also laughed, were accompanied by the fact that when she was saying was like pouring as much water over the duck's back. The very first qualification of a preacher is unperverted honesty.

'And then?' Lady Easy added 'whereas fifty years ago there were so many hundred thousand Christians in India, there are today ten times as many.'

'Again,' said Gandhi, 'that proves nothing.'

'But why all this quarrel about labels?' added Gandhi at the end of the long argument. 'Can't a few hundred thousand Indians or Africans live the message of Christ without being called Christians?'

'No, for without the grace of Jesus one cannot be saved. One has to accept Christ in one's heart,' she answered. 'That is the definition of a true Christian, and I admit there are very few Christians today.'

As usual with these battles, this one was a draw, and Lady Easy retired to the guests good-byes. In two days she returned to deliver the same message to me. She repeated the same argument, dwelt upon the glories of conversion upon the great work that the Christian missionaries had done, and asked me why I aimed no occasion to have a dig at the good missionaries. 'But,' said I, 'I have numerous friends amongst them, and they understood me and I understood them. As for courage let me tell you that long before Jesus delivered His message, the paper was offered to India by our wisest men, and it had been handed down to us for centuries. Lead us from the unreal to the Real from darkness to Light, from death to Immortality. Our progress from the one to the other was a process of conversion.'

'But whenever I talk with you people' and Lady Easy, 'you talk of centuries ago, but do not talk of today.'

'Where you talk of true Christianity you are have to go back 2000 years, and if we have behind the message of our great teachers, so have you. What can be a greater example of Christianity than the present war?' I rejoined.

'But those who have betrayed it are not true Christians.'

'Well then, Lady Easy I would say it would be far better for you to address your message to those who calling themselves Christians are betraying Christ's message than to those who do not profess to be Christians. For their life is a genuine work to Christianity than those of non-Christians.'

I think Lady Easy saw the point, for she said, 'When we came to India we came to recover the English missionaries. That was our sole mission.'

'I wish you kept that your sole mission even today.'

'But you are trying to judge us,' said Lady Easy, slightly hurt perhaps. 'Do not judge. Do you remember the verse—? Except ye be born again? We have to be born again.'

'Yes, I remember the verse. See that Bible on my bookshelf. For I hold it in the same respect as I do my Bhagavadgita. But the two seem to me to reflect more than the Upward and I give you a moment also I am not trying to judge you. I am judging myself too. We are all being judged today, and we have all to be born again from darkness to Truth, from darkness to Light, from death to Immortality.'

I have summarized very briefly a long argument. But should upon the argument was a draw, to talk with that doubtful champion was an exhilarating experience.

Savagran, 29-7-46

M D

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's Extraneous

I have seen Dr. Kaipa's spirited reply to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's recent statement on the position of Indian States. In my opinion the latter's theme is acknowledged. The counter-argument claims will make not the slightest difference when the British are ready, or compelled by events, to recognize India's independence. Pundit has drawn from authentic documents the flimsy masses of the stories enjoyed by the States. The guarantee is a convenient excuse for denying India's claim. But it will bear no scrutiny when the claim becomes irrevocable. Surely Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, as a constitutional lawyer and student of British history, knows all that I wholly agree with Dr. Kaipa when he says that the Crown of Transcendence is all serving his own and the other Princes by reducing to them the belief that the British Government will perpetrate clear and their 'unconscious' autonomy against the just claims of the States people and the people of India as a whole. I venture to suggest that the best interests of their states consists not in the relations with the British but in the goodwill, encouragement and co-operation of their own people and the friendship of the people of non-State India. Time is running in favour of Indian independence and against all interests adverse to the people and their natural aspirations. I was, therefore, pained and surprised to find the Raja Sahib of Dindighur barely echoing the phrases of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.

Savagran, 30-7-46

M K G.

# *Harizan*

Aug. 4

1948

## OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is unfortunate that in answer to Mr. Soman's very relevant question the Secretary of State for India was busy with some paper which shows signs of approximation of the parity of the situation in India. Who could have known the gravity of the European situation before the declaration of war by the British Government? Was the British Government then less very grave the situation had become with Munich. They were so appalled by the gravity that they put off the declaration as long as they could. Similarly the Indians do not know anything of the gravity of the situation in India. But the Secretary of State is not a layman. What he does not know, nobody else should know. And yet I venture to suggest to him that his government judged the situation more accurately than he himself did, taking his answer as its final value.

In ordinary times such ignorance as Col. Amery's answer shows may be excusable. At the moment it is unreasonable. I do not propose to enlighten him on all I know. I dare not publicly explain all the danger signals. It would be an unfriendly act on my part to do so. Even the morning I am proved here might have been previously given. I have slept several nights over the answer. I came to the conclusion that to answer altogether from the public what I know would also be an unfriendly act. In spite of my misgiving from the Congress I flatter myself with the belief that a large part of the public will seek my guidance and will continue to do so, as long as I am believed to represent the spirit of satyagraha more fully than any other person in India.

Col. Amery has generously agreed to underlining the statement that the Congress has succeeded in postponing civil disobedience in order not to embarrass the British Government at a most crucial period in the history of the British. The statement expects an approximation to a situation of satyagraha. Therefore it is a cure. And the discharge of a duty carries no more cost in payment of a debt than not. Nevertheless insistence of the statement becomes relevant in order to show that but for that statement a complication may have been there where there is not one to be feared.

It is true that civil disobedience remains in suspension also because of the internal defects in the Congress organisation. But I have not previously said, if the Congress is guided to it, the spirit of satyagraha is not without a mode of expression in spite of the internal

weakness. Therefore, the just and decided answer for suspension is undoubtedly the desire not to embarrass the British Government at the present moment.

But the situation has no limit. Just a suspension is growing among Congressmen that the British authority is taking advantage of the retreat to crush the Congress. They point for example to the numerous arrests of Congress men. The suspension on the part of a mass movement of the A. I. C. C. in the wake of the Delhi conference is, in the Indian belief, but just, a sign of their resistance to the belief that the High Command was leaving the British Government to get the better of the Congress. If that suspension is proved to be well-founded without an early and possibly better one from adopting some form of effective satyagraha, that is a very proper and responsible effort to prevent a wind the clouds lift from Great Britain. I do not want any limitation in order to gain Indian freedom. Such freedom if it were available would be naturally accepted.

I have dealt with the one danger signal on which I can work with special knowledge. There are several others, which I can easily mention and which are no less grave. But these I must not mention.

If I have publicly discussed one danger, I have done so because the Congress is concerned with it and I have to say what is expected of Congressmen. If I moved from the Congress at Bombay in 1934, I did so to render greater service. Names have passed the retirement. The present situation too has the same motive behind it. So far as I can judge the immediate future satyagraha, if it comes, will be confined only to those whom I may select. The rest will be expected not to interfere with the course I may select. All will render very substantial help, if they will carry out the instructions that may be issued for them. One personal assurance is — leave the Congress if you do not believe in the constructive programme especially spinning and khadi which are viable symbols of adherence to the Congress and if you do not believe in truth and non-violence — the latter in the restricted sense now given to it by the recent resolution. If the elementary requirement is not fulfilled, any satyagraha that I may lead will be of no avail to the Congress. It will surely study my satyagraha well.

Savagan 25-7-48

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Pakistan and Akhbar

Q. A Gujarati Mahadhar newspaper correspondent writes I am a believer in ahimsa as well as Pakistan. How can I use the ahimsa principle for the realisation of my ideal?

A. It is not possible to attain an impossible end by non-violent means. For instance, you cannot remove death non-violently. As I understand Pakistan I do not regard it as a worthy

deal. But since you cannot do it, let's watch and you can certainly learn an non-violent movement on its behalf. The thing that you will always strive to overcome that opposition by patient reasoning has only increase every body by your efforts do this on your deal. You will give a respectful listening to what your opponents might have to say and respectfully point out to them that moral, as they are in the wrong. Finally, if you feel that it is people do it to learn to you was in their history and practice although your cause is absolutely just, you can non-violently non-cooperate with the administration. But you may not expect to work or expect anybody and want on your part, particularly reduce any injury that might be done to you. All this you will be able to do if impartial persons endorse the justice of your cause.

#### People's Satyagraha Camp

Q (From a letter from the People.) Preparation for satyagraha are about in the People's there is a lot of activity going on and it is how to make this known as early as possible some place the children in some. Some signed the satyagraha pledge, but did not so much to reach the children. The same is the case with India. In our satyagraha camp our satyagrahis were making use of you and the Congress policy I am developing glad that the Congress has accepted of you. It would be still better if the Congress were to allow the children about non-violence such training etc. All the same I have no doubt that the Working Committee's confidence in India would turn to the masses. What should you like me to do in a situation like that?

A. I have had other letters from the People asking similar questions and the wisdom of things in many other provinces is very much, if not quite, the same as in the People. It is a tragedy and a pity even for the Congress of things do not meet. If the Congress takes no reference, it will be due to several causes, even to external attacks.

I would give people like you the same advice as I have given to the Congress believing in one and non-violence. The attitude in Congress, though wrong with reference to the conduct of things in Congress, are of general applicability. For a more or less number conditions obtain in the other provinces.

#### What Can a Solitary Satyagrahi Do?

Q (From a letter from Oren.) There is one solitary satyagrahi in one of our villages. The one do not worry about violence or non-violence. What discipline is that single satyagrahi to undergo?

A. You are a good question. The solitary satyagrahi has to examine himself. If he has universal love and if he fulfills the conditions implied in such a state, it must find an expression in his daily conduct. He would be faced with the poorest in the village by way of service. He would concentrate himself the sick, the lame, the orphaned, of discipline, and the teacher of the children of the village. Everyone, young and old, would know him, though a householder

he would be looking at him as someone who would make no distinction between him and his own house children, he would even looking for would hold what would be his as true for others, and would therefore spend out of it just sufficient for his better needs. His needs would, as far as possible, approximate those of the poor, he would harbor an unshakability, and would therefore inspire people of all colors and creeds to approach him with confidence.

Such is the ideal satyagrahi. One faced with always endeavor to come up to, whenever he falls short of, the ideal, all in the gaps in his education will not want a single moment. His love will be a holy love of useful activities entering every opening. He will be a well-ordered household.

Such a satyagrahi will not find himself single-handed for long. The village will unconsciously follow him. But whether they follow him, at a time of emergency he will stand forth bravely and work it as the village center. But I think hold that he will have concerned a number of others. I may add in this connection that I had come to Sevagram as a solitary satyagrahi. Luckily or unluckily I could not remain alone several from across came and settled with me. I do not know whether any children of the village people can be recruited as a satyagrahi but I do hope that some of them are unconsciously shaping themselves as such. Let me say that I do so, hold all the time I have laid down but I should not have mentioned them, but I not been seeking to put any pressure all of them. My present ambition is to study to make of Sevagram an ideal village. I know that the work is as difficult as to make of India an ideal country. But while it is possible for one man to hold his universe wide aspect in a single village every day, one man's blessing is too short to overcome the whole of India. But if you men can produce one ideal village, we will have provided a pattern not only for the whole country but perhaps for the whole world. More than this a world may not expect after.

#### "No Death for You"

Q A friend from Adia writes. According to you a satyagrahi may no longer remain in the Congress. I am check the same. I believe in the Vedic. The Vedic text is even clear on this point. "O thou, householder man, there is no death for you, there is no death for you. Be not afraid." Why should we not implicitly believe in this house arrest? We look on ahimsa as daily growing. I am a Congressman. What should I do now?

A. If you really have that faith in you you will unconsciously leave the Congress organization and render a greater and truer service by remaining outside. If you have love persons and literary, you will convert Congressmen around you to your view.

Sevagram, 30-7-40 (Transcribed from Gujarati)

## IT IS FORTHEN

(By Mr. S. Gopalan)

Shri Gopalan Bhardwaj, ex-President of Assam, made me a newspaper clipping which contains the full text of the speech of H. E. the Governor of Assam at the memorial meeting of the Assam War Committee. From it I take the following extract:

"Let me say here before we sit in Assam to have a Ministry which is not only prepared to work the constitution, but also is pledged to do so has to further the ends of this noblest war, an attitude which reflects clearly the general attitude which prevails throughout the Province. One of the finest gestures which the Ministry has made was that which was published recently, but I consider did not get full publicity is deserved, the gift out of public funds of Rs. 100,000 for war purposes, a gesture of which Assam may well be proud, for we are the only province in India. It is somewhere in a corridor and is a valuable item in the collection which the Ministry feel as members of the Inter-Commonwealth, a proof of their belief in the righteousness of our cause, of their conviction that the outcome of this war is vital to India, and of their determination to do all in their power to achieve victory. And anyone who has the tenacity to continue this gift must inevitably stamp himself as an enemy of India and a friend of Hitler."

In reply to this Shri Gopalan Bhardwaj has issued the following statement:

"The speech delivered by His Excellency Sir Robert Peel, Governor of Assam, at the memorial meeting of the Assam War Committee, will have aroused mixed feelings of surprise and regret amongst all those who hold the democratic rights of free criticism and free speech dear. It is noted before now that the speech should lead itself to the interpretation that criticism of the Ministry's gift of a lakh of rupees to the War Fund would be an act of tenacity and prove the critic to be an enemy of India and a friend of Hitler."

I do not intend undervalued by value of what proves the Ministry can make such a gift. To me it seems clear that no rules of bicameral and accounts procedure can sanction it. The sole authority to do so might probably have been the Assembly, and so it goes on such question the gift must be unconstitutional. That is probably the only reason why other provinces have not done anything of the kind.

That we are an enemy of Hitler need not, I think, be concluded, but when the gift is a memorial act, I do not see why an Opposition we should not criticize it. The Governor's attitude on India's co-operation in general and of Congress in particular is well before the country, and the Executive might well know that a fair proportion of the House and the major section of the people in the country are in full agreement with it. In view of this, he should not have identified himself with the gift as he has chosen to do."

Shri Gopalan Bhardwaj deserves congratulations on his dignified attitude. It was certainly understanding of a constitutional Government to identify

himself with the Sir on the Ministry's acceptance of the proposal or legality of their act, and of the wisdom of the Opposition to such a matter as a public gift. Apart from the legality of the transaction it is a serious thing for a Ministry to pay out of public funds any sum without previous provision and without the sanction of the House in whose name they have to act and from whom they derive their authority. I think Shri Bhardwaj was quite right in making the criticism. And I hope the money will not be paid without a thorough examination of the legality of the transaction. I would go further and suggest that, even if the gift is held to be within the rights of the Ministry, His Excellency would get himself right if he has the gift sanctioned by the Assam Assembly. One lakh of rupees is insignificant compared to the daily expense of one million sterling covered by the British Treasury. It is, in my opinion, all the more necessary why extra care should be taken to ensure constitutional propriety.

Srinagar, 27-7-40

## Notes

### Indore State and Marjans

I have before me an Indore State Bulletin saying that out of the one lakh of rupees which the Maharaja Sahib had set aside from his privy purse for poor relief Rs. 20,400 have been expended for building emergency hospitals for Marjans. The Maharaja Sahib desires to be congratulated on his action. I do hope that the administration of the Maharaja will give till there is not a single unemployed person in the State, nor a single person without work, and give us his duty, not a Marjan without a well-lighted and well-ventilated house. The crushing contrast that now exists between the royal palace and the Marjan hovels must go.

Srinagar, 26-7-40 (Translated from Gujarati)

### Woman's Role

The Standing Committee of the All India Women's Conference met recently at Aligarh. This was their first venture in the Frontier Province. The members, I understand, had a very happy experience. There were no class distinctions, no religious differences. Muslim, Sikh and Hindu women fairly mixed together. The Standing Committee passed the following three resolutions:

"1. The members of the Standing Committee of the All India Women's Conference assembled at Aligarh desire to place on record their warmest and deepest sympathy for the continuance of war in Europe and the Far East. They are in deep sympathy with all those countries which have lost their independence and are under the iron hand of Nazi and Fascist domination against which all sections of India have expressed their opinion in an unbroken front. They appeal again to the women of the world to make the other half of every man's struggle against and triumph over evil and to throw their whole weight into the cause of peace."

"2. The Standing Committee reaffirms their belief in the value of the only effective means of ensuring a lasting peace in the world by the formation of a



brotherhood of women. They realize how difficult of attainment this ideal is, and therefore they appeal to Indian women to try to develop the practice of non-violence in their individual and collective lives, by step by step with their traditional submissiveness of service and sacrifice they could give a lead to the women of the world in this respect.

1. The members reminds the speaker of the A. I. W. C. that the recognition of India's free status would be a first and logical step towards the attainment of the goal for which Britain is at war—namely, the freedom of all nations, and a world democracy."

Evidently the women who met at Akbarabad believe like me that in the war against war women of the world will and should lead. It is their special weakness and privilege. Therefore the Congress have reinforced their belief in non-violence. Let me hope that the women who are under the influence of the Congress share the Congress's belief, and that they will work to that end. Seyougan, 27-7-40

#### For Khadi Weavers

A letter has sent the following complaint:

"The A. I. S. A. Khadi banders not only render us help in, but even slight, the women who desire to spin in the name of Gandhianism. Some Khadiers refuse to give them shivers. Now those who are Indians need to be educated with shivers. Every Khadiar should stick shivers. An entire Khadiar some more purchased Khadi banders but were given as much for them, for they had got use of much. The pay money is advance for the work but there is coming delay in getting them."

The letter who has written this is known for her care and for the pains she takes to understand Khadi. She has mentioned as her letter the names of the Khadiers, but I have deliberately deleted them. For if I gave their names, I should not do so without giving them a chance of explanation, and I have no time for writing to them. I therefore simply mention the complaints in the hope that the Khadiers concerned will benefit by them and mend their ways if they are in error. I hold several views regarding shivers. We cannot supply shivers if we undertake the work. I am afraid Khadi work might in the long run come to an end. It is uncertain. We should never be able to cope with the demand. The work, however, may be done, in the villages where spinning is continued, even now do the spinning while the rest do weaving. Even this requires careful handling. Suddenly some of the women whom the correspondent has in mind should leave spinning and then teach it to the others, or one of them may care for her group or club. In no case should shivers be sent by post, or from one centre to another. I know the golden rule is concerned more in the branch than in the observance. I fancy the A. I. S. A. has not laid down a hard policy in this behalf. I do not, therefore, insist on my opinion being followed for the moment. But as the question has arisen I shall have a considered by the A. I. S. A. and, if possible, have some policy laid down in the matter.

Seyougan, 29-7-40

M. K. G.

(Translated from Gujarati)

#### WAR—A STAGE LONG OUTGROWN

While we are all being grossly reassured over the Working Congress's attitude in war and foreign affairs, it will be of interest to turn to a past drama born out of the last world war and to the conclusion aimed at by its distinguished author Dr. Nicolaï that "war is but a passing phase", and that he had written the book "to inspire fundamental and right-thinking men with my own emphatic assurance". And if war is indeed "a passing phase", what is going to be India's contribution to the problem? Is it for India to prove conclusively that war is a "passing phase" by refusing to have anything to do with the method of violent warfare?

Dr. Nicolaï was professor of physiology at the Berlin University and physician to the Imperial Household in 1914, planned to deliver a series of lectures on the war in 1915, was arrested and interned in German fortress, and there he wrote his *History of War* and managed to have the manuscript sent and published in Switzerland. In 1917 he was once more tried and sentenced to five months' imprisonment. H. Hermann Rohlfed derived 12 pages of his book *The Future* as a review of Dr. Nicolaï's book, and invited Europe to follow the example of that "great European" who had written the book because, as he read at the close of the book, "I know that I am a man, and I wish to be one." A physician of world-wide reputation, he was a philosopher of nature, and was equally at home in literature and in dealing with social problems, and in his book "the chapters on universal history and philosophical criticism are closely linked with the chapters on ethnology and biology." The critical view of his book Hermann Rohlfed summed up as follows:

"There exists a great harmony, and there is only one such game. The human race, humanity as a whole, is but a single organism, and has a common consciousness. The moral or moral content that concerns us is not whether war is good or bad in the scheme of the natural law whether war is good or bad for us in our own moment of time. Now, for Nicolaï, war is a stage in human evolution which man has long outgrown."

His book is devoted to proving this. All the historical, philosophical, psychological, physiological and biological data quoted in the book, with the precision and thoroughness of Darwin, are devoted to proving this. I shall only summarize Hermann Rohlfed's long and critical analysis of this. Nicolaï did not feel that the responsibility for the last world war was to be shared by all nations, but he confined himself to pointing out Germany's blame, for he was above all for his own people. Just one important point in his philosophical analysis may be mentioned as of special interest to us Indians. "The darkness of the past races and practical races (of Kant) is a brilliant twilight of the extraordinary darkness to which modern Germany has accommodated herself all too easily. For

Germany possessing full liberty in the world of thought has trembled under fact in the world of action, as at least surrendered, this liberty without ever a regret. Have not our Victorian conditioned unchangeability and many another saved by denying a sharp distinction between the irreconcilable and symmetrical classes?

Well, says Muskie, in an instant, but not all measures are good or wicked. The much despised world as the flame by contact but the contact is far from good.

"The instant was good in the days when the sun was the only luminaire, but an accident has since taken to adapt the contact to the existence of lamps. We may admit that every instant had its use at the time when it first came into existence. This may be true of the lightning instant, but it does not follow that the contactive instant is useful in our today. Instant is extremely convenient and serves the communications that produced it. The instant, the wall, waiting to come up to track human movements, the dog, a tame doggie simply serves the present. In the later use instant has become sensitive, purposeful. While instant is just instant because instant they were unable to modify their actions as the former ones changed. 'It was,' said Muskie, 'as in our lives now of the will to change his nature.' He has changed that he could change them if he would. Now then, has the power of instant and consequently use it. But the cause of the history as we see the necessary consequence of freedom, and it goes back to the human power once possessed in hand and in instant hand.

The contactive instant Muskie regards as absolute and not the special attributes of man. 'Man is one of the more definitions of animals having neither claws, nor horns nor hoofs, nor wings. The hand was superior as an aid to locomotion on the ground, and thus became free and able to lay hold of something besides trees. Consequently it grasped tools thus becoming the means and the symbol of man's future progress.

Well, property and slavery go hand in hand for "no real purpose always is to depend on one of his labor or of the fruit of his labor. . . & yet industry is nothing else than part of the labor of the suspended energy. . . Let us, when we defend war, then to adapt and to produce that we are defending slavery.

Then Muskie deplores of the pseudo-scientific notions as which war is thought to be justified, especially the farcical idea of the struggle for existence.

"Muskie claims that war is the most common among all forms of struggle. Modern science, which enables us to estimate the amount of solar energy reaching our planet, claims so that the entire natural world does not as yet make use of more than one twenty-thousandth part of the available supply. It is, says Muskie, as if horses were being shot by the thousand

and we were something to kill a hog in order to steal his coat. Muskie has an almost boundless faith in science and man's proper struggle is the struggle with nature. All other forms of struggle being superfluous and vain, by denouncing our scientific love our main purpose. There was to apply all his scientific energy to the subduing of the forces of nature, and surely could he live as man, but there would be room in the world for millions of additional human beings. That is justifiable. Not war because human beings, but creature war for man's mastery over natural forces, the young war of which hardly a million part has yet been waged. In this war we are human victims with us no human being has ever yet won.

Two illustrations of the destructive and the creative struggle Muskie gives by using the instance of two German professors—Professor Hübner who turned his knowledge to account for the manufacture of destructive bombs, and Emil Fischer the chemist who achieved the synthetic production of sugar.

Dr. Muskie is not appalled by the monstrous dimensions of war, which is an undeniable fact.

"But the way has given him confidence in the ultimate victory of his cause. For history has revealed to him the systematic law of superabundance. One of the most important principles of paleontology teaches that all animals, all species, tend throughout the centuries to grow larger and better built, at a certain, when they reach largest and strongest, their form disappears from the geological record. So is it with wars. Evermore beautiful and characteristic is the war of ancient days like vanished. Great is the gap camp life, gone are the master weapons, gone is the single combat—gone, in a word, are the above features. The old feisty games war is dead. It may be that even yet war has not attained its death in the present war there are still animals, and perhaps Paleontology was right in holding that they must be some birds in which the whole world will share. But if so, that will be the very last. The final war will be the greatest and the most terrible of all, such as the last of the great wars was the most gigantic. Our technique has enabled war to be conducted longer and will that day war."

What is to be India's contribution? Will she by refraining from war preparations in the present or future help in living about the concentration as a natural way of will she by seeking the ends of the war-surgeons be driven to the same concentration?

Muskie then vigorously attacks the prevalent optimism—that war brings the survival of the fittest, that there can be defensive war that war can be prevented, that war serves to preserve race—which has to call a monstrous optimism, and asserts that proof is lacking that there is any pure race, or any such thing as a pure European race. He also expects the loss of bad persons.

"It seemed rather the true picture of the man who fears what is good in his country and wants

ment, as well as a person in the contemporary world of the world being both what is good and what is bad in his country. The reader is a naive character, the most reformatory life possible. Every individual, writes Nozick, feels several million miles off and a few dozen millions of his kind can only move to form a majority. The free independent personhood is a naive person, the first is that naive personhood. But to Nozick, the personhood of the last of the last of the last (All naive personhood have had their day.) Now Nozick calls us Nozick already system plans the living state of mankind that it is to be. Among the trials and dangers of the present to which we have turned the same humanity of the "great body" whose all men are members, as in the present system of Nozick. Nozick's naive personhood is a naive person.

The present religious system, says Nozick, have abolished their functions.—Buddhism no less than Christianity. Christianity abolished as long ago as the fourth century when Constantine made the Church of Christ a State Church. We have ourselves no had an objective value. And Nozick demands one whole chapter to the evolution of the idea of the world as an organism, and tries to demonstrate it scientifically.

"It is said individual the only of the pure plane contains the life of the parents of which, in the future sense of the word, they are living persons. They are subjects. They pass, changing, in our children and children's children. Thus these persons throughout the whole generation are a part of the most living substance. A person of this nature early lives in such individual and thereby we are physically connected with the natural community. It has been realized that in the twentieth generation, as five hundred years, let us say, and suppose an average of three children to each couple, the company of a single couple will be equal in number to the entire human race. It may therefore be said that each one of us has within him a small portion of the living substance belonging to every one of the human beings that were living one hundred years ago. Consequently it is absurd that anyone should wish to reject one individual, be he who he may, under the category of a separate nation or race."

Even thought progresses itself, and has, like the pure plane, in social life. Humanity therefore naturally and spontaneously is a single organism.

"Expression states that transformation, or social and social development, appear at the same moment in the most widely separated and the most various countries.—Health care is a discovery born in the heart of a single dream. At the same moment, other countries happen upon it, anticipate it, are lost upon the trail. When it is the first, it is the first, it is the first, it is the first, it is the first. We are says Nozick, in the end of a nation of war. When an organism is about to undergo a change in the change is often preceded by frequent and extensive variations."

"Wherever," says Edmund Spenser, "we may

think of the first of the world, the first of the world, a nation will arise leading to the formation of a humanity naturally opposed to war it is enough to watch the biological development of the entire world to acquire the belief that a new organism under and more peaceful is at hand." Every day brings in new forms of union between humanity—post, telephone, and now radio. Man is continually crossing frontiers, and "we look forward to the day when, he it only for natural reasons, the whole world will be a single State. Humanity is a reality which develops throughout the ages, but which at every moment represents for us an absolute unity. Hence we find an ethical system which Nozick sums up as follows:

"1. The community of mankind is the focus upon which and in the foundation of morals.

2. To be a man is to feel within oneself the unity of humanity as large.

3. The love of our neighbor is a feeling of good health. A general love for humanity is the feeling of organic health in humanity as large, reflected in one of its members. Therefore we should love and honor the human community and everything which sustains and furthers it—work, truth, good and good contacts.

4. For everything that agrees in itself all felt, but without, contacts, the have become useless or harmful."

India, it may be, is destined to play an important role in "the creation of war," of making the largest single contribution to the extinction of the war-machine and the constructive interest by outlawing all violence and war. There could not have been a greater opportunity than the present before the Congress to help in working for that immense communication. It was another great German, Nietzsche, who said:

"Perhaps a remarkable day will come when a nation concerned in war and violence, distinguished by the highest development of military order and discipline, and accustomed to make the best use possible for these objects, will voluntarily collapse, 'we will break our swords, and will destroy in whole military system, law, state, and land. To make creative destruction (after having been most strongly defended) from the sense of movement in the sense towards peace and peace. The created social peace that presents at present in all countries is a sign of a balance disposition that binds neither itself nor its weapons, and, partly from love, partly from fear, refuses to lay down its weapons. Better to perish than to make oneself hated and hated."

India has a complex and far easier task. She has no weapons to lay down. She has simply to refuse to forge or use weapons.

REPRINTS, 25-7-40

M D

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# 'WHAT ELSE REMEDS SPINKING?'

(By M. E. Gaudin)

With reference to my note under the above caption in *Harvardiana* of 27-7-40, a friend from Boulder writes:

"Obedience, I can sit at the spinning wheel by a considerable time without feeling bored. That is as it should be with every satrap. But on those who have assumed themselves as satraps with a heavy responsibility to the way of governing the country for satrapdom, I agree, that effective preparation consists in giving the wheel in one's own house and thereby acting as example to others. But don't you think that some other programme is needed to match the stagnation of the masses without receiving much interest?"

For answer, I would suggest that every district committee should keep a register of scores as well as names satraps in its jurisdiction. All the satraps should keep contact with one another. At least one day in a week should be set apart for them to aggregate together, say, in groups of ten, or some between and explain to the residents their all about spinning, take to them literature about the same, show them samples of their of their own spinning, and bring home to them the manner that scores therefore to the self-interest. Those who are asked to purchase their from their hand should be persuaded to donate their yarn. I treat the experiment in my fat with the help of some friends. I even purchased three spinning wheels for the use of the spinners, and one of the spinners has already spun about a dozen hanks. Along with that we try to popularize village products.

As regards no record is kept of the work done by the satraps. We may not value them that as it was the days of the district committees to see that every satrap should be in its register were their activities, even so far as possible only village and household products, must freely with the Harbours and Harbours, and the spinners, and understand Harbours—(Hark and Hark). As regards there seems to be no rule or discipline observed with regard to this. A rule was adopted at one time sequence every member to submit a weekly report of his work on every Saturday. But with the exception of one or two, nobody seems to have observed it up till now. Finally there does not exist absence of all discipline. At necessary spinning gatherings at least half the members are generally absent. If at any time it is proposed to take disciplinary action against a member for breach of the rules, it is opposed on the plea that it would be wrong to punish the offender, that one should try to win the wrong from his own by patient persistence, etc. In this way all members in fact when persons deliberately and openly defy calls of their own making? How can such persons take any discipline?"

I publish the foregoing letter not because of any originality but because of his suggestions springing from practical experience. No one

seems to perceive when a person assumes deliberate breach of rules the same simply ought to be struck off the roster and removed as a rule if he comes after full reputation. Discipline is a soldier is as dangerous a thing as the breakdown of a vital part is a high power machine. To drive in a car in which a vital part has given way would surely be to open danger and even death, unless of course the car successfully strikes work and refuses to move altogether. What applies in the case of machinery is an ordinary army applied with self-pressure there is a satrapdom. The mode of spinning discipline will differ. The penalty for breach of discipline in an army would be put on flogging or even shooting. In the case of a satrap there is no penalty save that of removing him from the register. His reputation, if he has conviction of guilt, is the only punishment.

The recommendations made by the writer above work over and above spinning are quite sound and deserve to be carefully considered. But before actual work of organization can be taken up, one must work the developments resulting from the new orientation of the Congress policy. I must also know as to how many people are actually ready to follow on and out non-violence. One thing however, ought to be done to everybody. There will be no central organization. There will be one law under which unaccountable movement, self-organized, non-violence groups will be functioning. This can only be possible when real non-violence rules men. India has had experience of such village republics as they were called by Mayne. I fancy that they were unconsciously governed by non-violence. There have suffered a rude shock at the hands of the present rulers. An effort has now to be made to revive them under a deliberate non-violence plan. My correspondent will, therefore, do well to acquire a group from among those living within without doubt. Every city may have such voluntary groups, if there are sufficient workers.

Seragam, 24.7.40 (Adapted from Gaudin)

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[ ONE ANNA

## WHAT OF THE 'WEAK MAJORITY'?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Paul Tillich, of Indiana College, Newhaver writes: "The world is divided to you, but revealing to it in times hard from the hidden values of non-violence. The experience which you want to make of defending India against foreign aggression without the use of arms would be the hidden moral experiment of all times. There are two possible results of such a course. Either the conscience of the world may be awakened by the love of the weak and they may reject of force and On the other hand the world may take non-violence as a sign of physical weakness and depression and only feel a right to subjugate the weak and exploit a weak people. This is the dilemma of 'Non-violence which is followed in practice by India. A great loss is involved in such conquest of the physically weak by the physically strong. A few misapprehended members of the conquered nation may refuse to own allegiance to the conqueror but the large majority always subverts and adopts moral weakness to preserve its existence. Among them may be found great scientists, philosophers and artists. Genius and moral strength are not always combined in the same man. The strong man does not need arms to defend his liberty. He renders his body to preserve his soul. Such men are, however few and far between. It is the weak majority, which needs protection. The question is how to protect it by non-violent methods. This is the real difficulty which every patriot feels when he thinks of adopting non-violence for the defence of his country."

I hope you would be kind enough to throw light on this point in an early issue of Harijan."

The weak majority no doubt needs protection. If all were soldiers either of stone or brass, no such question as call for disarmament in these columns would arise. There is always a weak majority that would wear protection against man's wickedness. The orthodox method we know. Heaven is our logical outcome. It is an answer to a definite want. A terrible wrong was done for redress. And Hitler came to avenge it. What over the ultimate force of the war, Germany will not be humiliated again. Humanity will not stand a second outrage. Not in waiting to avenge the wrong by the wrong method of violence. Instead to very new performance, Hitler has troubled not only Germans but a large part of humanity. The end of it we have not yet reached. For Britain, so long as she holds to

the orthodox method, has to copy the Nazi methods of the war to put up a successful defence. Then the logical outcome of the violent method seems to be increasingly to brutalise man including "the weak majority". For it has to give its defenders the required means of co-operation.

Now imagine the same majority defended after the method of non-violence. As a witness of its position to face, no violence, it must share the moral tone of the defender. Hence there will be a corresponding rise in the moral tone of the weak majority" is he decided. No doubt there will be dangers in danger but not so great.

But the snag comes in when we consider the want and means of working the non-violent method. In working the other, there is no difficulty in getting the human material. Therefore this way seems easy in getting non-violent defenders, we have to pick and choose. Money cannot buy them. The non-violent person is wholly different from the one commonly known. I can only say that my own experience in expressing non-violent action for half a century lifts me with hope for the future. It has succeeded in a marked measure in promoting the "weak majority". But half a century is nothing in discovering the hidden possibilities of the love and working them out. There, therefore, like the correspondents who are opposed to non-violence should, according to their ability and opportunity, join the experiment. It has entered upon a most interesting, though at the same time a most difficult, stage. I am myself writing on uncharted waters. I have no idea whether every follower. The difficulty only haunts me for the struggle. Saragani, 6-8-35

### Reply

One needs the following in the daily press

"A call for justice returned by French men and women was made by General De Gaulle in a broadcast last night. He urged all free Frenchmen in France not to help in the war against Russia."

I know that this is not a case of conversion. The gallies general will find destruction in the 'honor' to the best of his ability when ever he is able to. Now can the present conscience be called non-violent by any stretch of meaning. I simply cite General De Gaulle's advice to his countrymen to show that the world is irresistibly and unconsciously being drawn towards non-violent action.

Saragani, 5-8-35

M. K. G.

## THE HISWA AFFAIR.

(By M. K. Qasbi.)

Though late in the day I must confess my reticence to give my opinion on this unfortunate case I have become increasingly angry points against the two Congress Ministers in G. P., chiefly the Prime Minister. I have carefully read both the judgments, that of the learned Chief Justice and of the honourable Judge. There is no doubt whatsoever that there has been a gross miscarriage of justice due to the police bungling. I hold Fakhri Shakh and his fellow-accused to be wholly free from blame. There are the remarks of the Chief Justice about Fakhri Shakh: "In the course of the debate the three Prime Ministers himself did not hesitate to use the word 'murder' and to subscribe that this was not a case of riot but a carefully planned murder evidently carried out." I can find nothing objectionable in this statement. He made use of the information given in his possession. He might have used the orthodox phrase 'alleged' in connection with 'murder' and used guarded language but there is nothing in his statement to justify the wrath poured upon his head. The judge flinched, however, so that there was a murder and that it was worthy of condemnation. Their natural repugnance was that because of want of reliable evidence the crime had to go unsuppressed. I have not, therefore, been able to understand, much less to appreciate, the repeated cry what is a murder before of justice for he as the discharge of the process was concerned, it was a matter for conscience, not conviction, requiring that no man suffered unless there was conclusive evidence. All must accept the unqualified judgment of the final court of appeal. But there should have been common sense too that there was failure of justice. It cannot be to the advantage of any community that a murderer should be accused. Fakhri has written a long letter to the *Muslim Sahab* about the affair. I have read the letter. I do not know what the *Muslim Sahab* has said on the letter. I hold it to be quite astounding. I take from the letter the following Muslim testimony quoted by him:

"As Khan Sahab Mohd. Wahman stood on the door of the Mosque, I in spite of governmental duties and of health went to the place. I was accompanied by an uncle Muskan M. L. As an Uncle M. L. As of Dera. After saying Derry I proceeded to Khampain. The Muslim M. L. As who were still with me arrived not to meet the Muslim high official of Khampain and I took me with them. When I addressed a police station of Hindustan and Madras I was publicly questioned about my having visited the school and taken me there as well after the outbreak of Jaffarism. In reply I stated publicly that as Congress President I was the Father of all the communities, and that I would accept as many more the criticisms of the Muslims as I was entitled to see. I appealed to both the communities to restore harmony and goodwill. It was in substance to this

police statement in which that Khan Sahab Mohd. Wahman said in the Assembly: 'I was so pleased to hear the Muslim President in Khampain. I only wish my health had only allowed him in the cable statement he has reported and the fact to have given'."

I hope that my opinion will not attract the angry members of an unfortunate community which should never have stood. If the two communities must quarrel, is it not possible to fight fair? Charge without foundation can but add to the existing bitterness.

Bombay, 6-6-46.

## DRAWBACKS OF NON-VIOLENCE

(By K. G. Madhavadas.)

The other day I was talking with a distinguished friend about the non-violent bravery displayed by men and women martyrs in British India, Russia and other places during the recent and cruel dictatorship campaigns. It is all right," he said, "when we speak to Europeans or our people. But I do not repeat this heroism as of much value. You have really no idea of the substance of which your bravery is made. Just picture in your mind, if you can, a dozen empty places hovering over Bombay. Suddenly you see an English youth dashing in their midst alone from the other side of the Channel with his 'plane' and trying to bring down as many of them as possible. Practically speaking, he has not the least chance of returning alive. He has never hoped to. The same picture holds true of the adventure of a submachine gun as a parachute. Is there any romance good between the bravery and that of your hero-heroes men?" And, even there, we never had had to turn the worst kind of ignorance which misrepresents our India. All that we have been able to achieve by our non-violent campaign is to carry our British, French and Russian heads just one step forward from their apologetic cowardice. If we had been Estabrooke, and had like Aristotle, grown from violence to non-violence there would have been something to be proud of. But the non-violence of our time is merely the result of our incapacity to resist violence. I doubt if we shall adhere to it when we have tasted the strong wine of violence."

The non-violence of Gandhi himself has been questioned by some on similar grounds in the best-selling volume on Mahatma Gandhi, compiled last year by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Mr. Edward Thompson writes:

"He is a Gypsy, one of a race that is nomadic and has been often persecuted and pillaged, especially by the Marathas. His desires are easily aroused in the West, which does not understand their significance, but they are fairly forgotten in India. He has had himself open to the most kind of as part of his moral courage that he is aware of this, and does not let himself be deflected by weakness. But his emphasis on ahimsa, 'non-violence', is a badge of his unwarlike courage. The Marathas, I think, rarely forget that they are Marathas, and that he is

a legend among them but women has been told not working. It has been the same with the Kappan, another middle caste. 'To us, as a Kappan,' said a Central Indian Prince to me, 'the doctrine of ahimsa is uncomfortable. It is a Kappan's duty to kill and to be killed.'

That is not a new attitude. It has been put forth again and again, ever since Gandhi appeared on the Congress platform. Only a few days ago Dr B. R. Dasgupta is reported to have said that the spirit of ahimsa can never be accepted by Mahashakti. And so I have often asked that question to myself: Is the non-violence, which Gandhi is teaching and which appeals to people of my temperament, or if negatively, the indifference of my congenial Brahmin-people further nourished by the teachings of Vashishta or Jaimini? Or is it the result of the growth of higher virtues such as love, sympathy for life, compassion, forbearance, etc.? And has not the non-violent standing justified in its own defence of character also?

After several years' thinking, I have come to the following conclusion.

I was undoubtedly aware that pacifism or dislike of bloodshed is a hereditary attitude in me, further nurtured by later training. It is difficult to say how many generations old it is. Just as I never had any necessity to resist the temptation to drink or to eat meat, so also I did not have personally to pass through the experiences of an Ashoka or to put a great strain upon my nature or nature to accept the philosophy of non-violence. No doubt, close amongst my predecessors who, centuries ago, inaugurated a violent mode of eating and living, when they became converts to Buddhism, Jainism or Vashishtaism, deliberately passed from violence to non-violence. There must have been a transition stage before the later generations settled down to the non-violent mode in which I was born.

I consider it my good luck that I have inherited non-violence. For that should make me flatter for taking my non-violence a stage further. I need not go through the experiences of my forbearers. My argument has no value for those who consider that violence and non-violence are the law of our being.

I must therefore find out how I could add to the values I have inherited. And that is what Gandhi is doing for all of us. He is replacing the hereditary possession of non-violence. Here I want to clear up the fallacy in my friend's argument. He may have a double meaning. The beauty of the non-violence is itself non-violence. It will never be called upon to compare with the beauty of the young woman who, once of her own choice, dashes into the enemy plane to destroy them. The means transcending the violent man is wholly different from that of the enemy of non-violence. I hold that the imaginary English man will never be able to show the soul courage of the Chittaranjan young man. He will be ashamed to forget the phrase of the men behind the fence

when he can make short work of them and take possession of the salt works. Similarly the non-violent man will feel ashamed to massacre himself with the best for the untrained enemy's blood and to develop his technique. It is a misnomer to call it bravery.

That is not to say that the non-violent man of today has nothing more to learn in the way of bravery. He has to learn the art of facing bullets without a tremble and without any supercilious the wrong-foot. I say again that this bravery is my day depends on my loyalty to the world except of course that shown by the non-violent martyr of old.

Of course it is possible, nay it is highly probable, that a large number of people accepted the creed of non-violence with only a partial understanding of it. That is not a matter of surprise. It is possible that a future teacher of non-violence will see the same about what we are attempting now. To a certain extent, the concept of non-violence is founded on "Respect for life" and "Do unto others as you would have others to do unto you". Both when neither means that the respect for another's life is founded on respect for one's own. In respect for one's own life grow about with respect for another's life. Consequently, unacceptably life came to be so captured by the victory of non-violence that he kept all danger to his own life at a safe distance. And the word "life" became restricted to the body. In other words, "respect for life" became equivalent to "safety first of the body". Regard for what we know as self-interest fell at a distance. It did not matter if one was abused, insulted, slapped, or even killed if so the whole he was allowed to lead a life of some safety and, if possible, also of affluence. And, of course, trade and commerce provided plenty of opportunity for this. All this has become a part of the consciousness of the world today.

If non-violence is to be reduced to its original status amongst nations or men he refused of compulsion. To speak in educational technique, progress should be discouraged in our training which will develop boldness in men, consciously with non-violence. And non-violence must not mean mere respect for another's life as one respects one's own, but it must mean such respect to the risk of one's own, and that the respect for one's own life means respect for one's own honour and one's body. So that the commandment means— you should respect another's life and honour as and because you respect your own.

#### Some Books by Gandhi

|                                      | Price   | Postage |
|--------------------------------------|---------|---------|
| Satyagraha in South Africa           | Rs. 4 5 | 2 2     |
| My Early Life                        | 1 0     | 2 2     |
| Speeches and Writings                | 4 0     | 2 2     |
| Unto Thee Can We Trust               | 1 0     | 2 2     |
| Handwritten                          | 0 1     | 2 2     |
| From Yashwantrao                     | 0 1     | 2 2     |
| Self-Respect v. Self-Indulgence      |         |         |
| Part II                              | 1 0     | 2 2     |
| Available at Harijan office — Page 4 |         |         |

# *Harijan*

Aug 11

1940

## IS NON-VIOLENCE IMPOSSIBLE?

( By M. R. Gandhi )

One may admit that in theory non-violence is an inflexible weapon, and that no power on earth can be a match for the man who has adopted non-violence to the fullest extent. But is this possible? There may be a few men who can turn wild beasts like lions and tigers and render them weak as lambs, but the average man must resort to a rifle or another weapon to protect himself against such beasts. You wish your wonderful power may convert others by the sheer force of your thought, but the average man has to have recourse to worldly weapons like a law court, pleaders and so on. Even in the law and demand just we rarely hear of men who practised ahimsa in daily affairs. Lord Buddha tried for a time to lead people along the path of ahimsa. But what happened after him? Society went back to its old ways, forgetting Buddha's teaching. The state, therefore, often fails to provide for the future of society going along the lines of ahimsa any more than it has done before, and our sages, therefore, must have wisely left the world and resorted to the forest for practicing truth and non-violence. You may imagine a law passed to study ahimsa, but society as a whole is not likely to take to it. The same argument applies to India as a nation. She must seek such means other than those of ahimsa in order to win her liberty. It is idle to expect an idiot learning his grammar to understand a book like *Tibet's God*. Even so is it idle to expect people trained in worldly pleasures to understand the philosophy of ahimsa. Buddha shies of the first part, the attainment of which requires much greater preparation than is required in order to obtain a degree in medicine or engineering. We shall have to have numerous colleges and universities for the teaching of the science and art of truth and non-violence. Today society courts its enemies to quelling new wars and satisfying them. How do you expect it to turn these enemies to the doctrine of non-resistance to ahimsa?

The doubts and difficulties raised by the co-responder occur to others also, and I have on various occasions tried to solve them too. But when the Working Committee of the Congress has been instrumental to resist of ahimsa a few men, it seems necessary to deal with these doubts and difficulties at some length.

The co-responder doubts in substance the universal applicability of ahimsa and asserts that society has made little progress towards it. Teachers like Buddha arose and made some effort with some little success perhaps in their lifetime, but society is just where it was in spite of them. Ahimsa may be good enough to be the duty of an individual, but society is a good

for nothing, and India too will have to take to violence for her freedom.

The argument is, I think, fundamentally wrong. The last statement is incorrect inasmuch as the Congress has adhered to non-violence as the means for the attainment of Swaraj. It has refused gone a step further. The question having been raised as to whether non-violence continues to be the weapon against all external disturbances, the A. I. C. C. clearly gave the answer in the affirmative. It is only for protection against outside aggression that the Congress has maintained that it would be necessary to have an army. And then even on that matter there was a considerable body of the members of the A. I. C. C. who voted against the resolution. That dissent has got to be reckoned with when the question voted upon is one of principle. The Congress policy must always be decided by a majority vote, but it does not cancel the minority vote. It stands. Where there is no principle involved, and there is a programme to be carried out, the majority has got to follow the majority. But where there is a principle involved the dissent stands, and it is bound to express itself in practice when the occasion arises. That means that ahimsa for all circumstances and all purposes has been recognised by a society, however small it may be, and that ahimsa as a remedy to be used by society has made fair strides. Whether it will make further strides or not is a different matter. The Working Committee's resolution, therefore, fails to lend any support to the co-responder's doubts. On the contrary it should in a certain degree dispel them.

Now for the argument that I am but a rare individual, and that what India society has done as the means of ahimsa is due to my influence, and that it is sure to disappear with me. This is not right. The Congress has a number of leaders who can think for themselves. The Mahatma is a great thinker of keen intellect and vast vision. Few can equal him in his Arabic and Persian scholarship. Experience has taught him that ahimsa alone can make India free. It was he who started on the resolution accepting ahimsa as a weapon against external disturbances. Pandit Jawaharlal is not a man to stand in awe of anyone. His study of history and contemporary events is second to none. It is after mature thoughts that he has accepted ahimsa as a means for the attainment of Swaraj. It is true that he has said that he would not hesitate to accept Swaraj if non-violence failed and it could be won by means of violence. But that is not relevant to the present issue. There are not a few other big names in the Congress who believe in ahimsa as the only weapon at least for the attainment of Swaraj. To think that all of them will give up the way of ahimsa as soon as I am gone, is to mock them and to mock human nature. We must believe that error can think for himself. Mutual respect is that respect is essential for progress. By standing out companions with independent



judgment we strengthen them and make it easy for them to be independent-minded areas if they are proved to be weak.

I hope neither the correspondents nor anyone else believes that the Congress is many. Congress leaders have hidden good-bye to shame. To the limited extent that I have pointed out facts in shame has been restrained and made clear beyond my doubt by the Congress. I agree that the limit laid down by the Congress considerably narrows down the sphere of shame and does so indirectly. But the limited extent of the Congress is good enough for the purpose of our present argument. For I am trying to make out that the field of shame is widening, and the limited acceptance of shame by the Congress sufficiently supports my position.

If we turn our eyes to the time of which history has any record down to our own time, we shall find that man has been steadily progressing towards shame. Our present movements were inevitable. There came a time when they were fed up with cannibals and they began to live on them. Next came a stage when man was ashamed of leading the life of a wandering hunter. He therefore took to agriculture and depended principally on another man. So he fed them from being a nomad he settled down to civilized stable life. Founded villages and towns and from member of a family he became member of a community and a nation. All these are signs of progress towards shame and demanding shame. Had it been otherwise, the human species should have been extinct by now, even as many of the lower species have disappeared.

Progress and growth have also taught the lesson of shame more or less. None of them has pointed to such lesson. And how should it be otherwise? Shame does not need to be taught. Man is natural is violent but is Spirit is non-violent. The contrast he makes to the Spirit within he cannot remove violence. Unless he progresses towards shame or rather to his doom. That is why the prophets and sages have taught the lessons of truth, harmony, brotherhood, peace, etc. — all attributes of shame.

And yet violence seems to persist, even to the extent of thinking people like the independent minded as the final weapon. But as I have shown history and experience are against him.

If we believe that mankind has steadily progressed towards shame, it follows that it has no progress towards it still further. Nothing in this world is static, everything is living. If there is no progress, then there is inevitable regression. No one can remain without the eternal cycle, unless it be God Himself.

The present war is the uttermost point in violence. It adds to my mind also to doom. Daily I have testimony of the fact that shame was never before appreciated by mankind as it is today. All the testimony from the West that

I continue to receive points in the same direction. The Congress has pledged itself to shame however limited. I invite the correspondents and doctors like him to shed their doctors and doctors accordingly into the sacred peaceful Fire of shame. Then I have little doubt that the Congress will cease to stop. 'It is always within.' Well, let Progress our part, now.

Happiest are those that plunge in the Fire.

The broken-to are all but covered by shame.  
Simpson, 5-6-46

(Translated from Gujarati)

## THE TEST OF NON-VIOLENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Those who signed themselves as sat and sat veterans of non-violence and believe the step taken by Rapp and others to be wrong, have to pass through a severe test. I have expressed my opinion in the clearest possible language. I believe that Rapp has gone off the track. He believes that I have. The future alone will decide who is right.

But as I have not the slightest doubt about the correctness of my position, I have not hesitated to advise those who think with me to leave the Congress. But this does not mean that they have to do so forthwith. It is enough if they are ready to move when I decide upon the date. Before the actual step is taken, we shall have to make use of certain steps. Their movement must be such as to cause no shock to fellow Congressmen. If these do not appreciate the step, I have no objection to them patiently, and to convince them that it is in the interest of the Congress that it should be taken. It is common sense between them and us that it would be an ideal thing if we could prevent the ordinary against foreign aggression by non-violence. It is therefore desirable that there should be a group of people devoted to devote their lives to proving the efficacy of non-violence. If the existence of such a group is good for the country, it is apparent that they should remain outside the Congress, and that the Congress should not only tolerate them but welcome them under them as much help as possible, and assist them in their own. That means that far from there being any arrangement of misunderstanding between the Congress and this group, their relations should, if possible, be closer than before.

To bring about the higher consciousness, the sat and sat veterans of non-violence should not even mentally feel fault with their comrades comrades. They may not remind them of their previous statements. It is their duty to revise their statements if they feel that they were erroneous, and it is possible that they may see need in them the same emphasis as others discuss in them. The best thing, therefore, is to hear patiently with one another. The mutual tolerance presupposes clear discussing different spheres of action and working in co-operation wherever possible.

It will be some time before we can create such an atmosphere, but we are sure to succeed as we make a serious endeavor in this direction. In the meanwhile let everyone occupy himself with the constructive activities I have suggested, and make steady progress therein. One or more leaders in each province should prepare a list of the members I intend to convene a meeting of the principal leaders at the proper time. But I will not take a single step without mature deliberation.

Brynmar, 5-8-40

(Translated from Gujarati)

## THE LIVE ISSUE

What, What, and Why

A few members of the A. I. C. C. who are out and out believers in non-violence visited Sevagram the other day. Some of them had remained neutral on the Delhi resolution, some had opposed it. What was the right attitude? What were they to do next? What was the programme before them? Should they not return Gandhiji? These and other questions were troubling them, and they did not know what to do. In response Gandhiji began to do some local thinking.

"What, what, and why," said he, and remonstrated when for a while. Then he said: "You must carefully follow what I am saying from week to week. You must be absolutely sure that you are out and out believers in non-violence. Can your consciences stand the test? Belonging to yourselves what you would do in case of a war. Those who have differed from us are no friends. If they see that they cannot do without an army and police, they deserve a respectful hearing. I myself do not know what I should do in a difficult situation. You know I have approached on the question of the desirability of maintaining a police force. But what I can see is that I shall have to believe non-violently should the occasion arise. I should not like to do this before my death. I do not want to prepare India for military defence from today. We should never forget that we are not the whole of India. The Congress is without doubt a powerful organisation, but the Congress is not the whole of India. The Congress may not have an army, but those who do not believe in non-violence will. And if the Congress too possesses there is no one to represent the so-called majority. This was my argument in a nutshell. But I failed to carry conviction. Therefore I must feel that no weak or cowardly but weak myself. There must be some weakness in my argument, and so I must persistently appeal to every conviction to those who differ from me."

"But," he added, "I have disagreed. What you and I have to do is to show our strength when there is trouble or similar disturbance. If every one of us, wherever he is, happens down to there will come into being a non-violent army

Even the largest disturbance that all are subscribing to would not then mean the loss of us had seen no immediate justification of it. So we have to hold on to our task, even if what the case comes we may fail. There is no one saying with the comrades who have differed from us, I hope only temporarily. The question is one of demonstrating the truth to us, and we want to do so unless we show that we have an action, no interest, no inclination to find fault. We have to prepare ourselves for the trouble ahead. The timing that may come over us may require it. I am relying on an unshaken me. I have no car and great persistence, and I am brooding from moment to moment in the meanwhile follow my weekly writings and carry out the constructive programme. The time for resignation is not yet. We were not to be misunderstood."

"But" and a member: "you have asked us to wait immediately, and all of us are ready."

"Your readiness is good and a step except for me for the time being. If you conscientiously stood against the Delhi resolution, you did nothing wrong, if you remained neutral, you did nothing wrong. You would have been wrong if you had joined hands with those who sought to defeat the resolution on any but the ground of non-violence. For having given your vote on the Wardha resolution and having lost, you could not vote against the Delhi resolution which was the natural sequel of the Wardha resolution."

"But it was by accident that those who voted against the Delhi resolution did so."

"No, it was by design. They are no believers in non-violence to the extent you are, but they wanted to defeat the resolution for the sake of their policy."

"But then how long are we to remain in the Congress?"

"I cannot give a definite answer. I shall have a talk with the Muslims. We must not rush the Muslims and the Working Committee. If they find that the pro and anti non-violence people were the necessary part of the Congress organisation they will accept their part."

"Then how long shall we wait?"

"Until I give you the word."

"But" and one of them: "I disliked the Wardha resolution and wanted to resign at once."

"You might have done so. Then you would have been within your rights. But to do so now makes sense of violence and self-righteousness. You must remember that I wanted far more than a year before making the final step, and then too I took a week the full approval of the friends of the Working Committee."

From Politics or Social Politics?

The non-violence must have drawn out many a quiet worker from his shell. Shri Vaidya, who was concerned in his experiments on the talk and occasional contact with account and history in his study of Arabic and the Quran to qualify

small burner for Hindu bhajans, etc., etc., etc. He has written a full length list of contributors appearing under the Government-owned caption. Some of his names may be commented here.

"The whole world must be wrong (or) that we have not put our money into the statement of having won the Viking Expedition, is played to our culture. Now how can complete money be won without complete non-violence, i.e., without organizing the masses into completely non-violent way? And if the masses are completely non-violently organized, where remains the freedom of assembly and internal disturbance? We are thus beggared the whole question."

And then

"Have you any thought in the way machine there is no going out of it, there is no question of nature or question, writing is right. You cannot today the change by the Board of the Bureau and in Chinese traffic at the distance of Japan. After you are machine in the machine, you will have to machine every machine like that. For everything will depend on whether you are machine or not as exposed or not. After India proceeding to help for defence only has no meaning. Does defence mean internal defence? By no means. The freedom of India are the African Coast, the Mediterranean and so on, and so there is no limit to your being involved in the war. Which means that you will have every capital lost after 10 years' labour without a thought. In doing so you will create a multitude of enemies, for all the enemies of England become your friends and enemies. Now all that we will do if we are prepared to say: When we come to think of it, will it be in anything but the name? For no power than the declaration of having made you will have recognized it to the Board. For you cannot have the military machine to fight all the enemies you will have created without being under the internal military machine of Europe."

The trouble is that we want money without any service. We want it to drop into our hands. We have to labour patiently, slowly, non-violently for it, and when it comes it will come as inevitably as the dawn of day. The sun rises in the east but finds the western corner of the west wall too high and hot. Even so when money of our own making comes it will smother the whole world in heat and the means of its freedom."

"But," some people object, "we may in course of time acquire the capacity of non-violent administration. But by the time we are ready, others will get more power and we shall be back numbers." Gandhi's reply to them is

"Gandhi has already given the answer. Those who will get more power will also be our leaders. I would add that our money is with Swaraj-patriots and non-power-patriots. I do not mind our having to be back numbers, our being counted in children. I should be content if God does not change us to ill-will and delusion. We want Swarajya, not any more."

Satyagraha, 7-6-40

M. D.

## SPINNING ANNIVERSARY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Sanatana Gandhi wrote from Rajkot as follows about the Spinning Anniversary

"The 71 days' programme for the forthcoming anniversary was commenced on the morning of 20th July with prayer and the song of the 'True Mahatma Spinning' in a full swing. Some began from 4 a.m. Arrived quite up at 1-30 a.m. and began spinning from 4 a.m., and by 1-30 p.m. with a break for breakfast and lunch spun nearly 6,000 yards in 11 hours. After this he began again, has his walk and rest. He has resolved to spin 400,000 yards in 71 days. We have the evening paper at 7-30. About 75 people attend. The following hours of collection for Gandhinagar made on the last five holidays may be of interest

| COLLECTOR | CONTRIBUTOR  |         |
|-----------|--|---------|
|           | Rs.  | Paise   |
|           | (In contributions from of Gajpur, Noida or Sahar) name |         |
| 1915      | 1215-1-1   | 46      |
| 1916      | 1240-10-0  | 82      |
| 1917      | 1070-10-0  | 68      |
| 1918      | 1015-4-1   | 68      |
| 1919      | 1077-0-0   | 73      |
| Total     | 5045-0-1   | 338-0-1 |

Persons for which collection were sent

| Karnad Nagar<br>Sahar Sahar | Kash<br>Work | English<br>National<br>School | Farmer<br>Field |
|-----------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| Rs.                         | Rs.          | Rs.                           | Rs.             |
| 1915                        | 1215-1-1     |                               |                 |
| 1916                        | 1240-10-0    |                               |                 |
| 1917                        | 1070-10-0    | 1171-10-1                     |                 |
| 1918                        | 1015-4-1     | 1280-0-0                      | 12,119-1-1      |
| 1919                        | 1077-0-0     | 1280-0-0                      | 12,119-1-1      |

(1. For work in Rajkot through Mahatma Gandhi. 2. For 10 Indian names in Karnad Nagar. 3. Kash work in Panchsara through Chitragudi Joda. 4. Farmer field through the national school. 5. Farmer field in Panchsara through Chitragudi Joda.)

Figures are usually unimpressive and I merely give details of these collections but I have given them in detail as they are of striking interest. They are an eloquent testimony to the work that can be done by the unimpaired devotion and efficiency of a single man. This annual spinning service goes on without loss and advertisement. It is worthy of emulation everywhere for a mass automatic propaganda of khadi.

Satyagraha, 5-6-40

(Translated from Gujarati)

### Autobiography

Gandhi's The Story of My Experiments with Truth. Price Rs. 4. Postage 10 Rs. extra.

Satyagraha in South Africa

Complete volume in Autobiography. Rs. 4-4-0. Available at Rajkot Office.—Price 4.

## AUNDE

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Who does not know Uncle Aunde's Uncle is a rich man and success, but it has made itself poor and famous by its Chief having bestowed, unasked, the boon of full self-government on his people. For chief minister Appasabhai Pann has brought out an attractive pamphlet of nine pages describing the experiment, from which I reproduce the following:

"Village democracy is the basis of the new Government. Every village elects by the vote of all of its adults a committee of five members. One of these five is elected by the committee unanimously as their president. If this committee is not possible, then all the adults of the village elect the president out of the committee.

Only elected presidents of a group of villages constitute the taluka panchayat. The taluka panchayat decides in its meetings the way in which it would spend the money that it receives. It receives as much as possible half the revenue that is collected in that taluka. The village prepare their budgets and present them through their presidents to the taluka panchayat. These are discussed and a budget for the whole taluka is prepared. The villages can spend the money they get as they think fit. As yet education and public works concerned the chief items of expenditure.

The members of the Assembly know not only about the affairs of the Central Government, but they are intimately connected with the everyday work in the villages and they get acquainted with the work of other villages in that taluka at the meetings of the taluka panchayat. The members of the Legislative Assembly, in this way, is an active worker almost 11 hours of the day. It is not that he stands for election gets elected on certain issues, and then not worry about them till the next election. He has to face the villages every day. The Constitution gives the power of recall to the villages. If the voters can ask for a re-election of the panchayat.

The panchayats dispense justice. The villages need not spend money, go out of the village, and spend there at the taluka town or at a baradar. The panchayat decides the case on the spot. The panchayat can get witnesses in the village. And in the cases that are difficult and require serious proofs of law, a sub-judge comes to the village and advises the panchayat with the dispensation of justice. The sub-judge not only gives expert advice to the panchayat, but also acts as a guide to the peasant who needs a more or less complete ignorance of his legal rights and a function table to be composed by the village members — the *panchayat*.

Justice in Aunde is therefore cheap, swift and effective. In the panchayats of two talukas alone 140 criminal and civil cases have been disposed of. In 75 per cent of civil cases and 50 per cent of criminal cases no pleaders were engaged. The witnesses had to be paid nothing, being

themselves on the spot. There was thus great saving of time and money. Most cases were decided at a single sitting. The whole village turns out at the hearing of cases. Hence lying is rare, because it can be easily detected. Therefore many cases are compromised out of court. This method of dealing not justice is itself gives adult education.

There are 50 village schools for 72 villages. After the introduction of adult education, 20 per cent of the adult population received education. Basic education is now neglected, now is physical. The Rajput's himself takes a keen interest in the physical development of his people. It is done through Gymnasiums. It is a special style.

If Appasabhai has shown the bright side of the experiment, he has not lost sight of the difficulties and troubles. I want words of these. For there are the usual difficulties that attend all such experiments. The leaders of the people, if they receive these facts will surely encourage them. This is how the pamphlet closes "Uncle has been done. Much remains to be done. It is so important work we are doing. We want sympathy and advice.

I am very warmly sympathetic with the Aunde people. Let those who have say to give and Appasabhai their diagnosis. Let them be sure that they are sound and sincere.

Savagram, 4-8-40

Shri A. Harjan

Shri Ramachandran draws my attention to the fact that Shri Arundhan should not have been described as a Harjan. While he is too big to merit the description, his fellow Tamils are likely to take offence. I ought to have known that. For when I was touring in Travancore I had the delicate matter brought to my notice. All those whose feeling has been hurt by my use of the word will please believe me when I say that no offence was intended by me. I have never regarded the word as a term of reproach. But I am aware that there are many who do not look at things with my eyes.

Savagram 7-8-40

M. K. G.

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# HARIJAN

Editor: MANMOY GOSWAMI

Vol. VIII, No. 27]

POONA - SUNDAY, AUGUST 18, 1940

[ONE ANGA

## MORAL SUPPORT

(By M. K. GOSWAMI)

A friend writes as follows:

"On the declaration of war you had advised giving moral support to Britain. Many persons never understood the explanation of such support. You have never explained them either as far as I know I was a regular reader of *Harishchandika*. Just I have met with a short explanation from Kripkarn path his own interpretation on the words. At the last sitting of the Congress Provincial Congress Committee the leaders said 'Daga was ready to give moral support to Britain. What else has the Congress done in its latest resolution? As a matter of fact the Congress asks for more than it promises to give. Daga was willing to give all for nothing.' If war is such a wrong act, how can it deserve moral support or blessing? In the Mahabharata, was the help that Lord Krishna gave to Arjuna moral, or was it more destructive than the deadliest weapons of war?

I did explain to Harjans what I meant by moral support. It is possible that the explanation did not appear in *Harishchandika*. In my English writings things are often left to be understood (The alphas need, however, to be brought out in words).

Broadly speaking, Britain could have had moral support from the Congress, if only she had acted justly towards India. There was no spirit of hegemony in my proposal because the help was not offered in exchange for anything.

Suppose my friend possesses moral strength which he has acquired through cowardice. And suppose I am in need of that strength. I shall not get it from him for the asking. He may always be ready to give it to me, but if I have not the integrity within me to take it from him, how shall I ever obtain it? Moral support cannot really be given on the basis of giving it automatically comes to him who is qualified to take it. And such a case can arise in abundance.

The Congress has this moral weakness: The acceptance of the creed of truth and non-violence has been an excuse. It has acquired world prestige through the acceptance of truth and non-violence for the attainment of its end. If the Congress could have given its blessings to Britain, the world would have adjudged Britain's cause to be just. The moment even when the Congress holds any world she has acknowledged justice to be on Britain's side. But, as

all that the Congress could have had nothing material to give. The British Government would, by its own actions, have acquired moral prestige or strength. Though the Congress would not give one man or one over its material aid, its moral support and blessings would definitely have turned the scales in favour of Britain. This is my belief. That my belief may be groundless and that the Congress never had any moral prestige is quite possible. The determination of this question is unnecessary for my argument.

But the opportunity for rendering moral support now seems almost to have gone. The Congress felt itself unable to adopt my means. It cannot be taken mechanically. It presupposes a living faith in truth and non-violence. The greatest quality in the Congress is that that it has never chosen to have what it really does not possess. And therefore its resolutions are defended and carry force with them.

The help that the Congress in its latest resolutions promises to give is material and for a consideration, namely just, no doubt, but it is not and cannot be unconditional. I do not suppose that this position is either unreasonable or morally wrong. The resolution has dignity because it is the considered opinion of the majority. But by virtue of it the Congress has, in my opinion, surrendered the principle it had at one time supported to have. Many Congressmen say that while they deeply believed that they could attain Britain through non-violence, they had never meant it to be understood that they could return it also through non-violence. The entire outside world, however, believed that the Congress was showing the golden way to the abolition of war. No one outside India ever dreamed that, if the Congress could wear independence from a weaker power like Britain merely through non-violence, it would not be able to defend it also by the same means.

In my opinion Lord Krishna's help to Arjuna cannot be said to be moral, because he himself had an army and was an expert in the art of war. Duryodhana acted foolishly in that he asked for Krishna's army, while Arjuna got what he wanted in the person of the expert in the science of war. Therefore, if we interpret the Mahabharata literally, Lord Krishna's strength was certainly more destructive than that of his army. Because of his mistake that Krishna was able with an army of mere dharma to defeat Duryodhan's army of experts, that is all well.

known that I have never looked upon the Mahajanas as a mere record of earthly warfare. In the path of an epic the poet has described the eternal warfare within the individual as well as in society, between Truth and Untruth, Violence and Non-violence, Right and Wrong. Looking at the epic even superficially one can understand how the great Vyasa has demonstrated that in this war the victor was no better off than the vanquished. Out of this war, thousands of warriors only seem to remain to tell the tale. And the poet gives a true picture of the world as it is, and also of these wars. The reader has shown clearly too that it would warfare the conquering power not extend to slaves to peasants and traders. When violence arose even the great Yudhishthira had to resort to retreat to save the world.

One more question of the writer remains to be answered. If war is itself a wrong war, how can it be worthy of moral support or blame? I believe all war to be wholly wrong. But if we examine the motives of two warring parties, we may find one to be in the right and the other in the wrong. For instance, if A makes an attack on B's country, B is obviously the wronged one. Both fight with arms. I do not believe in violent warfare, but all the same B, whose cause is just, deserves our moral help and blessing.

Srinagari, 12-5-40 (Translated from Gujarati)

## Notes

### 'One Step Forward'

I have before me two newly issued volumes in English and Hindustani, being a report of the first Conference of Basic National Education held at Poona in October 1939. The English volume is entitled *One Step Forward*. It covers 262 pages in English and 224 in Hindustani. The price is Rs. 1/4 per volume. Besides numerous introductory pages the report is divided into three parts. The first contains general speeches and discussions. The second is devoted to various commissions of basic education, and the third part is devoted to a description of the education of basic education for which Shrihari Asha, devi made herself mainly responsible. There is an appendix which contains the names and addresses of delegates and several points in the concluding part of her brief communication. *Shri Arjuna* 1401.

"The conference and the exhibition have finally lifted the scheme of basic national education above the realm of controversy and paved the educational world that is rapidly the fundamental principles, contents and method, the theme of the new education was pointed by a year's experience of work with the teachers and children."

The proceedings of the conference are proof of that claim. I must state the temptation to quote from the body of the report. Those who are concerned in education should not be without a copy. It is a source of comfort

that the the lower, though perhaps not the last effort of man has met with almost universal approbation. The years record promises a happy future for the experiment. I must reserve the usual report in another issue.

Srinagari, 5-8-40

### A Convincing Argument

This is what an Englishwoman who knows what we mean say about the Working Committee's decision to insist on non-violence for dealing with internal disturbances while fearing to trust non-violence to defend India:

"Though I have not writing all these days about the developments in the country regarding non-violence, you can be sure I have been watching them with the deepest interest and anxiety. For there is one thing at this stage I want to try and put down on paper. To those non-violence over-zealots when it comes to having internal aggression come to an end by drawing it away at the very moment when it is necessary to the most use and its benefit to maintain the present, I have been trying to make out why I consistently feel that non-violence would be more effective in such cases, and the reasons appear to be these. In internal disputes—first, robbery, rioting, etc., it is more often than not a case of dealing with uneducated and lower types of humanity, whose questions or how persons must be fairly dealt with, just as a child must be ruled by its parents. But in the case of external aggression, the two elements you are dealing with are intellectually developed leaders of nations and masses of conscious soldiers. On both of these international is bound to have its influence. These non-violent leaders by the force would win over the fiercest enemy soldiers in a day, and the leaders, especially men of such intelligence as Hitler, would be deeply moved by its position, and their very consciousness would tell them to refrain from forcing their soldiers to such a conflict, when reason, reason and reason against soldiers would be the inevitable consequence. That this would bring to the suffering world a glorious light and a glorious hope, goes without saying. Of course you may say that is what I have written. I appear to advocate here for the suppression of internal disorder. What I mean is pointed forward—retaining words needed by him.

The point working in my mind at the moment is.

If the Working Committee members ever thought non-violence should be and could be the ideal for internal affairs, then how much more it should be and could be the ideal for external affairs! The very foolishness of Europe today which appears to have shaken their faith, makes me feel all the more angry about non-violence."

Srinagari, 4-8-40

N. K. G.

### Books on Basic Education

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# ADULT EDUCATION THROUGH HANDCRAFTS

I

During the Congress regime adult education drives were organized in almost all the provinces. In most cases they were restricted to resistant grow-up people to read and write, and were even referred to as "anti-literacy drives". The experience was not always encouraging. For instance, it was found that those who were thus educated did not keep up their interest in education after the education drive was over, and quite a number of cases liquid back was literacy after a longer or shorter period. All the same, the balance of opinion here is still in favour of the kind of adult education. In America, however, where they have gone through the whole game, there is beginning to be experienced a swing round in favour of using handicrafts as a medium for education both young and old. In fact Mr. Allen Eaton, whose volume *Handicrafts in the Southern Highlands* I quoted in *Harvard Monthly* has devoted one of the most illuminating chapters in his book to examining the value of handicrafts as a means for giving adult education.

Adult education is comparatively a later growth even in America. The idea that everyone should continue education throughout life has only recently been generally accepted. The most important contributions made to adult education in the present generation, according to Mr. Eaton, was "the increasing proof offered by Edward L. Thorndike and associates of the Columbia University that adults could learn as the average or readily as children." But the fact that adults can learn carries with it no assurance that they will, and so much is concerned with our way for those things that stimulate learning. From the march have emerged two definite objects with various between—the old school which would teach all the facts to children while they are young, and the new school which would give them the tools of learning while young but would provide the facts and techniques as near as possible at the time when they will need to use them. As that great educationist John Dewey observed: "First the need, then the knowledge or technique to satisfy that need." Adult education, according to this school, is the continuation of the process of learning during men and women regardless of age or previous experience in school. In the words of another stream, "adult education provides that the creative spark may be kept alive throughout life, and moreover that it may be schooled in those adults who are willing to devote a portion of their energy to the process of becoming intelligent."

An outstanding advantage that is claimed for handicrafts in the process of adult learning is that they can be used as a starting point, or a centre of interest for a large number of individuals regardless of their level of intelligence or experi-

ence. "They build personalities for the doctor of philosophy on one end of our educational procession, and for the man who does not read or write on the other end, and, of course, for the far larger number in between." Mr. Eaton enumerates the following five classes of people in U. S. A., by whom at least the handicrafts may be used for advancement in experience: 1. The graduate of college, university or professional school; 2. the adult, who may have had only a grammar or high school training; 3. the grow-up who has not gone to school much, but who has learned to read and write after a fashion; 4. the immigrant who cannot read or write the English language, but who may have had schooling in his homeland; 5. the adult who because of lack of opportunity has never learned to read or write.

A person can get along without an education while young, it has been observed, but as he grows older, he feels the need for learning more and more. "You can add much to your own happiness," observed Ambassador Howard in one of his addresses, "if you will learn not only to appreciate beautiful things, but also create them within the measure of your capacity."

An excellent example of the educational possibilities of spinning and weaving is recorded by Mr. Eaton on p. 367 of his book:

"Several months were, during upon the suggestion of two of their companions that they try to learn something about weaving as done in other places and in other times, some kind themselves, secured as a study reference all the basic processes of textile-making. Their quest for knowledge carried them into the beginning of history, and in their studies they travelled round the globe, making contacts with every continent and every stratum and mountain such examples of weaving from the handlooms of many countries. For more than three years they have been on the quest. . . There is no over-reaching search which has opened up the fields of history, literature, geography, anthropology, agriculture, and art, with glimpses into history, chemistry, and other branches of learning such as that of the number and variety. 'It appears like if you know all there is about it, know about spinning and weaving, you would know about all there is to know about everything.'"

(To be continued)

Scriptum 12-7-40

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# *Harijan*

Vol. IV

1940

## IMPLICATIONS OF CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A contemporary writer

What are the qualities that you intend to endow in people by taking them on the constructive programme? What are the qualifications necessary to a constructive worker in order to make his job effective?

The constructive programme is a big undertaking including a number of items: (1) Hindu-Muslim or communal unity, (2) Revival of handicrafts, (3) Proletarian, (4) Khadi, (5) Other village industries, (6) Village sanitation, (7) New or basic education, (8) Adult education, (9) Uplift of women, (10) Education in hygiene and health, (11) Propagation of Rashtriya-bhava, (12) Cultivating love of one's own language, (13) Working for economic equality. This list can be supplemented if necessary, but it is so comprehensive that I think it can be proved to include some aspect to have been covered.

The reader will see that it is the want of all these things that is responsible for our backwardness. He will also see that the constructive programme of the Congress is not supposed to include all the items. That is understood to include only four items, or rather six, now that the Congress has created the All India Village Industries Association and the Basic Education Board. But we have to go further forward, we have to achieve and perfect others, and so we have to make the constructive programme as comprehensive as possible. There should be no room for doubt that, if we can win Swamy fairly through non-violence, we can also gain it through the same means. In the fulfilment of the constructive programme lies the non-violent attainment of Swamy.

The items I have mentioned are not in order of importance. I have put them down just as they came to my pen. Generally I talk of Khadi only privately, because millions of people can take their share in this work, and progress can be systematically measured. Communal unity and the revival of handicrafts cannot be thus assessed. Once they become part of our daily life, nothing need be done by us as individuals.

Let us now glance at the various items. Without Hindu-Muslim, i.e. communal, unity we shall always remain crippled. And how can a crippled India win Swamy? Communal unity means unity between Hindu, Sikh, Mussalman, Christian, Parsi, Jew, All these go to make Hindarav. He who neglects any of these communities does not know constructive work.

As long as the want of handicrafts pollutes the mind of the Hindu, so long as he himself is handicraftless in the eyes of the world, and an unhandicraftful nation was non-violent Swamy. The revival of handicrafts means reviving the so-called handicrafts in one's own hand and leg. He who does more than so must be free from the want of high and low, or free from all want diseases. He will regard the whole world as one family. Under non-violent Swamy it will be impossible to conceive of any country as an enemy country.

True Swamy is inseparable of attainment by people who have been or who are slaves of materialistic desire and desire. It must never be forgotten that a man on the gap of ignorance is generally devoid of the moral sense.

Everyone now may be said to believe that without Khadi there is no yet and immediate solution of the problem of the starvation of our millions. I need not therefore stress upon it, I would only add that in the regeneration of India lies the regeneration of the rural village areas. Khadi requires (which, lower, etc.) have to be made by the village carpenter and blacksmith. For unless these craftsmen are made in the village it cannot be self-sustained and prosperous.

The revival of Khadi presupposes the revival of all other village industries. Because we have not laid proper stress on the Khadi-workers we without wrong in most other trades which are foreign or half-made. Such people may be said to have failed to grasp the inner meaning of Khadi. They forget that by establishing the Village Industries Association the Congress has placed all other village industries on the same level as Khadi. As the solar system will be dark without the sun, even so will the sun be luminous without the heavenly bodies. All things in the universe are interdependent. The salvation of India is inseparable without the salvation of villages.

If rural reconstruction were not to include rural sanitation, the villages would remain the muck-heaps that they are today. Village sanitation is a vital part of village life and is as difficult as it is important. It needs a heroic effort to introduce spit-toilet sanitation. The village worker who is ignorant of the science of village sanitation, who is not a successful sanitarian, cannot fit himself for village service.

It seems to be generally admitted that without the new or basic education the education of millions of children in India is well-nigh impossible. The village worker has therefore, to pursue it, and become a basic education teacher himself.

Adult education will follow in the wake of basic education as a matter of course. When the new education has taken root, the children themselves become their parents' teachers. In that as it may, the village worker has to undertake adult education also.

Women is described as man's better half. As long as she has not the same rights as law as



men, as long as the birth of a girl does not receive the same welcome as that of a boy, as long we should know that India is afflicted from racial parasites. Recognition of women is a detail of shame. Every village worker will, therefore, regard every woman as his mother, sister or daughter as the case may be, and look upon her with respect. Only such a worker will command the confidence of the village people.

It is impossible for an uneducated people as was India. Therefore we should no longer be guilty of the neglect of the health of our people. Every village worker must have a knowledge of the general principles of health.

Without a common language no nation can come into being. Instead of worshipping himself with the controversy about Hindi-Urduism and Urdu, the village worker will acquire a knowledge of the vernaculars, which should be such as can be understood by both Hindus and Muslims.

Our education for English has made us un-fitted to possessal languages. If only at present for the usefulness the village worker should cultivate in the villages a love of their own speech. He will have equal regard for all the other languages of India, and will learn the language of the part where he may be working, and thus be able to acquire the villages thus with a regard for their own speech.

The whole of this programme will, however, be a strenuous one and if it is not built on the solid foundation of economic equality. Economic equality must mean the support to mass possession of an equal amount of worldly goods by everyone. It does mean, however, that everyone will have a proper house to live in, sufficient and balanced food to eat, and sufficient kind of work which to cover himself. It also means that the social inequalities that divide order will be removed by purely non-violent means. This question, however, requires to be separately dealt with. (Swamiji, 13-8-40) (Translated from Gujarati)

### Deeply Distressing

In response to The New Channel's request Gandhi has called the following statement.

Having retired from participation in Congress politics, I have refrained from expressing opinion on the recent Viceroyal pronouncement. But persons from friends in England and fellow workers have demands response from me. The Viceroyal pronouncement is deeply distressing. It widens the gulf between India, as represented by the Congress, and England. Thinking India outside the Congress, too, has not welcomed the pronouncement. The Secretary of State gives another the ear, but does not depict sympathy. Neither does the pronouncement take note of the smouldering discontent. My own fear is that democracy as being wrecked. Britain cannot claim to stand the justice, if she fails to be just to India. India's distress is too deep to yield to any make-believe or halfhearted measures.

Swamiji, 13-8-40

### QUESTIONS BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

#### Can He Stand Alone?

Q. You are anxious that there should be no-never in complete non-violence in every province. Is there not need then to organize a league of such persons? Or are you of opinion that change is a force that enables individuals to stand alone?

A. Complete non-violence needs neither the aid of speech nor of the pen. And if it does not require the help of these two means, it certainly does not stand in need of organized strength. A man or woman who is connected with change has only to will a thing and it happens. I can picture that truth in my imagination. It is stated in the scriptures too. Now my experience can only be confined to images, so images that I cannot ask anyone to hold on to. Hence my desire to build an organization pledged to unadorned non-violence. At the same time I believe that true believers in and out non-violence should have the strength to stand alone. They will then be soldiers and their own generals at the same time. If the non-violent arm of our dream can be set up, it will put an end to the amazing delusion in the power of non-violence. Indeed the Congress will itself be converted to complete non-violence.

#### What Should He Do?

Q. I am a Congressman and I believe in non-violence. I am also a member of Congress committees. You have advised people like me to leave the Congress. I am in touch with the villagers in my area. Should I continue to bring them into the Congress fold or allow them to remain outside?

A. This is not a good question. So long as you are in the Congress it is your duty to persuade others to join as well. You should explain the Congress policy to them. Those who join the Congress with an understanding of the real difference between truth and violence will do so knowingly. They will join the Congress either with the desire to try to bring the Congress on to the path of complete non-violence or to support it as its present policy. Your duty is to explain the position fully to them and freely admit as much as with to you. You may resign from the Congress only when the date for leaving it is fixed. Until then you are to carry on as you have been doing heretofore.

#### What Should a Prince Do and Not Do?

Q. In your appeal to "Every Indian you say "You will never have Hitler and Signor Mussolini to rule what they want... You will give all your earthly possessions, but never your soul or your mind... You will refuse to own allegiance to them." Please explain clearly what a Prince should or should not do. I ask the question because your answer will have a bearing on the duty of every citizen.

A. Not to yield your soul to the conqueror means that you will refuse to do that which your conscience forbids you to do. Support the

— means to ask you to risk your name on the ground or to pull your ears or to go through such humiliating performances you would not submit to any of these humiliations. But if he risks you or your possessions, you will yield them because as a variety of abuses you have from the beginning decided that worldly possessions have nothing to do with your soul. That which you look upon as yours even you may keep only so long as the world allows you to own it.

Not to yield your mind means that you will not give way to any temptation. Man is often-times weak-minded enough to be caught in the snare of good and honeyed words. We see this happening daily in our social life. A weak-minded man can never be a martyr. The latter's 'no' is invariably a 'no' and his 'yes' an eternal 'yes'. Such a man does not have the strength to be a destroyer of snare and illusion. But here one must know the difference between righteousness and obsequious. If after having said 'yes' or 'no' one finds out that the decision was wrong and is aware of that knowledge clings to it, that is obsequious and folly. It is necessary to think things out carefully and thoroughly before coming to any decision.

The meaning of refusal to own allegiance is clear. You will not bow to the supremacy of the victor, you will not help him to attain his object. Herr Hitler has never dreamt of possessing Britain. He wants the British to admit defeat. The victor can then demand anything he likes from the vanquished, and the latter has perhaps to yield. But if defeat is not admitted, the enemy will fight until he has killed his opponent. A martyr, however, is dead in his body even before the enemy attempts to kill him; i.e., he is free from attachment to his body and only lives in the victory of the soul. Therefore, when he is already dead, why should he go on to kill anyone? To do so is the act of killing as is common to the defeated. Because, if the victor is unable to get what he wants from you alive, he will decide to get it after killing you. If on the other hand, he realises that you have not the weakness through in your mind of turning your head against him even for the sake of your life, he will back the way to kill you. Every hunter has had this experience. No one has ever heard of anyone having crows.

You may feel that I have not answered the questions that you had in your mind. I have made a humble effort and dealt with your general question by giving you a few broad examples. I hope that from them you will be able to deduce answers to the questions left unanswered.

Dignity of the soul and self-respect are interpreted differently by different persons. I am aware that self-respect is often misunderstood. The over-sensitive man may be disturbed or hurt in almost everything. Such a man does not really understand what self-respect is. That has been my experience in many cases. But no harm

comes even if a non-violent man holds another's account of self-respect. He can do cheerfully for the sake of what he believes to be his dignity and self-respect. Only he has no right to agree or kill the supposed wrong-doer.

Seragam, 13-4-47

### The Case of My First Son

Q. You have failed to take even your own son with you, and he has done wrong. Mar it not, therefore, he will let you to stay content with visiting your own house in order?

A. This may be taken to be a verse, but I do not take it as Parshva's question had occurred to me before it did to anyone else. I am a believer in previous births and rebirths. All our relationships are the result of the samsaras we carry from our previous births. God's laws are unbreakable and are the subject of endless search. No one will fathom them.

This is how I regard the case of my son. I regard the birth of a bad son to me as the result of my evil past whether of this life or previous. My first son was born when I was in a state of infirmance. Besides, he grew up while I was myself proved and while I knew myself very little. I do not claim to know myself fully even today, but I certainly know myself better than I did then. For years he remained away from me, and his upbringing was not entirely in my hands. That is why he has always been at a loose end. His government against me has always been that I sacrificed him and his brothers at the altar of what I wrongly believed to be public good. My other sons have had more or less the same blame at my door, but with a good deal of hesitation, and they have generously forgiven me. My eldest son was the direct victim of my experiments—radical changes in my life and so he cannot know what he regards as my blunders. Under the circumstances I believe I am myself the cause of the loss of my son, and have therefore learnt painfully to bear it. And yet it is not quite correct to say that I have lost him, for it is my constant prayer that God may make him see the error of his ways and forgive me my shortcomings, if any, in raising him. It is my firm faith that man is by nature going higher, and so I have not at all lost hope that some day he will wake up from his slumber of ignorance. Thus he is part of my field of experiments in ahimsa. When or whether I shall succeed I have never bothered to know. It is enough for my own satisfaction that I do not slacken my efforts in doing what I know to be my duty. 'To work, sleep, fast, the night, never to the front thereof' is one of the golden precepts of the Gita.

Seragam, 5-4-47

(Translated from Gujarati)

### Wanted Agents

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# NAZIISM IN ITS NAKEDNESS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Danish friend writes

"You will perhaps be able to remember me having made a charge of you at Bonn, Holland's in 1911. From letters reaching you in prison I followed the Indian movement with interest, in particular your leadership and your methods of conduct. I am a Dane and lived for many years in Germany, where I had built up a living as an artist. Nations which stand solid in Germany seven years ago, caused me many vexatious doubts, especially such regard to the education of my three children. I often thought of writing to you to ask your advice. I have, however, now fully your time was occupied and did not want to embarrass you with my difficulties. Eventually I managed to settle my affairs to my own satisfaction.

It is just one year ago now I left my home in Munich to spend some time in Holland. When our house and in September we did not return to Germany but remained in Holland, once I had my work to secure my children to the mental state of a country at war. On the 10th May, by the use of every possible motor truck, Holland was transported. After four days of the most restless travelling we fled to England and are now on our way to Java, the country of my birth, where I hope to find work, not as one of the group which explains the colony but as a grant.

Europe has put its trust in violence, but for centuries past in the name of justice against violence rules of civility were observed. Nazism has thrown that rule overboard, and I can say with a clear conscience that no country has ever made use of such wanton cruelty, robbery and destruction as witnessing its rule in modern Germany. The explanation of this change is based on the movement of violence. Nazism systematically treats children as cunning and treacherous even towards their own parents, its immorality and wantonness in the name of justice. When Indian students, who in the course of years have visited me at home, returned about Germany, they were rarely deceived by the glass which Nazism shows as well how to lay on. A short explanation always convinced them of the tremendous difference between 'Indian National Socialism', as they often called your movement, and Hitler's Nazism.

Two books, *The Revolution of Destruction* and *Hitler Speaks*, have been written by Hermann Baumbach, a former student of Hitler. These books give a very clear exposition of the movement in Germany, and should be read by all thinking people. Hitler seems at working less than the destruction of all moral values, and in the hands of German youth he has already attained that end.

Your article in *Non-Violence* about the Jewish problem in Germany particularly interested me. You say in it that, if any Jew were present, it is the one against Germany. In the same article, however, you write that, if you were a Jew, you would attempt to solve the Jewish of the Nazis by non-violence. Evidently you also admired Buddha and the Danish people to surround their beautiful island to the

German people, without resistance by force, and to conquer them afterwards by non-violence. There is, perhaps no man in the whole history who has a better knowledge of the practice of non-violence than yourself. You have been a hundred years old and live for you in millions of hearts not only in India but in the whole world as well. Even your opponents are compelled eventually to honour you and admit the rightness of your aims and method. But your opponents are the Nazis, a people that, though like every other it has its weak points, in spite of its historic sense retains a heart.

Through Nazism, the German youth has lost its individuality of thought and feeling. The great mass of young people has lost its heart and is degraded to the level of a machine. The German conduct of the war is absolutely mechanical, machine-like, are driven by men who have no quality of conscience about crushing under their tanks the bodies of women and children, bombing upon towns full of hundreds of thousands of women and children, and at certain times them as a reward for their advance, or distributing precious food. There are all facts, the truth of which I can reach, for, I have spoken with many of your followers about the possibility of another non-violence against Germany. A friend of mine, whose work it is to investigate German practices of war in England, was deeply shocked by the special measures and barbarism of these young men and agreed with me that non-violence could not be applied with any success against such robbers. The most terrible side of the question is the fact that Hitler has been able in the short space of seven years to make German youth to such depths of dehumanization. A glance at some of the books mentioned above will convince you of that. I know of no other example in history of a people making practically no law.

I hope that my letter has not troubled you much after your tour. On the return journey to Europe in a happier time when, if God will, you may be possible. I shall try to bring my wife and children for a short visit to you."

The friend has not his name and address. But I withhold both for fear of having coming to him through unnecessary publicity. The letter must be valued as its own address means.

When, however, someone has not as much his characterization of Nazism as he holds that non-violent action may have an effect on Hitler or the Germans whom he has named into so many robes. Non-violent action, if it is adequate, must influence Hitler and easily the German people. He may even be turned into a permanent machine. Immediately the dead weight of authority is lifted from his hand, he begins to function normally. To be down any such general proposition as my friend has, betrays ignorance of the working of non-violence. The British Government can take no risks, can make up experiments in which they have not even a workable faith. But if ever an opportunity could be given to me, in spite of my physical limitations, I should not hesitate to try what would

appear to be impossible. For as strong as it is not the victory who sits in his own strength. Strength comes from God. If therefore, the way is opened for me to go, He will give me the physical endurance and check my word with the needed power. Anyway all through my life I have acted in that faith. Never have I weakened my independent strength on myself. This may be considered by men who do not believe in a higher Power than themselves as a drawback and a belated move. I must admit that humanism of men, if it be accounted as such.

Seragam, 2-5-49

## TRAVANCORE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The P. J. Sebastian sends me the following 'true copy' of the press note of the Travancore Government.

"The Government of Travancore have observed with regret that, in the column of his newspaper 'Puduga', Mr. Gandhi has afforded hospitality to statements emanating from Messrs. Sebastian and G. Ramachandran the former being the latest President and latter the propagator of the so-called Travancore State Congress. Evidently it is a lie by these statements and the comments of Mr. Gandhi to turn an outside enquiry and outside mediation upon the State. Mr. Sebastian who is a Travancore subject is reported to be moving between British Malabar and Cochin and his statements are published some weeks ago. The Government had resolved to ignore it inasmuch as they did find such statements have been widely rampant of the basest assertions made by Mr. Ramachandran repeated in different places."

In view however to the publicity which accompanies statements associated with Mr. Gandhi and in order that the public may not be misled, as Mr. Gandhi always himself to be misled by such statements, the Travancore Government propose to take appropriate legal proceedings against Messrs. Sebastian and G. Ramachandran at the same of which the truth or falsity of their statements can be tested.

Harur Godeen, Travancore,

28th July 1949

(Sd.) M. K. NALAYANDA ARAN,  
Chief Secretary to Government

I have published the text without interfering with the spelling or the grammar. In sending the copy Sri Sebastian says:

"It has not yet to now appeared in any of the Indian papers. The object of the press note seems to be to warn the Travancore papers not to copy the article in 'Travancore' in the Haripur of the 11th July. It is worthy of note that none of the Travancore papers has published the Marrow article of the 11th, though the article of the Sri Haripur with the copy of the Devan had been published."

I am publishing everything important known to me about Travancore because I believe it to be true. The discussed proceedings against Sri Ramachandran and Sebastian will not diminish the statements published. They will confirm the impression that the Travancore State authorities are determined by all means at their disposal to crush the movement for liberty. If past experience is any guide, the Travancore repression will fail to crush the movement. Now how the move are avoided in the press over. There is no demand for an outside enquiry or 'outside mediation', nor is there any question of force. The Devan himself and some others in Travancore are outsiders. But they are not forced upon the State when the Maharaja engages them, and the use of the word 'outsider' seems to have any meaning for the authorities. It is perpetration to use the word 'force' for friendly suggestion by the Poona or speech by State subjects, or to use words 'enquiry' and 'outside mediation' for suggestion to the State to bring impartial justice from outside. Were Justice Ranier himself a non-Puduga, and his non-Puduga colleagues forced upon the Poona Government when a proposal to public affairs Government appointed the Ranier Committee? Or was Justice Ranier forced upon Sir Mitta based when he appeared that learned outside to confer an enquiry into the Vidyanarayanan shooting? The public is bound to give a hearing meaning to the press nature of the language by the Travancore authorities. Again, if the Travancore people are hostile to or unkind to the design of the State Congress, where is the evidence for the suppression of the State Congress bulletin and newspaper comments? I am aware truthfully and respectfully understood have always survived repression and drawn sympathy from unopposed quarters. I call such sympathy divine help. God works in mysterious ways. Let the persecuted State Congress people have faith that God is with them.

Seragam, 4-5-49

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# HARTIAN

Editor: MANABDEV DEBARI

Vol. VIII No. 25 :

KOONA — SUNDAY AUGUST 25, 1940

[ ONE ANNA

## DR. LOBNA AGAIN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

By courtesy of Shri Ashutosh Patwardhan, I have a copy of Dr. Lobna's statement before the court and the judgment of the presiding magistrate. The whole of Dr. Lobna's statement is quoted but I want the magistrate to give it in full. More however is its permanent part.

"In all our activities we have to be self-reliant. Non-violence is dictated not only by the circumstances of our country but by considerations that operate throughout the world. It is not only a political necessity, it is an ethical desideratum. Whenever little confuses there might be on the part due to faulty reporting is not made by the reporter himself. I am reported to have said 'There are two weapons to weapons we become weak of heart. Those who rely on weapons do not rely on their hearts. They turn into slaves of their own weapons. They have no strength left in themselves.

I am in opposition of the old rule of the law, and in modern opposition the rule of the law. There is no other construction between these rules and the ordering of human life. A construction which is daily becoming more lax. The next twenty years will show which rule and the doctrine cannot last longer.

Should human life values, there can be only one form of expression. Adult democracy must obtain throughout the world, and there will be no place in it for capitalism, nor for capitalism. I have given an indication in my speech of this form of government as a rule after the British people. It was with a view to being into the heartland the principle of adult democracy that I suggested an immediate peace plan to Mahatma Gandhi. I share no sympathy for this plan where there are.

1. All people will be free. Those people acquiring freedom will determine their constitution through a constituent assembly.

2. All men are equal, and there will be no racial privileges in any part of the world. There will be no political or to separate writing without his line.

3. All civilities and movements owned by the Government and networks of the country, a working will be stopped or subjected for imperial interest, to international interests. They will then be moved out by individuals but by the State.

When these four principles will have been accepted by the people of the world a fourth will automatically come into existence—

4. There will be total disarmament.

I am happy in the knowledge that Mahatma Gandhi has endorsed the peace plan.

Let me in conclusion state that I have no ill will towards any people. I have lived among the German people and liked their thoroughness of strategy, the economic loss of their word and their efficiency in action. I am unhappy that they have only to carry on their shoulders a system which leads to war and conquest. I have no intimate knowledge of the British people. I dare say that they have, these values. I may be persuaded in some from my speech 'I do not want the destruction of Britain. The British have done evil to us, but I do not want to do evil to them. Again I am unhappy that the British people have to carry on their shoulders only a system which has enslaved the people of the world.

Dr. Lobna shares what the masses have to say.

The accused is a highly intellectual and cultured gentleman, perhaps with a moderate degree of some European University, a man of high principles and words whose honesty of purpose nobody can doubt. He does not need suffering for his convictions and does not need much for his sentence in its duration. We certainly do not punish him for holding certain political views about the present Government, for the very claim of the Government that it is democratic and run on public opinion within the public or only one it according to be built by constitutional means, but we must protect such Government from subversion in her relation with the masses who are bound to be deceived by a speech like this one the accused has delivered in Dootpur, and particularly when the British empire and Empire is in grip with the most corruption stamp. I therefore consider that his detention is not for a long duration or until the present cloud is drifted away in very desirable, so that and in view I propose to try to pass R. I. He is recommended for 11 Chan.

That why has he been awarded such rigorous imprisonment? The duration of the term I understand. He must be kept from the supposed mischief. I wonder whether the fact of the imprisonment will not aggravate the mischief. Of this the Government must be the judge. But the people will remember that lives of one's country and independence are a crime in a country where the State is responsible to the people. Dr. Lobna and other Congressmen's imprisonment are so many human-crimes that must weaken the class that little India. The Government is serving the Congress to make total disharmony and deliver the big blow it would have reserved for a better day—leave for the British. It is a pity.

Servagan, 21-8-40

## GANDHI SCHOLARSHIPS

List of Harjan students who have been granted

Gandhi Scholarships for the year 1948-49

| Area                           | Course of study              | Amount p m |         |
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| " K. Venkateswara              | B. I. M. II yr               | 10         |         |
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| " Krishna Lal Barua            | "                            | 7          |         |
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| C. P. Bhaik                    |                              |            |         |
| Shri Chandra Lal Kanya         | Engineering                  | 10         |         |
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| " Jagdish Narayan Kati         | B. A. Sr.                    | 7 5        |         |
| " B. J. Mishra                 | Engineering                  | 10         |         |
| " Laxmanrayan J. Jha           | L. M. P.                     | 7 5        |         |
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| Shri Uday Venket Rao Kamble    | I. A. Jr.                    | 7 5        |         |
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| " S. S. Mishra                 | B. A. Sr.                    | 5          |         |
| " S. T. Kamble                 | L.M.P., 4th yr               | 10         |         |
| " M. A. Ghose                  | B. A. Sr.                    | 7 5        |         |
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| Shri B. Ramdas                 | Vedic Course                 |            |         |
| " I. M. Das                    | at Central Board             | 10         |         |
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3. All scholarships in Tamil Nad are for a period of 10 months only.

Special

Delhi, 5-3-49

Asst. Secretary, H. & S.

## VILLAGE RECONSTRUCTION IN THE NORTH

Shen M. S. Vanshachian made reports of rural reconstruction work in five centers which are worthy of notice. He says the heaviest factor is that the initiative and labor is all due to the agent that has organized the villages themselves. Not much money has been spent. Whatever was needed came from the villages. In some cases Government grants were also available. The work was started two years ago in the Kaya center and a year ago in the others. The new centers sprang up because the people asked for help and have shown an eagerness and willingness to learn how to better their living conditions and surroundings.

From one village in the Kaya center in 1938 the work is now carried on in 12. The total population of all the villages is 2559. Thirty linkages of new roads have been laid. Government has contributed a certain amount toward this work. But the villages have made themselves responsible for keeping the roads in good condition. The streams are kept clean by the women in one of the centers. The sanitary condition of the neighborhood has changed beyond recognition. The Kaya center has 9 slope pits which are well kept. There are being installed in the other centers wherever possible. Well water is protected from pollution and wherever there is not an ample supply efforts are being made to make the distance from a well and a house well for Harpans have been sunk. Where drainage water can be utilized with advantage small kitchen gardens are encouraged, both private and community. In the Kaya center each Harpan family has got its own garden. In new village every house has a secret pit in its backyard in a suitable distance from the living quarters. Care of cattle is an important part of the programme. In one center the cattle shed is dug to a depth of 18 inches and filled with soft fine mud which forms a soft porous bed for the animals. Once in 3 or 4 days the mud is turned over, and every month or so works which requires to be changed it is all carried into nature pits. There is also no garbage and its removal is done in the shed itself. There are 5 schools and 112 boys and girl pupils in all the centers. A library campaign has been commenced among the adults. There are 113 libraries in these centers at the moment. The Kaya center has a library with 620 books for which there is ample demand.

Emerging industries at the Kaya center are basket-making, pottery, shoe palm weaving, blacksmithy, and carpentry. It has not been possible to get rid of the animal manure caused through these. Hides and bone-pounded rice have been introduced. The entire process of manufacturing milk from cows and calves and butter-making from milk was taught by the East Agricultural College, Cantonese, with the result that 3

families are regularly making milk and selling it in Canton. This has 544 to 71500—work since last October. 416 pounds of poultry were produced and sold in the Kaya center village since the last report. Spinning has been started in all the centers, and some villages are growing their own cotton. There are 385 spindles, 308 shuttles, 138 bobbins, and 308 square yards of cloth have so far been produced. Attempts at bee-keeping and paper-making from bamboo have also been made. For various reasons there have not so far met with success but they are now going to be given up.

Shen M. S. Vanshachian is confident that as the villages are better the work will continue and grow.

Seoulton 12-8-40

[Abridged by A. K.]

## Asia and Non-violence

Principal Thaddeus made the following lines which should be read with interest—

"The general policy of the Congress has undergone a radical change, and one does not know what the War may bring about. I am not a politician, but I was during the last Great War that I thought of what you have advised the British people today. And then I considered of Asia, which I wrote during the course of the War, but published later. I felt during the last War that, if you did not intend itself to be destroyed without touching its opponent, not only would the War be over, but a new order of the world come. And then I thought of Asia's conversion after the removal of England, and imagined that the people of that country had offered such a non-violent opposition to Asia, refused themselves to be shot without slaying a single soldier of the King, and it was that that brought about the change in the heart of Asia.

I do not know if you ever read that little book of mine, but perhaps it might interest you now. I have been reading it, and perhaps you might find time to a few lines if not the whole poem.

Go forth and be open to battlefields  
Go forth and live unharmed in your land,  
Go forth and die, to live for evermore.  
Be silent, but stay not—die, but do not yield,  
Not fight, not fly, not kill, not come to blood,  
But suffer and be saved for evermore.  
The world is wonderful—let her heart be healed,  
The world is kindred—let her soul be freed,  
And live not whole, live so for evermore.  
Go forth and do, ye earth's children dear!  
Go forth and do—that have the gods desired,  
Go forth, to live more for evermore."  
Seoulton, 12-8-40

M. E. G.

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# *Harijan*

Vol. 25

1940

## EQUAL DISTRIBUTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In last week's article on the Constructive Programme I mentioned equal distribution of wealth as one of the 15 aims.

The real emphasis of equal distribution is that each man shall have the wherewithal to supply all his natural needs and no more. For example, if one man has a week's wages and requires only a quarter of a pound of flour for his bread and another needs a pound, both should be in a position to satisfy their wants. To bring this ideal into being the entire social order has got to be reconstructed. A society based on non-violence cannot tolerate any other ideal. We may not perhaps be able to realise the goal, but we must bear it in mind and work unceasingly to reach it. To the same extent as we progress towards our goal we shall find discontent and happiness, and in that extent too shall we have progressed towards the highest aim being of a non-violent society.

It is perfectly possible for an individual to adopt the way of life without having to wait for others to do so. And if an individual can observe a certain rule of conduct, it follows that a group of individuals can do likewise. It is necessary for me to emphasise the fact that no one need wait for anyone else in order to adopt a right course. Man generally hesitates to make a beginning if they feel that the objective cannot be laid in its entirety. Such an attitude of mind is no reality a bar to progress.

Now let us consider how equal distribution can be brought about through non-violence. The first step towards it is for him who has made this ideal part of his being to bring about the necessary changes in his personal life. He would refuse he wants to a minimum, leaving in mind the poverty of India. His earnings would be free of dishonesty. The doors for speculation would be slammed. His behaviour would be in keeping with the new mode of life. There would be self-control exercised in every sphere of life. When he has done all this, it is possible in his own life that only will he be in a position to preach this ideal among his associates and neighbours.

Instead at the root of this doctrine of equal distribution must lie that of the restraining of the wealthy for the superfluous wealth possessed by them for according to the doctrine they may not possess a rupee more than their neighbours. How is this to be brought about? Non-violently? Or should the wealthy be depossessed of their possessions? To do this we would certainly have to resort to violence. The violent

action cannot benefit society. Society will be the poorer, for it will lose the gift of a man who knows how to accumulate wealth. Therefore the non-violent way is evidently superior. The rich man will be left in possession of his wealth, of which he will use what he reasonably requires for his personal needs and will set as a trustee for the remainder to be used for the society. In this argument honesty on the part of the trustee is assumed.

As soon as a man looks upon himself as a servant of society, none for its sake, spends for its benefit, then poverty comes into his thoughts and there is shame in his vulgar Moneys. If man's mind turns towards this way of life, there will come about a peaceful revolution in society, and that without any bitterness.

It may be asked whether history at any time records such a change in human nature. Such changes have certainly taken place in individuals. One may not perhaps be able to point to them in a whole society for this only means that up till now there has never been an experiment on a large scale in non-violence. Somewhere or other the wrong belief has taken possession of us that shame is pre-eminently a weapon for individuals and its use should therefore be limited in that sphere. In fact this is not the case. Shame is definitely an attribute of society. To convince people of this truth is to win my effort and my experiment. In this age of wonders no one will say that a thing or idea is workable because it is new. To say it is impossible because it is difficult is again not in consonance with the spirit of the age. Things unknown of are daily being met, the impossible is ever becoming possible. We are constantly being reminded these days of the amazing discoveries in the field of violence. But I maintain that for more unknown of and certainly responsible discoveries will be made in the field of non-violence. The history of religion is full of such examples. To try to run our religion apart from society is a wild goose chase. And were such an attempt to succeed, it would mean the destruction of society. Superstition, evil customs and other superstitious creep in from age to age and mar religion for the new being. They come and go. But religion itself remains because the existence of the world in a broad sense depends on religion. The ultimate defences of religion may be said to be obedience to the law of God. God and His law are unchangeable terms. Therefore God signifies an unchanging and living law. No one has ever really found Him. But sages and prophets have by means of their 'tearings', given us mankind a faint glimpse of the eternal law.

If however in spite of the utmost effort, the rich do not become purifiers of the poor in the true sense of the term and the latter are more and more crushed and die of hunger, what is to be done? It trying to find the solution to this riddle I have looked on non-



without non-cooperation and civil disobedience as the right and inflexible means. The rich cannot accumulate wealth without the co-operation of the poor in society. Man has been confronted with violence from the beginning, for he has inherited this strength from the animal as he inherits it was only when he rose from the state of a quadruped (animal) to that of a biped (man) that the knowledge of the strength of shaman entered into his soul. This knowledge has given wisdom to him slowly but surely. If this knowledge went to paroxysm to and spread amongst the poor, they would become strong and would learn how to free themselves by means of non-violence from the crushing yokes which have brought them to the verge of starvation.

I scarcely need to write anything about non-cooperation and civil disobedience for the readers of *Harvardiana* are familiar with these and their workings.

Savagran, 19-8-40

(Translated from Gujarati)

## AN INTERESTING DISCOURSE

### I

#### The Scope of Ahimsa

"You see that I am interesting every one of your questions straightforward without the slightest hesitation. That is because the great questions underlying your questions possess me and I have released to myself every one of the powers arising out of the various implications of ahimsa. These words were uttered by Gandhiji towards the close of a long and interesting discourse with a number of friends from Poona who had come for the sole purpose of clearing their doubts on ahimsa. They were all wet and out believers in non-violence, or if they were wet, they had come all the way from Poona, in order to be back believers after their doubts were cleared. Balasubrah Chel, the ex-Prime Minister of Bombay, accompanied them. They had drawn up an exhaustive questionnaire, even at the risk of asking some of their questions twice, for they did not want to leave any room for doubt.

The first question was about the limits and implications of ahimsa and the extent of its application. Should one stop with the human species or extend it to all creation?

Gandhiji said: "I was not prepared for this question. For the Congress ahimsa is naturally confined to the political field and therefore only to the human species. Hence out and out non-violence means for me oppose every variety of non-violence on the political field. In concrete terms it means firstly resistance, resistance with unswerving authority, moral character and external aggression. For in another way it means all human relations."

"Then what about meat-eating and egg-eating? Do they come with non-violence?"

"They do. Otherwise we should have to exclude Mohammedans and Christians and a vast number of Hindus as possible co-workers in ahimsa. I have known many non-vegetarians to be far more non-violent than vegetarians."

"But what if we had to give them up for the sake of a principle?"

"Oh yes, we would, if we had to compromise our principle. Our principle is defined as I have shown already."

#### A Wrong Analogy

"If, as you have said, Polish resistance to the German invasion was almost non-violent, and you would then mean to reconcile yourself with it, why do you object to the Warden's resistance of the Working Committee?"

"Surely," said Gandhiji, "there is no analogy between the two cases. If a man fights with his sword single-headed against a band of dacoits armed to the teeth, I should say he is fighting almost non-violently. Haven't I said to our women that, in defence of their honour they used their nails and teeth and even a dagger, I should regard their conduct non-violent? She does know the distinction between human and ahimsa. She acts spontaneously. Suppose a mouse is fighting a cat and to resist the cat with his sharp back, would you call that mouse violent? In the same way, for the Poles to stand valiantly against the German hordes fully armed in machine, military equipment and strength, was almost non-violence. I should not mind repeating that statement over and over again. You must give its full value to the word 'almost'. But we are 400 millions here. If we were to organize a big army and prepare ourselves to fight foreign aggressors, how could we by any stretch of imagination call ourselves almost non-violent, let alone non-violent? The Poles were supported for the way in which the enemy swooped down upon them. When we talk of armed preparation, we contemplate preparation to meet any violent combination with our superior violence. If India ever prepared herself that way she would constitute the greatest menace to world peace. For if we take that path, we will also have to choose the path of exploitation like the European nations. That is why I will reject the moment when my words lacked the power of convincing the Sardar and Rajaji. By having passed that resolution we proclaimed to the world that the ahimsa we had subscribed to all these years was not really ahimsa but a form of harm."

#### Administering Non-violence

Q. "How will you run your administration non-violently?"

A. "If you mean that we would have won independence by non-violent means, it means that the bulk of the country had been equipped non-violently. Without the vast majority of people having become non-violent, we could not attain non-violent Swaraj. If, therefore, we attain Swaraj by purely non-violent means, it should

not be difficult to the British setting villages on fire without the intention. The British are well then have some under our control. If for instance, in Benapur we have five or seven villages in a population of seven hundred who are unanimously agreed, the five or seven will rather live under the discipline of the one or leave the village.

"But you will see that I am answering the question with the utmost candour, and my candour makes me admit that we might have to maintain a police force. But the police will be after our persons, and not the British persons. As we shall have adult villages, the voice of even the remotest of us will count. That is why I have said that the ideally non-violent State will be an ordered anarchy. That State will be the best governed which is governed the least. The pity is that no one trusts me with the name of government! Otherwise I would show how to govern non-violently. If I maintain a police force, it will be a body of reformers."

"But," someone roared, "you had the power in the Congress!"

"That was a paperboat," said Gandhiji. "And then you must not forget that I never spared the Congress members. Mahatma and Purna came in for a lot of criticism from me. As I have said in another connection even the dirty water from the gutter, when it mixes with the water of the Ganges because as pure as the Ganges water even so I had exposed even the parasites would work under Congress discipline. But evidently our members had not assumed the purified potency of the fabled Ganges."

"But," said Ben Kher, intervened at the next, "the Congress members had no non-violent power with them. Even if 500 persons had run amok and had been allowed to go unchecked, they would have done much havoc. I do not know how even you would have dealt with them."

"Surely surely," said Gandhiji. "I had advised such measures. The members could on such occasions have gone out and allowed themselves to be done to death by the mob. But let us face the fact that we had not the requisite shama. We were in work our half-baked shama. I do not mind it so much as we put up power the moment we felt we should give it up. I am sure that, if we had adhered to strict non-violence during those two or three years, the Congress would have made a tremendous advance in the direction of shama and also independence."

"But," said Acharya, "four or five years ago when there was a riot, and I appealed to the leaders to go and throw themselves into the conflagration, no one was ready."

"So you are repeating my argument. You agree that our loyalty to shama was lip-loyalty and not heart-loyalty. And if even the half-baked shama carried us a long way, does it not follow that through shama would have earned

us very far indeed, even if it had not already brought us to the goal?"

### Non-violent Army

"But we cannot visualize how you will meet non-violently attack a foreign invasion."

I cannot draw the whole picture to you because we have no past experience to fall back upon and there is no reality facing us today. We have got the Government army manned by the Sikhs, Pathans and Gurkhas. When I am convinced in this that with my non-violent army of my, two thousand people I should not myself between the two contending armies. But this, I know, is no answer. I can only say that we shall be able to reduce the invader's violence to a minimum. The general of a non-violent army has got to have greater presence of mind than that of a violent army, and God would bless him with the necessary concentration to meet situations as they arise."

Ben Kher now asked a philosophical question. "The world," he said, "is made up of pairs of opposites. Where there is a line, there is a contrary too. When we walk on the edge of a precipice we walk warily, for we have fear. Fear is not a thing to despise. Will your non-violent army be able to show these pairs of opposites?"

"No," said Gandhiji, replying in the same philosophical terminology. "No, for the simple reason that my army will represent one of the pair—shama—not of the pair of shama and shama. Neither I nor my army is shama the pair of opposites. The state of shama, in the language of the Gita, runs shama bhava and shama bha. Fear has its use, but cowardice has none. I may not put my finger into the jaws of a snake, but the very sight of the snake need not strike terror into me. The trouble is that we often do many times before such cowardice on."

"But let me explain what my army will be like. They need not and will not have the concentration or understanding of the general, but they will have a perfect sense of discipline to carry out faithfully his orders. The general should have the control which commands the unquestioning obedience of his army, and he will expect of them nothing more than this obedience. The Dark March was entirely my conception. Pundit Mandhata first laughed at it, he thought it to be a quackish adventure and jokingly suggested instead a march on the Viceroy's House." But I could not shrink of anything but the salt march as I had to think in terms of millions of our countrymen. It was a conception that God gave me. Pundit Mandhata argued for some time, and then he said he must not write as after all I was the General, and he must have faith in me. Later when he saw me in jail, he was completely converted for he saw with his own eyes the working that had come over the masses. And it was an almost magical conversion. When in heavy jail we find possible of the and agents who was women deployed in such large numbers."

'And yet none of the thousands who took part in the movement will leave the avenue. They were strong, young, healthy. God has a way of making use of the most fragile instruments and restoring them.' I remained by everything. Only He is greater."

#### The Real Equipment

'And then what after all is the army that won?' You know Rama's reply to Villahermosa when the latter wondered how Rama would be able to conquer a foe like Hernan, when he had no chance, no armor, not any men to his feet? Rama says:

"The chance, my dear Villahermosa, that won the victory for Hernan is of a different sort from the usual one. Machines and courage are its wheels, collecting work and character in horses and mankind, strength, docility, self-restraint and knowledge in horses, such ingenuity, courage, spontaneity, free will, prayer to God in this conqueror's unerring character, discipline he should, consciousness he owed, charity he gave, wisdom he won, and perfect wisdom his true love. His gaze and unerring mind won for a govern, his moral grandeur and his practice of peace and justice won for the ideal of justice, and the language he gave to his men and his gaze to his responsible armistice. There is no other equipment for victory comparable to this, and, my dear friend, there is no enemy who can conquer the man who takes his stand on the shores of adversity. He who has a powerful character like this is a warrior who can give even that great and terrible enemy—the world—Hernan unto me and his pet."

"That is the equipment," added Gandiga, "that can lead us to victory. I have not strayed from the world, nor do I mean to. I can no retreat. I am content to do what little work I can in this world and give what guidance I can to those that come to me. What we need is faith. And when it there to be lost to following the right path? The worst that can happen to us is that we shall be needed before to be needed than to be recognized."

But if we had to come ourselves violently, I should be at my wit's end. I cannot even think out an armistice plan much less work it. On the other hand my non-violent plan is incredibly simpler and easier, and with God as our Commander and Infinite Guide where is there cause for my fear?"

Severino, 21-2-40

M D

(To be included in the next issue)

Gandiga only made a reference to these letters from Tehuacan. Ramon's 1 translate them here into for the benefit of the reader. M D

#### Some Books by Gandiga

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## ADULT EDUCATION THROUGH HANDICRAFTS

### II

A case of the effective use of a handicraft in accomplishing the full recovery of a girl is described in chapter V entitled "Spinning and Weaving for Home and Market." At a settlement school in the Southern Highlands, several children had been brought up so that they had made on their family income. Inquiry revealed the fact that all the family had taken a hand in weaving except the girl girl, who could never remember how to do anything. When asked if she would ever go to school and learn to weave, she was delighted, but her expression changed considerably. "It is no use, I can't learn anything," she said.

"The teacher encouraged her to try. At first she would sit at the loom and do only what she was told, when it came to a choice, she could not remember, and when stopped or corrected in the same way, but whatever she completed was well done. The girl was always in good before weaving started. Always stayed at her loom as long as she could, and little by little she learned how to remember. Finally she could make a simple rug easily by herself. She was then asked to help beginners. This opened up a new world to her, and she began to help others how to weave, she learned to wrap up a loom, and then taught others. All this required a long time, but whatever she learned she learned, and now she weaves several kinds of articles— including the old handmade covers which she has lost."

The capacity of handicrafts to provide 'instruction to body and mind' has given birth to the science of "occupational therapy," and they have come to be an indispensable feature of treatment in the best American hospitals, particularly in mental hospitals and among the feeble-minded.

The educative value of handicrafts rests on a deep scientific foundation. As Charles Eliot has observed, "We have lately become convinced that accurate work with carpenter's tool, or lathe or hammer and saw, or coils, or pins, or wood, or metal, or metal's low level, never will do more harm and perhaps will, which we do what is ordinarily called thinking." The practice of the handicrafts has these two distinct functions in adult education, not as an exercise in participation in the generally accepted forms of learning, the other is having strong possibilities for learning within itself. "In the former, a handicraft may encourage reading, writing, inquiry, studies, discussion, and other activities associated with formal education—but a handicraft in its practice also provides training in estimating measurement, in judging the yielding and resisting qualities of materials, the powers and limitations of tools, and it affords exercise in the choosing of colors, form, texture and other qualities both practical and artistic. Thus we may experience through a handicraft the richness

metaphors which come through learning, and also which comes through doing.

"This double advantage," concludes Mr. Ramesh, "cannot be too highly esteemed. In our system of formal education and in our general attitude towards education we have grossly neglected individuality, the thinking of things, and have neglected the educational importance of the doing of things. In this the two cannot be easily separated, nor should they be: it is through their happy and constructive blending that we grow up persons and persons. As Keshu Ramani so well expressed it, 'Human life and human culture as well consist not only of thoughts but also of feelings and emotions that spring from vehicles and mental images.' And from wide observation and experience he has concluded that 'of all the means by which we can educate the whole personality none seems more effective than the home crafts and other types of handicrafts'."

Educators and organisers of adult education driven in this country would do well to seriously consider and ponder these words of wisdom. We are accustomed to associate learning in education with books, classes and schools. It is not possible that we tend to overlook the great amount of learning that comes through doing, and especially doing work with the hands which calls for skill, thought and energy? Learning through books and the wide use of reading and writing are, as Mr. Ramesh points out, "for the vast masses of our people comparatively recent achievements, making things with the hands has been an everyday practice for ages."

Bombay, 17-7-40

Pysrold

## Notes

### Debt Burden of A Hill Tribe

Shri Mandanwar Sarma, who is working among the hillmen of Madhupur Agency area in the Vangapatnam District writes:

"I am glad to inform you that the debt bondage system prevailing here upon in these areas has been abolished very recently by the Government of Madras as the result of the efforts of the Hill Tribes Association and the Provincial Zamindari Association. Debt bondage means that the hill menials and employees of zamindars were entirely, say Rs. 10 to 20, to tillness and exact whole-time services of the work holders for 3, 12 and even 18 years, and at times for generations together. By this new regulation thousands of hillmen have been set free. We are helping the hillmen in all these matters in a non-violent groove. I am helping them to realise individual values by themselves. It is our ambition to take you to this area after three thousand persons seriously take to the spinning wheel and the loom. For that we need your blessing. They are about money demand. At present twelve hundred hillmen are spinning. We are also trying to teach them from death."

Though the Madras Government have taken long to remove the planned wrong referred to

here, they deserve to be thanked on the grounds that it is better to be late than never. It should now be easier for the workers like Shri Sarma to carry out constructive measures among the hillmen. My blessing to him, I do not know that I can hold out any hope of visiting his area even if he succeeds in getting three thousand charkhas going among the hillmen. He should have no difficulty in realising his modest ambition.

Bombay, 4-8-40

### Improper Use

There is an Kashmiri firm called Ganga House. I do not know any of its partners or the names of the business done by the Company. Shri H. Kanki who was for some time in the Ashram at Beharwan and later in the A. I. S. A., having ceased communication with the house, passed the Ganga House and advertised it and his connection with it by using without my permission a private and personal letter written to him by me. My connection was drawn to the improper use. I rebuked Shri Kanki for such use of my name. He has realised his mistake and sent the following notice to the Lahore Tribune for publication:

"A notice was published in the name of the House (meaning Ganga House) mentioning my name and connected with it a letter from Gandhiji which had no connection with the House. I had made use of a private and personal letter. My action was highly improper and wholly unauthorized. I am in my present work solely on my own. He is not connected to it.

I am glad that Shri Kanki has repaired the blunder.

Bombay, 21-8-40

M. K. G.

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# HARIZAN

Editor: MARGARET DUNN

Vol. VIII No. 29 ]

POONA — SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1940

[ ONE ANNA

## MY IDEA OF A POLICE FORCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend writes as follows:

"The English writer, whom you recently quoted, rightly says that efforts should always be made to stem internal aggression by non-violent means, and that present circumstances offer a peculiarly suitable opportunity for demonstrating that it is possible to secure better results through non-violence than through armed force. But shama is a weapon to smother internal disorders generally diffused. In our country there are three types of internal disturbance, viz. communal, sectarian, and domestic. The root causes of these are mutual distrust, social injustice, and grinding poverty due to economic exploitation and mismanagement. So long as these causes exist, the threefold disturbance will also exist in spite of armed force. Your constructive programme is the only means of removing these root causes. But it will take time. What is to be done in the meantime? Can non-violence smother the disturbance?"

Can we envisage an order of society in which we will not have to resort to law in any form whatsoever? Suppose for argument's sake that there exists a society where the majority does not possess goods that would excite envy and where everyone has the wherewithal to live comfortably. Even then it does not seem possible that there will be no disputes over proprietorship of land, houses and borrowings of money, and other human desires. For these, therefore, we must provide the means of justice and see that the demands of the courts or arbitration boards are carried out. For this it will be essential to have a police force. You have yielded the point. But I should like to know what restrictions you would place on the police force. If there were a non-violent Government in power today, would it use the police force for quelling internal disorders? And are you willing to maintain it for all time or only temporarily? My mind refuses to go so far as to envisage a time when a police force will be a superfluous. There seems to me to be no escape from placing this limitation, as it were, on shama."

The question asked is that better use of the utmost imagination and deepest courage. If true shama had come into being without us, and if our so-called anarchy movement had been truly non-violent, these questions would not have arisen because they would have been solved.

For one who has never seen the armed forces or an imaginary description of them, however elaborate, can convey but an inadequate idea of the reality. Even so it is with shama. If all

Congressmen had been true to their creed, we would not be vacillating between violence and non-violence as we are today. The issue of shama would be in evidence everywhere. There would be communal harmony, the danger of unsatisfactory would have been cast out, and, generally speaking, we should have evolved an ordered society. But the reverse is the case just now. There is even definite hostility in the Congress in certain quarters. The word of Congressmen is not always relied on. The Muslim League and most of the Princes have no faith in the Congress and are in fact opposed to it. If Congressmen had true shama in them, there would be none of this distrust. In fact the Congress would be the beloved of all.

Therefore I can only place an imaginary picture before the vision of shama.

So long as we are not saturated with pure shama we cannot possibly win freedom through non-violence. We can come into power only when we are in a majority or, in other words, when the hostile majority of people are willing to abide by the law of shama. When this happy state prevails the spirit of violence will have all but vanished and internal disorder will have come under control.

Nevertheless I have conceded that even in a non-violent State a police force may be necessary. That, I admit, is a sign of our imperfect shama. I have not the courage to declare that we can carry on without a police force as I have in respect of an army. Of course I can and do envisage a state where the police will not be necessary but whether we shall succeed in making it, the future alone will show.

The police of my conception will, however, be of a wholly different pattern from the present-day force. Its make will be composed of believers in non-violence. They will be servants, not masters, of the people. The people will constructively render them every help, and through mutual co-operation they will easily deal with the ever-decreasing disturbances. The police force will have some kind of arms but they will be rarely used, if at all. In fact the policemen will be reformers. Their police work will be confined primarily to robbery and dacoity. Quarrels between labour and capital and strikes will be few and far between in a non-violent State, because the influence of the non-violent majority will be so great as to command the respect of the principal classes in society. Similarly there will be no room for communal disturbances.

Then we must remember that when such a Congress Government comes into power the large majority of men and women of 21 years and over will have been enfranchised. The rigid and cramped constitution of today has of course no place in this picture.

Singapore, 20-8-49

(Translated from Chinese)

## AN INTERESTING DISCOURSE

### II

#### A Sister's Questions

Now come questions of personal difficulty.

Q "May a non-violent man possess wealth and if he may, how can he keep it non-violently?"

A. "He may not own any wealth, though he may possess millions. Let him hold it in trust. If he lives among doctors and thieves, he may possess very little, indeed little beyond a hand-clock. And if he does that, he will convert them."

"But you must not dissuade in a non-violent. Some there will be very few doctors. For the individual the golden rule is that he will give nothing. If I decided to trade and work among the so-called criminal circles, I should go to them without any belongings and depend on them for my food and shelter. The moment they feel that I am in their midst in order to serve them, they will be my friends. In that attitude is true ahimsa. But I have discussed this question at length in a recent article in *Harapan*."

Q "How is one to protect the honour of women?"

A. "I am afraid you do not read *Harapan* regularly. I discussed this question years ago, and have discussed it often since. The question may be discussed under two heads: (1) how is a woman to protect her own honour? and (2) how are her male relatives to protect it?"

"As regards the first question, where there is a non-violent atmosphere, where there is the constant restraint of ahimsa, women will not enter herself as dependent, weak or helpless. She is not really helpless when she is really pure. Her purity makes her conscious of her strength. I have always held that it is physically impossible to violate a woman against her will. The outrage takes place only when she from way to fear or does not realise her moral strength. If she cannot meet the violator's physical might, her purity will give her the strength to die before he succeeds in violating her. Take the case of Sita. Physically she was a weakling before Ravana, but her purity was more than a match even for his great might. He tried to win her with all kinds of allurements but could not usually touch her without her consent. On the other hand if a woman depends on her own physical strength or upon a weapon she possesses, she is sure to be dominated wherever her strength is exhausted."

The second question is easily answered. The brother or father or friend will stand between his private and her honour. He will then either demand the violator from his wicked purpose or allow himself to be killed by him in protecting her. In so laying down his life he will not only have done his duty, but given a new accession of strength to his protégée who will now know how to protect her honour."

"But," said one of the sisters from Poona, "there has she risk. How is a woman to lay down her life? Is it possible for her to do so?"

"Oh!" said Gandhiji, "any day more possible for her than for men. I know that women are capable of throwing away their lives for a much lesser purpose. Only a few days ago a young girl of twenty burnt herself to death in the felt she was being persecuted for refusing to do as the ordinary women. And she perished with such cool courage and determination. She ignored her own with an ordinary oil-light and did not so much as raise a cry, so that the people in the neighbouring room were unaware of the happening until it was over. I do not give them credit to command her example, but to show how easily women can throw away her life. I, as any one is capable of this courage. But I agree that it is not the external light but the inner light that is needed."

The same sister wondered how one was to avoid anger and violence altogether in dealing with children. "You know our old adage," said Gandhiji, laughing heartily, "play with him till he is five, however him for ten years, treat him as your friend when he is sixteen." "But," he added, "don't you worry. If you have to be angry with your child on occasions, I shall tell that anger non-violent anger. I am speaking of war mothers, not the innocent ones who do not deserve to be mothers."

#### Central Teaching of the Gita

The discourse again took a serious turn with a challenging question on the philosophy of the Gita, "Is the central teaching of the Gita selfish action or non-violence?"

"I have no doubt that it is *selfish*—selfish action. Indeed I have called my little translations of the *Gita Satsanghams*. And *selfish* transcends ahimsa. He who would be *selfish* (selfless) has necessarily to practise non-violence in order to attain the state of selflessness. Ahimsa is, therefore, a necessary preliminary, it is included in *selfish*, it does not go beyond it."

"Then does the Gita teach karma and ahimsa both?"

"I do not read that meaning in the Gita. It is quite likely that the author did not write in so absolute ahimsa but as a commentator draws considerable interpretations from a poem text, even as I interpret the Gita to mean that, if its central theme is *selfish*, it also teaches ahimsa. While we are in the flesh and tread the solid earth, we have to practise ahimsa. In the life beyond there is no karma or ahimsa."

"But" and Ishambhai Khan. Lord Krishna actually accuses the doctors of shame for Arjuna's tears; then parades resolve.

But I deem it, if my lessons strike,  
To face their weapons, and have my bow;  
To slay and spare, then answer blow with blow  
And Lord Krishna teaches him to answer blow with blow.

### What to Do?

"There I got away with you, and Ganesha." These words of Arjuna were words of penitence; modest. "Good yesterday," says Krishna to him, "you fought your kinsmen with deadly weapons without the slightest compunction. Even today you would strike if the enemy was a stranger and not your own kins and kins." The question before him was one of non-violence, but whether he should try his arrow and bow.

Again the question came down to cold earth, and began to put questions about the Congress and the attitude of those who believed in complete non-violence. Ganesha explained that they should refrain till he gave the word. He wanted still to plead with the leaders who had passed the Poona resolution. He expected to show them that the Congress would lose all its prestige if they adhered to the new policy. But the question had to be dealt with presently. On the other hand it did not matter even if the Congress resolution appeared to require. The audience was as good as relieved, when it was deliberately posed and their duty did not arise with the refusal of the Government to respond. "Besides," he added, "there is an inherent flaw in the Poona resolution. It should be obvious to the wisest understanding that, if you think that you cannot do without arms in meeting foreign aggression, then would a foreigner be needed in dealing with duly determined—unwavering Hindu decisions and acts. For organized unarmed resistance against an organized weapons in any day even than deliberate shame in face of a danger who leaps into your house at night. That calls for shame of the highest type."

### Materialistic Questions

Now came a few materialistic questions. "Can one work in two capacities—first as an individual capacity and one as representative capacity?"

"Yes but they should not be in conflict with each other. And how can a leader follow the people?" He has to lead them, and they have to follow him. A newspaper may both lead and follow the public, but not a leader of the people."

"Then how is it that the Sardar is reported to have said in Ahmedabad that individually he would follow Mahatma but otherwise he would act as a representative of his province?"

"I do not believe that he said this. Can one think of the Sardar taking up the sword as a representative of Gujarat, and abandoning it in his individual capacity?"

"You have said at some time before in case of riots May we have, how you acted in 1931 when there was rioting on the day the Prince of Wales arrived in Bombay?"

"There were two occasions. The first was the Bombay Art Society. Then as I was discharged near Marine Lines I heard that rioting was going on near Peshwara, I got into a car, drove straight to the scene, and was able to restrain the crowd. The second was at the time of the Prince of Wales' visit when the people were burning motors, train cars, etc. I went to the scene and paraded them. But riots broke out at Bombay and spread to other parts. The anger was against Congressmen. I did not go myself, but I sent Congressmen to face the angry crowds and pacify them. That was a most delicate situation I purposely did not go myself, because I thought an injury to me by the angered crowd would be attended with much bloodshed instead of resulting in penitence."

"That however, is not to say that I am a brave man. I am by nature timid, but God has always come to my rescue and blessed me with the courage needed for the occasion. The one occasion on which my courage was put to the severest test was on 12th January 1937 when, second night Mr. Desai's address was in danger; I went alone and faced the howling crowd determined on protecting me. I was surrounded by thousands of them. I was pelted with stones and kicked, but my courage did not fail me. I really cannot say how the courage came to me that it did. God is great."

—*Sevagram*, 26-9-40

M D

\* For details see Autobiography, part III chaps. 3-5.

### ANDREWS MEMORIAL FUND

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# Harijan

No. 1

1946

## NON-VIOLENCE OF THE BRAVE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent writes

"How can non-violence be for the brave, not for cowards? But, on my opinion, in India the brave are cowards by their absence. Even if we choose to be brave, how is the world to believe us when it knows that India has no arms and is therefore incapable of defending herself? What then should we do to cultivate non-violence of the brave?"

The correspondent is wrong in thinking that in India the brave are cowards by their absence. It is a matter for shame that because fearlessness once labelled as at cowards we should accept the label. Man often becomes what he believes himself to be. If I keep on saying to myself that I cannot do a certain thing, it is possible that I may end by really becoming incapable of doing it. On the contrary, if I have the belief that I can do it, I shall surely acquire the capacity to do it even if I may not have it at the beginning. Again it is wrong to say that the world today believes us to be cowards. It has ceased to think so since the satyagraha campaign. The Congress message has come very high in the West during the past twenty years. The world is watching with unswerving interest the last days although we have no arms we are hoping to win freedom, and have indeed come very near it. Moreover, it was in our non-violent movement acts of hero for peace in the world and an advance from the hell of carnage. The bulk of mankind has come to believe that, if ever the spirit of revenge is to vanish and bloody wars are to cease, the happy event can happen only through the policy of non-violence adopted by the Congress. The correspondent's fear and response are, therefore, unfounded.

It will now be seen that the fact that India is unarmed is no obstacle in the path of ahimsa. The inevitable disavowal of India by the British Government was indeed a grave wrong and a cruel injustice. But we can gain even justice to our advantage if God be with us or if you prefer, we have the skill we do so. And such a thing has happened in India.

Some are overly unnecessary for a training in ahimsa. Is that the arm, if any, have to be thrown away, as the Khawabeh did in the French Province. Those who hold that it is essential to have violence before we can learn non-violence, would hold that only sinners can be saved.

Just as one must learn the art of killing in the training for violence, so one must learn the art of dying in the training for non-violence.

Violence does not mean escape from fear, but discovering the means of conquering the cause of fear. Non-violence, on the other hand, has no cause for fear. The victory of non-violence has to cultivate the capacity for sacrifice of the highest type in order to be free from fear. He risks not if he should lose his head, his wealth, his life. He who has not overcome all fear cannot practice ahimsa to perfection. The victory of ahimsa has only one fear, that is of God. He who seeks refuge in God ought to have a glimpse of the divine that transcends the body and the senses and has a glimpse of the Imperishable Atman who dwells the law of the perishable body. Training in non-violence is thus diametrically opposed to training in violence. Violence is needed for the protection of things essential, non-violence is needed for the protection of the Atman, for the protection of one's honour.

The non-violence cannot be learnt by staying at home. It needs enterprise. In order to test ourselves we should have to dare danger and death, worthy the flesh and acquire the capacity to endure all manner of hardships. He who trembles or takes to his heels the moment he sees two people fighting is not non-violent, but a coward. A non-violent person will lay down his life in protecting such quarrels. The history of the non-violent is vastly superior to that of the violent. The badge of the violent is his weapon—gun, or sword, or rifle. God is the shield of the non-violent.

This is not a course of training for one intending to learn non-violence. But it is a way to evolve one from the principles I have laid down.

It will be evident from the foregoing that there is no comparison between the two types of history. The one is limited, the other is limitless. There is no such thing as non-violence or non-fighting non-violence. Non-violence is inevitable. There need be no doubt that this non-violence can be achieved. The history of the past twenty years should be enough to convince us.

Suratnam, 22-6-46

(Translated from Gujarati)

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A. I. S. A. Enquiries

Q. The Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee asks: Is there a ban on A. I. S. A. enrolment as far as signing the satyagraha pledge is concerned? They fulfil all the conditions of the pledge, but they may not offer themselves for jail without the permission of the A. I. S. A., and therefore they cannot sign the form. Is it then permissible for them to remain their membership of Congress executive committee, or should they resign from them?

A. Your interpretation of the rule of the A. I. S. A. is correct. No one can work in two spheres at the same time. The work of the A. I. S. A. and a Congress work. None



of its employees can be allowed to exact improvement. He should not harm khadi. Therefore, granted that the rule is necessary, it is plain that no A. I. S. A. employee may obtain a membership of a Congress committee. The entire committee may be arrested, or if the committee so desires, it can order any of its members to exact improvement.

(Translated from Hindustani)

#### Unemployed Khadi

Q The Secretary also asks: Members of Congress local executive committees sometimes sell unemployed khadi. They give the same wages to spinners and weavers as the A. I. S. A. Only their khadi is not certified. According to Congress rules are they entitled to receive as Congress committees or should they resign from them?

A In my opinion they are not entitled to membership of Congress committees. The official answer must be officially issued. If it is correct that they give the same wages to spinners and weavers, why do they not get the necessary certificate from the A. I. S. A.?

(Translated from Hindustani)

#### How to Convert Atheists

Q How can one convert atheists to belief in God and religion?

A There is only one way. The true servants of God can convert the atheist by means of his own purity and good conduct. It can never be done by argument. Innumerable books have been written to prove the existence of God, and if argument could have prevailed, there would not be a single atheist in the world today. But the opposite is the case. In spite of all the literature on the subject, atheists are on the increase. Often, however, the man who calls himself an atheist is not one in reality, and the converse also is equally true. Atheists sometimes say, "If you are believers, then we are unbelievers. And they have a right to say so, for self-styled believers are often not so in reality. Many worship God because it is the fashion to do so or in order to deceive the world. How can such persons have any influence on atheists? Therefore let the believer realise and have the faith that, if he is true to God, his neighbours will instinctively set to believe. Do not let him be troubled about the whole world. Let us remember that atheists come by the influence of God. How truly has it been said that those who worship God in name only are not believers but those who do His will!

(Translated from Hindustani)

#### Living Wage

Q You once wrote in Harijan to the effect that villagers are at liberty to buy yarn even in their own villages without reference to the living wage, and that the A. I. S. A. should let them do their own thing in this matter. Are those who wear khadi woven from such yarn eligible as Congress delegates? And what is the village worker to do in this regard? He certainly

does propaganda in favour of a living wage. There are always a certain number of villagers who buy A. I. S. A. khadi, but at the same time there are many who cannot afford to do so. And even if they pay less than the living wage there is no doubt that the spinners get some relief and khadi finds a certain place in village life too. Is the village worker there to encourage such khadi?

A If we were always careful enough not to read into a woman's statement a meaning which defers to her very purpose, such questions would rarely arise. Where no wages are paid and the yarn is stolen, no law of any kind can be applied. It is of course assumed that the A. I. S. A. rule is not broken on a false plea of self-sufficiency. The same applies to the village worker.

But there is one important issue raised in your question. The A. I. S. A. worker in a particular village cannot pay a living wage if he is to use the village khadi. Therefore he will buy yarn at a lower rate and give some work to the spinners who would otherwise get nothing. But he may not become a member of the Congress. He will serve the Congress from without. Sometimes such persons serve the Congress far better, and they are moreover saved from the temptation that membership often carries with it. It is clear that such khadi cannot be sold outside the village. It should all be absorbed locally. The moment unemployed khadi is put into the market the A. I. S. A. law is broken and real khadi receives a setback. The A. I. S. A. is labouring under great stress in trying to meet the spinners' wants. Never in the world have I heard of wages being increased from one or two paise to 8 or 10 paise per day without the weaver-cum-spinner asking for a rise in pay. The A. I. S. A. has done monumental work in this matter.

(Translated from Hindustani)

#### Will it Fail?

Q You say that the Congress is not out yet and non-violent today. If that is so, will not a non-violent movement launched by it be unsuccessful?

A It is not possible for a large popular organisation like the Congress to be wholly non-violent, for the simple reason that all its members cannot have attained a standard level of non-violence. But it is perfectly possible for some of its members, who truly understand the implications of non-violence and observe its law in their lives, to lead a successful non-violent movement. This much has even been demonstrated so far by the Congress.

Srirangam, 27-8-45 (Translated from Gujarati)

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## ANDREWS MEMORIAL

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend, who is himself trying to collect for the Andrews Memorial has written a letter from which I take the following relevant paragraphs.

"As I read it there are four objects of the appeal [you will kindly correct me, if I am wrong].

(i) Securing the permanence of the present established work by an endowment to enable Saratchandra to fulfil Andrew's high hopes for it, unimpeded by the constant financial anxiety with which it is now burdened.

This is obviously the first need, for it would be foolish to make in aid any developments to an institution which still is insecure. At the same time the amount required for the purpose is nowhere specified.

If there is a sufficiently generous response to the appeal, providing more than is required for the first need, that it will be possible to go on to the other three parts of the scheme, viz.

(a) A small but properly equipped hospital.

(ii) The provision of 'Darsanashala walls' in the district.

(iii) The provision of the Hall of Christian culture.

Now, if I am right in this, it must surely occur to the reader of the appeal that, if, as seems likely, the institution requires a considerable sum for its endowment fund, the chances that any contributions made now will actually be available for either of the second, third or fourth part of the scheme are somewhat remote. It is not stated whether contributions are offered in amounts that give for any of the special objects in the scheme and, obviously, if a large proportion of contributions did so, the primary object of the appeal—the placing of Saratchandra on a sound basis financially—may be delayed.

My second difficulty was about the statement of the aims, and I had in view particularly those of the proposed hall of Christian culture, in which I am actually interested.

That is first described as providing for India's thought contact with the Western world, on the subject of the 'Christian Message' and Christianity. This suggests a doubtful identification of 'Christian culture' and 'Western culture.'

The statement then goes on to speak of (a) the explanation of the teaching and character of Christian international problems, and (b) the task of interpreting to a Western world of thought the spirit and soul of Christianity.

What we have, therefore, seems to be three rather different aims, all very important and relevant. Perhaps it may be necessary to leave it in this rather wide form, and yet I cannot help thinking that a more careful working might make clear the relation of the other two aspects of the aim to that which is described as the 'main purpose.'

Thirdly, I noted the question of trustees and a sound basis for confidence in the future carrying of the scheme. If I understood your letter rightly, the trustees of the special fund are to be the trustees of Saratchandra and Swakrishna, mentioned at the end

of the appeal. The appeal itself does not seem to make this clear.

Does this imply that the disposal and allocation of the special fund rested directly on the hands of these trustees of Saratchandra, so that, in effect, the fund becomes an additional part of the corpus of the Trust?

It seemed to me that for a scheme of the order, scope and magnitude of that contemplated in the appeal there would be a place for some special committee or body of trustees, instead of a little more definitely laid to the special objects and to the wider interests to which the appeal will extend."

The enquiry is pertinent and deserves a proper answer. As I happen to be one of the signatories to the appeal for funds, what I write may be taken as authoritative. The present trustees have made a rough calculation of the expenses in connection with the three definite addresses to Saratchandra. After providing for them, a surplus is expected to be available which will go into the general funds. But naturally these three costs will have precedence. Nevertheless it is open to donors to earmark their funds for any of the three addresses, and the money will be so used. Therefore there need be no apprehensions about the addresses, whether done more or somewhat or not. If I may let you a word, I may say that the general appeal was my idea. Gandhi, who first thought of the memorial being identified with Saratchandra, had in mind only two things—the hospital and the hall, the latter being the suggestion of a Christian friend. Darsanashala walls were to be built out of Saratchandra funds. Taking the cue from Gandhi, I felt there should be no hesitations whatsoever in identifying the whole of Saratchandra with Andrew's memory. The Poet is a help to himself. He has an established international fame which will grow with time.

Nevertheless Andrew was no best advertisement. Gandhi has no advertising ability. He simply works, writes, and then leaves his written to his. Now is the practical Englishman. His life attached to the Poet, and found his poet and permanent abode in Saratchandra. England was his birth-place, he never turned himself away from her. But he would found an all expression and home in Saratchandra, and I know, because I was his co-worker, that he would literally from door to door in order to get funds for Saratchandra. And he would often say to me "Never mind Saratchandra, but you must get so much money for me. You know what Saratchandra means to me and what the Poet means to the world." And I succeeded in his advance whenever he made a, even though I could ill afford the time. His love for Saratchandra was great—I say this without any offence to anyone living in Saratchandra—then there. It was certainly as great as the Poet's and Saratchandra, as it is at present as close as much to Andrew as to the Poet. Probably Andrew was the more persistent of the two.

With this knowledge at the back of my mind I had no hesitation in suggesting that the appeal should be general. Hence I would say to would-be donors that they would mean the central fact of the memorial if they detached the three additions from Sarashiketan. For the three together would be a poor memorial to Desai-bhaiya if Sarashiketan were no more. And let me say at once that Sarashiketan will never owe its permanence to the two letters that may be collected. It will be permanent because the Poet has breathed life into it and the spirit of Andrews flows over it. If it keeps up the character imparted to it by its founders, including Andrews, it will never die.

The second difficulty is easily answered. The interpretation of Christ in the Hall of Christian culture will bear the support of the Poet's all-embracing will, and therefore Christian culture, as it will flourish in Sarashiketan, will never be exclusive. Much will depend upon the Christians who might be attracted to Sarashiketan. A more careful working on defining the scope of the Hall of Christian culture was not possible, was not intended. I suggest to my correspondents that such matters are better left as a liquid state. Who shall say what the future has in store for any of the big things of the world?

The third difficulty is also easily disposed of. It had occurred even to me, but I felt that it would not be right to make a new room for the memorial funds. The names of the previous trustees are given in the appeal. If they are good enough to be made responsible for the management of the vast international Estate, called Sarashiketan and Sarashiketan, they might well be entrusted with the additional responsibility of dealing with the funds that may be collected for the memorial.

Finally I may mention that the response hitherto made through the memorial appeal has been very poor. I know that the organization of the fund rests principally upon my shoulders. I have done nothing in the hope that Desai-bhaiya's ardent work for submerged humanity would need no expressed effort, and that it would evoke spontaneous response. I have not yet lost that hope. I publish the meagre list of donations hitherto received. The reader will notice, as I have noticed, that as yet there is no collection from the student world nor any response from the labor world.

Srinagar, 22-8-40

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### NON-VIOLENT CRAFTS

The joint meeting of the A. I. S. A. and the Gandhi Sewa Sangh that was held last June discussed several questions relating to a wider understanding of the economics of India. As one sitting Gandhi spoke at length about the non-violent aspect of the development of handicrafts. "As" he said, "a non-violent man's activity will all be coloured by non-violence, his occupational activity will necessarily be non-violent. Strictly speaking, no activity and no industry is possible without a certain amount of violence, no matter how little. Even the very process of living is impossible without a certain amount of violence. What we have to do is to minimize it to the greatest extent possible. Indeed the very word non-violence, a negative word, means that it is an effort to shun the violence that is inseparable in life. Therefore wherever helplessness is shown will engage himself in occupations that involve the least possible violence. Then, for instance, one cannot conceive of a man believing in non-violence carrying on the occupation of a butcher. Not that a meat-eater cannot be non-violent—there are many among meat-eaters who are better observers of non-violence than those who abstain from meat, as if Desai-bhaiya Andrews—but even a meat-eater believing in non-violence will not go to a fur dealer, and he will not engage in war or war preparations. Thus there are many occupations and occupations which necessarily involve violence and must be eschewed by a non-violent man. But there is agriculture without which life is impossible, and which does involve a certain amount of violence. The determining factor therefore is—in the occupations founded on violence? But when all activity involves some measure of violence, all we have to do is to minimize the violence involved in it. This is not possible without a heart-belt; is non-violence. Suppose there is a man<sup>1</sup> who does no actual violence, who labours for his bread, but who is always concerned with envy at other people's wealth or prosperity. He is not non-violent. A non-violent occupation is that that occupation which is fundamentally free from violence and which involves no exploitation or envy of others.

"Now I have no historical proof, but I believe that there was a time in India when village economies were organized on the basis of such non-violent occupations, not on the basis of the rights of man but on the duties of man. Those who engaged themselves in such occupations did even their living, but their labour contributed to the good of the community. A carpenter, for instance, contributed to the needs of the village farmer. He got no cash payment but was paid in kind by the villagers. There could be injustice even in this system, but it would be judged in a measure. I speak from personal knowledge of the life in Kashmir of over sixty years ago. There was more justice in

people's eyes, and sense life in their hands than you find today. It was a life founded on economic shams.

"Body labour was at the core of these economic and industrial, and there was no large scale machinery. For when a man is content to own only so much land as he can till with his own labour, he cannot exploit others. Handicrafts exclude exploitation and slavery. Large scale machinery concentrates wealth in the hands of one man who leads it over the poor who slave for him. For he may be trying to create steel and iron for his workmen, but it is none the less exploitation which is a form of violence.

"When I say that there was a time when society was based not on exploitation but on justice, I mean to suggest that truth and shama were not virtues confined to individuals but were practised by communities. To me virtues cease to have any value if it is clustered or possible only for individuals."

Servgram, 25-3-40

M. D.

## Notes

### Shah

The persons of Congressmen in Shah is by no means novel. They have a more difficult task before them. Their non-violence, if they have it as such, has not benefited those who live in fear of their lives. It is true that no one who has helped them I warned them at the very outset that they must learn the art of helping themselves as others do, or by non-violence as Congressmen are supposed or expected to do. In some places they are expressing national guards. Those who do, look up to Congressmen for help and guidance. For the latter have been their helpers and guides hitherto. Some Congressmen feel that without any intention themselves of taking up arms they can put courage into the people, if they train them in the art of self-defence whether with or without arms. The question has assumed importance and demands immediate answer on view of the unequivocal resolution of the A. I. C. C. recently held at Poona. I am quite clear that no Congressman, so long as he is even a day away from a member of the Congress, can take part in organisation or action self-defence forces without committing a breach of the Poona resolution. But I am equally clear that it is the duty of those Congressmen who feel the need for helping self-defence groups and have the capacity for doing so, to go to the rescue of the terror-stricken men. They can do so by retaining their membership of the Congress. By doing so they will enhance the prestige of the Congress and their own confidence. The fact that they feel the call to help in the distress factor is determining their course of action.

### Passive Methods:

A correspondent sends a booklet published by the Madras Provincial War Committee and printed at the Government Press, which commiserates the seven "poor shahs" for which "was a living wage" today for England. The second of the shahs runs thus:

"The shahs for which England is fighting are the shahs of India. Our philosophy of life, our traditions of domestic and international policy have laid."

Pence for its ideal—as exemplified in the teaching of the Lord Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi.

Passive methods and violence—as the means of political progress and international relations, as sanctioned by the policy of India's shah king Ashoka.

In fighting with England we shall be fighting for what we hold most precious in our own national heritage."

My correspondent says these leaflets are issued in the provincial languages and are widely distributed among the villagers. I submit to the Madras War Committee that they remove clause 2 altogether as being untrue. For my shah is put before the British people as well known. If Lord Buddha was on earth in the body at this moment, such a war would be impossible. It is a travesty of truth to call English methods methods of peace. Ashoka's is perhaps the only instance of a great king having voluntarily abandoned war and adopted peaceful methods.

It is no reflection on the British people that they do not accept my advice or follow Ashoka's way. These things cannot be done mechanically. But it is not right to give them the credit they do not deserve or want. Well may the British people who read the leaflet say: 'Save us from our friends.'

Servgram, 25-3-40

M. K. G.

### NOTICE

Margamavak (Haridwar), which was hitherto published at Delhi, has now been transferred to Poona and will hereafter be published at Poona every Sunday. Incoming subscribers are requested to remit their subscriptions (Rs. 4 for one year, Rs. 2-2-2 for six months, Rs. 1 annually for three, and Rs. 5-5-5 for foreign countries) to the Manager, Margamavak—Poona 4. The retail price per copy is one anna, and at places where we have agents orders can arrange to get copies through them. Agents who wish to get copies of Margamavak also will please write to the Manager as early as possible.

MANAGER.

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# HARIJAN

Editor: KANAKLAL BHAR

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POONA — SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1940

[ ONE ANNA

## AHIMSA IN DAILY LIFE

### A Merchant's Story

If we once make up our minds to examine ourselves at every step, we shall find that we frequently violate the law of ahimsa, and that we should be ever so much happier if we were virtuous. The need for the soft corners that surround every weak man is obvious, but we scarcely realise it. Just a little exercise of patience, and you will may spend the wealth that a miser would rarely have provided. I have no answering letter. I feel like replying to it sharply, but I am almost sure it is for a couple of days and don't feel like replying to it at all. That never was from an unwilling voice of duty and common-sense.

A merchant, who does not claim to be a "sanyasini" or to have been a jail-gate, but who reads *Harigandha* carefully, narrates a little incident in his life which has a lesson for every one of us. I summarize his Gujarati letter. "One morning," he says, "my younger brother, who was a stranger to my place came from the station in a rickshaw. On asking him what he was to be paid to the tongawalla, he said he had agreed to pay 14 annas. I was considerably irritated and said to the tongawalla, "That is how you would desire stranger. Eight annas is the usual fare, and I am not going to give you a pice more." But the tongawalla said, "That is not my concern. The fact is that he agreed to pay fourteen annas." It made me more angry. There was plenty of ahimsa, and at last I offered to pay him ten annas which was the fare fixed by the Municipality. But the man refused to budge. I then threatened to take him to the police station. He said, "I am going to do nothing of the kind. I will have my fourteen annas and see a pice less. Why do you find the schedule of rates in my face?" Supposing I agree to accept ten annas to drive you to the station, and at the station annas on the scheduled ten annas would you give it to me? Would it be proper for me to insist on accepting nothing less than the scheduled rate?" That was an argument to which there was no reply. His anger had blinded me, and I was lost that a mere tongawalla could get the better of me in an argument.

"My younger brother was surprised and said the tongawalla was cheated by eight to fourteen annas and it was no use my talking of the schedule. But anger had taken full

possession of me. I asked my brother to keep quiet. But if I was ready to waste runs over a false sense of right, the tongawalla was not. After about an hour's hot discussion he accepted ten annas and left cursing and reviling at me.

"But my brother was far from happy over the incident. When he found that I had refused my claim, he resented to the subject, and asked me why I had failed to appreciate the more convincing argument of the tongawalla. Since had now come back to me, and I was sorry to have given myself to the dead in those words and a false sense of superiority. I decided to find out the tongawalla and to pay him his four annas. For some days I hunted for him in vain. One day at last I found him and asked him to come to my shop. He hesitated, but I should told him for that day's conduct. But I told him that I wanted to make amends for my own stupid behaviour. I paid him his four annas and apologised to him. His surprise knew no bounds. He accepted the four annas with some reluctance and left in grateful joy. A sort of remorse had been growing into my mind all those days, and I was now at peace with myself. That day I had been guilty of grave harm. There was not only the dishonouring to the right about that was contempt in my mind for the tongawalla who, I thought, was lower in the social scale than I. I was thoroughly ashamed of myself, and am hoping that God may rid me of my sense of high and low that may still be left in me."

### A Personal Incident

And here with some apology I propose to review an incident that happened in my own life in the sanyasini days of 1930. Readers of *Young India* may know the story as told by Mirchen, but I shall give it again in my own words. I was on the crest of a wave of popularity, having been "detained" for about a month and months followed the prison-days in which I was being taken to the prison after my conviction. Some of them wanted to load me with garlands but the English sergeant on the back of the van would not allow. I was appealing to the crowds to go back but they closed the van, and when they found that it was a fable that they hung a stone at the sergeant. It hit him right on the chest and gave him a nasty cut. "Ah," he exclaimed in agony, cursing the stone as it fell from his face. "See what your wretched people do!" If

they adhered to non-violence, i.e., should have looked to me, but they rejected Gandhi and his non-violence." I repeated my intense sorrow and begged him to stop the van, so that I might ask the crowd to apologize to him and make amends. But it was useless and he again began to cause our people and strangers.

But, I pleaded with him, "what can I do shut up in this van? I can assure you I am deeply pained and ashamed and would do whatever amends you would require. Come along, let me walk the street, it will be good." "No, no," said the sergeant, now releasing I said, "I mean what I say, you stay on the street, and I shall make you do myself work as if only it will pacify you." But there was a misunderstanding between him and me, and he laughed. "I know you mean what you say," he said, "but it is these folks that spoil your game. Very few are like you. Look at what they have done at Pathwar. Why can't such people clear out of the movement?" He had read the newspapers and had believed the reports attributing violence to the Khudai Khidmatgar. "I know nothing about it," I said, "all I can do is to offer you my heartfelt apologies." "No, please," he said. "I understand. I am not blaming you I am blaming the people who are ruining your movement." The van now went past the Bahaman Ashram, and I invited him to come to my house in better days. "I should be delighted if you came. And now perhaps you would put me your name?" I said. He repeated it twice but I could not catch it. "Wasn't you were a doctor?" I asked. "Certainly," he said, "but I have neither pen nor pencil." I handed him my fountain pen through the wire-netting, and he wrote his name down on a slip of paper. In a moment we were at the jail gate. He pretended to return to me my pen. But I said, "No, I would ask a favour of you, as you have been so good. You have that stone in your pocket. Give it to me and keep the pen instead. Don't you think it will be a better memento?" "Most gladly," he said, and gave me the stone, and with overflowing appreciation put the pen away in his pocket. I took the stone and threw it away. "Pray that even the memory of it may," I said. It is done," he said and rushed away.

Two years after the incident, I was being transferred from one jail to another and as Poona station was put into a train by the Police Inspector in charge. As the train was moving, a violent case running towards it, asking the man to stop. I thought there was fresh trouble. But lo and behold it was the same Sergeant Dangerfield who had recognized me and simply came to shake hands with me. "Well, well," he said, that incident appeared in the papers and I was in a result immediately transferred from Ahmedabad." But, I do not mind it," he added with a smile and waved good-bye.

I saw that a slight picture of shame had been on a forced that day.

### Another Dispute

Unavoidably, where acquaintance the reader will make in another column, occurred in the complaint given to his countryman, the Poet, by Gandhiji, "You say that the Poet was 'almost non-violent.' I do not think so. There was blood shed in the house of Poland, and I do not think the complaint is deserved."

"You must not take what I say, so strictly literally. If ten soldiers meet a force of a thousand soldiers armed tip-to-toe, the former are almost non-violent, because there is no capacity for anything like proportionate violence in them. But the sentence I have taken of the poet is more appropriate. A poet who attacks her enemies with her nails, if she has grown them, or with her teeth, if she has them, is almost non-violent, because there is no proportionate violence in her. Her violence is the violence of the mouse against the cat."

"Well then, Begum, I will give you an instance. A young Russian girl was attacked by a soldier. She used her nails and teeth against him and tore him, so to say, to pieces. Was she almost non-violent?"

"How can it come to be non-violence, if offered on the spot of the moment, simply because it was successful?" I countered.

"No," said Gandhiji almost indifferently.

"Then I am really puzzled," said Bhambhani. "You say there should be no proportionate violence and no capacity to offer proportionate violence. How is this case, by her means proved that she had the capacity?"

"I am sorry," said Gandhiji "that I inadvertently said 'and' to Mahadevi. There was violence there. It was equally matched."

"But, then, is not violence obviously the use of a superior man his knife non-violently. Or a keeper of the peace use force against criminals in order to protect society. That too he does non-violently," said Bhambhani.

"What is to judge the measure? Not we. And for us the deed is more than the cost. We merely look at the action and not at the measure. God alone knows the measure."

"Then God alone knows what is better and what is shame."

"Yes, God alone is the final judge. It is likely that what we believe to be an act of shame is an act of honor in the eyes of God. But for us the path is chalked out. And then you must know that a true picture of shame means she is one who possesses it the keenest intelligence and wide-awake conscience. It is difficult for him to err. When I used those words for Poland, and when I suggested to a poet believing herself so helpless that she might use her nails and teeth without being guilty of violence, you must understand the meaning in the back of my mind. There is the refusal to bend before overwhelming might in the full knowledge that it means certain death. The Poet knew that day would be crushed to atoms, and yet they

measured the German border. This was why I called it almost non-violent."

"But, Bishop, I cannot sometimes forget that it is God who is the judge and God permits violence. There is a Puritan story I should like to tell you. God Shere came suddenly disappeared to be and Puritan came in the mode of a conversation. But soon he appeared again. On being asked where he had been, he said he had gone to the rescue of a Native who had been attacked, but he had come back on finding that the Native had helped himself by striking his assistant with a stone."

"Well, well, no amount of argument can reach an atheist. And you must not forget that one cannot be sure of the purity of one's intention until one has gone through the whole course of spiritual training laid down by masters of souls like Pascal. Perfect choicemaking (pursuence of good) cannot be achieved in any other way."

Here Bhaskarandas seemed to be at one with Gandhiji, and he agreed that anyone unable easily deceive himself. But because with another point: "Ahimsa, brahmacharya, spinning are all righteous," he said - "and whereas one may not use it may not use another. Why have you made of ahimsa a universal principle?"

"When a means has been tried by a scientist and he has found it of negligible effect he says it before all. You know the maxim, 'ergo hoc cessat.' What is true of the individual is true of the universe."

"But you lay down the same law for a saint and a sinner?"

"The law is the same, the way may be more difficult for the sinner than for the saint. The law is the ideal, no matter how much individuals may fall short of the ideal."

"But you forget the reality before the ideal."

"No. The reality is always present before me, but my striving is always to reach the ideal. Euclid's straight line refers only to one conception, but we have always to particularize it. We have always to strive to draw a true line corresponding to Euclid's imaginary line."

As I listened to this I was put in mind of the exactly similar words of Carlyle: "Ideals can never be completely embodied in practice. And yet it is never to be forgotten that Ideals do exist, that if they be not apprehended so at all, the whole nation goes to wreck." Infinitely the bricklayer builds a wall perfectly perpendicular mathematically that is not possible. A certain degree of perpendicularity suffices him and he, like a good bricklayer who must have done with his job, leaves it so. And yet if he swing too much from the perpendicular, above all if he throw a plummet and level quite away from him and ride back on brick headless, just as it comes to hand — such a bricklayer is in a bad way. He has forgotten himself, but the Law of Gravitation does not forget to act on him; he and his wall rush down into confused water of ruin."

Savagism, 1-4-40

M. D.

## HANDICRAFTS IN AMERICA

Miss Mabel Lyster writes from America to Gandhiji:

"I am trying to get people here to spin, as it seems to me the most natural to our hand-weaving does look ugly but all the yarn used is home colored, dyes regular, and machine-made."

A Canadian friend who was at Montreal before he settled down in the country to revive handloom's has worked for years on improving the handloom. He took the English-Mrs. Thackeray, connected with her weaving, and has given a great new modification that would please you. It is designed enough to permit even one to set up with and to go going on it with little or no trouble. I have promised to present one of these to an East End People's House here in which I am much interested that I will only give it when they begin to spin, even though they look upon the confusion as putting the cart before the horse. I told them about our people at Bow (East End of London), how so much has spent time these people have, they made models, printed Christmas cards, did wood work, made toys, covered a lamp's shade, changed the wall, painted it, dyed it in Galla, even colored, red and varied, spun it, had it woven and made up into good serviceable clothes to keep the winter cold out of their system. On hearing about all this they showed more eagerness to pursue further than ever crafts, and I am hopeful of gradually converting them. The "House Hospitality" is run by the Fox people. They are Catholic, complete parish, "Non-Test" people, possessing nothing. They had 1,000 men with a mother breakfast consisting of a bit of dry bread and one cup of coffee every morning. They save their Sunday, keeping them as Galla children, their breakfast, when they are good to serve. The movement is spreading all over the U. S. A. Their wood cut, and carving are charming. I was anxious to buy some for a friend but they do not sell. Gladly Dan, their founder, says. Gladly you want selling, people get upset, discuss relative skills and get behind doors, and count up hours spent on production instead of giving the whole of themselves joyfully to their craft.

It is as all want that blinds nobody any good. While the majority was held are suffering large-scale destruction with all the equipment at their command, handloom folk are thinking out simple ways and means of bringing us into the lives of the poor. Who knows but that when the law for blood is used the law for possession we will share, and, among other monumental changes that must take place for the new order where war shall not be, cottage industries will be given their proper position in the life of the nation. For their give to this appreciation of self-expression and self-development in the realm of art, beauty and the spirit which the gear machine with its inevitable cut-throat competition and drive for accumulating wealth cannot possibly give.

Savagism, 1-4-40

A. K.

Engine or Democracy? by L. Dumas. Rs 1-10-0 + Ar. Available at Wargrave office-Poona 4

## Activities

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Maulana Sahib Kafil Flag, the Premier of the Western Province in all India, has done me the honour of addressing an open letter holding the Memorial Congress, of which he was at one time an ardent follower and adherent, to public ridicule. In his opinion the Congress has done everything to wound Maulana Sahib. Says the Maulana Sahib:

<sup>20</sup> On several occasions I have published statements of the manner in which the Congress almost always of democracy have ridden roughshod over the feelings and statements of countless Negroes and other minorities, and in many cases with poor consequences, persistence, and success."

I never plead not guilty so far as the voluntary confessions are. I have claimed to have prepared and every case of alleged injustice brought to my notice. I have never hesitated to condemn Congress acts when facts have demanded condemnation.

Let us, however, examine the latter illustration quoted by the *Chicago Freeman* in support of his charge. He deals at length with the notorious *Times* misquoting of poetry. I am invited to give my opinion on it. The *Manchester Guardian* evidently had not my opinion before him when he printed the opusculer. I refer him to *Margaret's* dated Irish rhyme (p. 244) wherein he will find my opinion. I adhere to every word of that opinion.

If the case of signatures quoted by him are on a par with the Howe case, his statement is completely false. The Congress Ministry had to do with the work with the encouragement of police in the Mevati Sahel. No judge has suggested that the police were under the influence of the Congress Ministry and thus the latter used it to procure the encroachments. The fact is that the ministers were in no way responsible for the conduct of the police or the prosecution. Encroachments like the one under examination have occurred before now in India, but in every case the police were held blamelessly, as in the Government, except when a clear case of Government complicity was made out. The Mevati Sahel has produced no evidence whatsoever in support of his statement that the ministers had in any way interfered with the conduct of the prosecution.

He has produced certain remarks of the most un-Franklinian speech in the C. F. Assembly. It amounts to no more than a reflection on the political wisdom of making a speech which would seem to prejudge the case. The crowd's approval is no wise concern. David Butler

with the police at the presentation. Moreover it is an older datum which has no political value. I think of the story was in making the structure without having called upon Paolo Stabile to explain his speech. The explanation, however, Paolo Stabile has given in his letter to the President of the Congress.

The Missouri State has started to reject the overriding fact that the appellate court has found in a matter of fact that Jefferson was killed and that many persons were actually injured. Their regret is that the jury was got off scot-free. Surely the members cannot be blamed for that unwarranted result by the Missouri. If a complaint can be legitimately made by anybody, it is the Hudson who can make it. So far as I am aware there were no Hudson used, and there were no errors apparent sustained by the Missouri. The Supreme Judge may have erred in weighing evidence. But the fact that he condemned an Hudson to the gallows is a matter that demands serious thinking by all right-minded men. For of the over condemned men are surely some other Missions were

I mean, in the Minutes, Shukla's open letter says support for the murder of a Hindu leader and for serious injury to other Hindus, and the fact that the suspects who were responsible for the murder and injuries had gone unpunished. Punda Shukla was a fellow Premier in a neighbourhood Forum. I suggest to the Bengal Premier that courtesy required him to ask for Punda Shukla's endorsement before condemning him.

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Q You have said that a non-violent person should at all times be ready to renounce everything, for the thought of this world prevents in the body and not in the spirit. If we were all thus prepared, the question of violence or non-violence wouldn't arise. What are doubts in order to protect life and property, should these be endangered. You also say that, so long as the desire to protect life and property remains within us our ahimsa cannot be said to be pure. How can we transcend the two?

A. There is a good reason. I went back referring to the megaphone army. Take our own country for instance. Its entire population will not enter its army. But those who are willing to protect the millions by means of surveillance will have to consume all worldly amusements.

### Block and Factorial

**Q** Can one whose heart is not pure enter Heaven?

A. It appears you do not read the papers I have read and written upon without number (for which, as I said, is there for everyone to use, the demand, the answer, the thief and the deatn excluded). For example as I have said has been occurred in the midst of our freedom, it



is obligatory for all those who wish to join and protect that freedom to wear it. And what you say is therefore, applicable to such persons, because a citizenship must be paid in heart. He spent those dark and painful days, and for him the wearing of that is a duty.

#### A Questionary

Q. I was walking along the railway line some distance from the station when I saw a young man standing on the line with the obvious intent of committing suicide. I tried to dissuade him from carrying out his intention, but he was adamant. Thereupon I dissuaded him away and held him until the train had passed, but inflicted some bodily injury on him by so doing. I acted spontaneously. Was my action violent or non-violent? I cannot decide for myself.

A. It is good that you acted spontaneously. We act truly only when we act spontaneously. I have no doubt that your action was non-violent and brave. You are to be congratulated on saving the young man's life. You acted as a true friend; you as a surgeon does when for the sake of the good of the patient he does not hesitate to operate even though the operation inflicts temporary pain.

Sevagram, 2-8-46

(Translated from Marathi.)

### HOW TO QUENCH IT?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Elsewhere in these columns the reader will see "A Snake's" letter in which he has asked a question which must have occurred to everyone. The beauty lies in the way in which he has approached the question. He has depicted the present configuration in such hard colours that violence cannot but strike as one would. The reader is sure instinctively to exclaim: "Even if it were possible to win the freedom of the world by means of such violence, I would not have it."

But this exclamation will be of no avail to quench the configuration. No doubt it will some day quench itself, but it seems almost fatalistic doubtless like that of the Yavanas of old who destroyed themselves and retrieved the earth of so much blood. And such a consummation would any day be preferable to a perpetual configuration. But no one would wish for this. What one would desire is for it to come before step to step the configuration before there is total destruction. That can only be a non-violent step. How and when it can be taken has to be discovered. The "Snake" will be smothered when the discovery is made. In my opinion the discovery has already been made. If India can win Swaraj non-violently even while the configuration is going on, the latter is bound to be extinguished by that one stroke. That being my firm faith, I breathe the Wairud inspiration tooth and nail, and secured my freedom — my intent is to take my very bag for the success of the experiment. And if I have to

forget the Indian — it is quite likely — it will be for the same purpose.

We read in our religious books that whenever, in the days of old, an ordinary manna failed to secure release from an ordeal or a calamity, people resorted to tapasya (penance), i.e. usually burnt themselves. I do not repeat these stories as legendary. Tapasya is of various kinds. Hoped-up men can resort to it, as we find them doing today. The wise also can do it. It is worth while understanding the implication of tapasya. It was by dint of tapasya that Western scientists made their discoveries. Tapasya does not simply consist of beating oneself in the forest and sitting down there surrounded by flames of fire. That tapasya may even be the height of folly. We have therefore to discern it.

The question asked by "A Snake" does not arise out of despair. It is intended to question the existence of those who believe in ahimsa. I have already shown the way. It is the fulfilment of the thousandfold constructive programme described in a recent article. Those who will carry it out in faith, in full knowledge, and without the slightest fear will have done their share in the tapasya to quench the configuration. They will achieve two ends in the same time. They will make India free, and will also quench the configuration. It is likely that the number of such people is limited, or limited that it can have no effect. I have maintained that, even if there is one individual who is almost completely non-violent, he can put out the configuration. But I have suggested a tapasya which can easily be performed by the average individual. In the age of democracy it is essential that desired results are achieved by the collective effort of the people. It will no doubt be good to achieve an objective through the effort of a supremely powerful individual, but it can never make the community conscious of its corporate strength. An individual's success will be like a millennium doing for food to millions of starving people. We should, therefore, head our energies as a fulfilment of the thousandfold constructive programme. It may or may not bring Swaraj, but we shall surely have the satisfaction of having done our best.

There is a warning in the "Snake's" letter in which I should like to draw the reader's attention. He says papers and broadcasts describe with dramatic pleasure the success of power such as able to afflict upon the other, and suggest that such news shouldicken people instead of providing pleasure, if they are to take part in the propagation of peace. I agree. Such people will not be able to carry on even the constructive programme, for they will have no faith in it.

However that may be, it is as clear as daylight that, if this configuration is to be put out through non-violent effort, it will be done only by India.

Sevagram, 2-7-46

(Translated from Gujarati.)

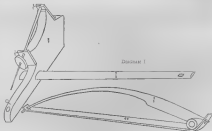
## A VILLAGE ENGINEER

In Delhi last month speaking to the members of the Charles Clegg Gandhi and "More discipline will not do. When will discipline do without understanding and a living faith in the spinning wheel? It cannot make for leadership. Discipline is undoubtedly an essential qualification, but what will happen to India if all upon the discipline without believing in the virtue of spinning? Discipline without faith is a mockery. It is faith that makes all the discipline in the world. As I speak to you I think of Bharamasamy (formerly Maurice Friedman) and his invention called the Bharamasathi. He was able to make his invention because he had put a living faith in handspinning."

This brief preamble is needed in order to introduce Shri Bharamasamy to the readers. He belongs to Poland, a land that was physically wiped out by the German hordes that carried devastation in their train, but which is alive in the creative souls who are still working for an regenerated Bharamasamy is an engineer, and like the distinguished electro-physicist Marconi who had 500 inventions in the field of electro-physics and chemistry to his credit and held scores of patents before he became President of

Poland (in 1935) by an inventive genius he himself he could have worked along the lines of Marconi and become of his kind. But he has selected the true spirit of the Indian masses, and his invention came out along any other line than that of a non-violent money based on a handcraft civilization. And who knows his inventions may mean more for our people than Marconi's mean for his? But to come to his inventive spirit. We may have first in Bharamasamy some five years ago when he was at the head of a technical department in Mysore and came to visit Gandhi in order to study the wheel and in order to be able to make the proto-wheel which might produce the same the output of an average wheel. Ever since his mind has been at it. The method of producing that proto-wheel he has produced another type of a proto-wheel which is perhaps more precious from the point of view of the poor people of India.

His invention is not a wheel but a cross between a talk and a wheel, if I may say so. It consists of two pieces of bamboo, a strap of leather and a simple talk spindle—all of which can be had for two or three annas. I will let Bharamasamy himself explain the construction of his Bharamasathi.



1 Spindle holder— 2 Piece of wood supporting the yarn— 3 Two Bamboos— 4 Strap of leather  
(Structure 2)



1 Spindle holder— 2 Piece of wood supporting the yarn— 3 Bamboo pole— 4 Strap of leather  
(Structure 3)

The principle of construction and weaving of the Dharmasthali (spinning box) is shown in three of our country's folk. While a girl weaves, her hands or hands on its handles are used to keep working by a tread going to a ratchet in figure at the palm of the hand the Dharmasthali is a hollow tube, fixed on two spindles held like the chariot spindles, and has no pulley in the middle. The tread is given to it by the stroke of a strap of leather stretched on a wooden bar. The strap is bound with a mixture of resin and oil heated together. One stroke is enough to keep the spindle revolving and you spin a thread of the usual length. The fly does give it the proper momentum, and keeps the spindle revolving after a stroke. The spinning is exactly like on a chariot, and the weaving and rearing of the yarn is quick and easy. The output of the Dharmasthali is 50 to 75 percent more than that of a silk, and comparable with that of a standard chariot."

The whole contrivance is so incredibly simple that an amateur carpenter can make it, on the expense of a couple of hours. It is incredibly cheap, and incredibly easy to learn. That is why Gandhi thinks that it may mean a revolution in our rural economy.

Shastriji's word is here checking of an equally simple device of a carter, of a spindle-trawl, and so on. He has made for himself a simple task, costing not more than a couple of rupees. Whatever he turns his hand to, he does it in terms of the poor villager whose welfare is his sole concern.

Servant, 28-2-40

M D

## Notes

### Travancore

There has regularly appeared for some time now in the Indian Press a series of stories concerning the internal situation in Travancore calculated to excite the public and warning from the side of the authorities in Travancore. First the public was informed that the Travancore State Congress was working in close alliance with the Communists, and that when war was waged was a conspiracy for an immediate overthrow of the existing order and Government in Travancore. Next had the public come to realise from this alarming discovery, their came the second. So was the revelation of a 'fifth column' unearthed somewhere in Travancore. Now, the communists are not fond of Hitler and the Nazis, and are not likely to raise a 'fifth column'. This was of course followed by the news of the finding of a Fascist cell. There were other rumours that the Government had information of the collection, in many places for and near and outside Travancore, of vast amounts of money for storing up trouble under the State, and there was the persistent statement that some State Congress workers were misappropriating funds to collect. The latest is the threat to prosecute E. A. Archdeacon, the acting president of the State Congress, and ap-

peal for the publication of certain matter in the columns of Marjorie Neuhoff however has appeared in support of the statements, some of which are self-contradictory. Do the Travancore authorities expect the public to believe these unsupported allegations?

G. Ramakrishnan

### Alkhan, India's Heritage

"H. G. Wells says of the remarkable monarch Emperor Akbar that he is the only military monarch on record who abandoned warfare after victory. After the conquest of Kalanga he was so disgusted by the cruelty and horror of war that he declared he would no longer seek conquest by war but would do so by religion. His name to have ruled his vast empire in peace and with great ability. He was no mere religious fanatic. Wells, however, goes on to say that India has abandoned Akbar's doctrine. But this statement is not strictly correct, for Hindustan absorbed all that was best in Buddhism, and the empire of Akbar was not of a transient nature. His legacy still lives.

The Indian idea is that the State exists for just administration of society, and hundreds of examples can be given to prove this. The story of Miranji furnishes one such. Miranji could not understand why his guru, Haridra, went out daily to beg a bowl of the food that he had made for his dependant women. Therefore he went and made a gift of his entire kingdom to the guru. Haridra accepted the gift, regarded Miranji as his son, built him into the walls and so on an ascent but as a servant, responsible for all his acts to a higher authority. From then onwards Miranji adopted the role of a Hindu monarch as he considered. Likewise in the seventh century, a thousand years before Miranji, King Harsha, who was ruler of the whole of Northern India from Kanauj to Assam and to the South as the Narmada river, used to make a few yearly offerings of all his property to his subjects. The king reigned for 36 years, and when Wang was present at the last of his New Year feasts at Prayag, "It used to take some months to give away the accumulated wealth of five years."

V. A. Smith in his 'Early History of India' says:

"Except the houses, elephants and military accoutrements, which were necessary for maintaining order and protecting the royal estates, nothing remained. The king freely gave away his guns and powder, his clothing and cushions, carriages, horse-drawn chariots, and such jewels, and bright hand jewels without stint.

All being given away he begged from his viceroy an ordinary round head garment, and having put it on he paid worship to the 'Deities of the ten worlds', and declared that his kingdom had been bestowed in the field of religious merit."

The above interesting information, gleaned from an article entitled 'On cows and kings' in East Asiatica, is reasonable in showing that attempts have been made in India to achieve non-violence on a mass scale not without success. If our Friends could ever see the spirit that animated Miranji and Raja Haridra, there would be no Swiss problem.

Servant, 2-2-40

A. K.

## "REPRESENTATIVE CAPACITY"

(J. C. Ghandy)

I understand that in the last A. I. C. C. meeting some Congressmen said that, though in their personal capacity they wholeheartedly believed in non-violence and regarded it as the only ultimate solution of the world's ills, in their representative capacity they had to declare that the country was not prepared to go to that length, and that the Working Committee's resolution was more in accordance with the general Congress opinion than that of Gandhi.

In my humble opinion, there is some essential difference in the assumed attitude between personal and representative capacities. If properly analysed, it will be found that this is really a conflict between unrestrained and restrained opinion. When a representative says that personally he accepts Gandhi's position, the question is, who does he do so? If Gandhi's position is only ethically perfect but as a practical proposition it is unsound as to conducting national warlike, then why should he accept it even in his personal capacity? As an unselfish person, his only ground can be that, on careful thinking, he is convinced of the soundness of Gandhi's position. What, therefore, he means to say by consenting to work with representative opinion is that, if one has to represent only an opinion based on careless thinking or the first impression or the apparent consent of the average person, he would have to admit that they think in terms of the Working Committee's resolution. But the duty of a representative is to represent what he thinks will be the considered opinion of the people, and not their ill-considered opinion. And, if he admits that his personal opinion is the sounder one, he must proceed on the assumption that the people will be able to understand that reasoning if it is properly explained to them. It is possible that he may be unable to carry conviction to the people. In that case, he has to resign, instead of raising his hand in favour of a resolution with which his reasoning is not in agreement. This is, I think, the only right attitude when basic principles and responsibilities are involved.

When Gandhi suddenly cancelled the British propaganda on account of Chinese China, the supporters of Congressmen were opposed to the decision. But when he reasoned with them, they gradually became converted to his view. One's considered opinion is the only opinion which can be represented. A representative cannot represent an opinion which does not satisfy his own reason. Even if he thinks that a question is capable of being argued on both sides with equal force, he must adhere to what satisfies his own reasoning.

### Autobiography

Gandhi's *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*. From No. 4. Postage 12 1/2 pice.

## "A SEEKER'S" QUESTION

The Editor, Harijan

Sir,

You must be reading in the papers how the war between Germany and England is being waged. Bombers filled with chemicals of incendiary bombs do aerial havoc, and newspapers and broadcast describe with pleasure the amount of injury each side is able to inflict on the other. The general public is excited by being told that the damage done in the enemy country is greater than what the enemy has done in theirs. It is said that military objectives are the sole target of the modern war but it is impossible to believe that, apart at great heights and when through smoke screens, the bombers can easily take proper aim. And then we hear from both sides of the "successful" blockades, the object of which is to spread famine and disease most necessarily, more than ever, bombs, hurt the civilian population.

Is it impossible for these belligerents to think in terms of humanity and stop this carnage? How can any good ever come out of war? And must we not, therefore, declare ourselves unreservedly against war for or against anybody or any ideology?

There must be many silly people in the warring countries who think in this way but have not the strength to raise their voice in protest. May we not help them to do so and at the same time rouse the sleeping conscience of all thinking people?

Yours

A Seeker

(Translated from Gujarati)

### Handbook Paper

Our previous and new of handbook paper for the month of August have appeared in No. 1,731-8-8 and No. 1,732-8-8 respectively, because the actual figures of production and sales from January 1 to August 31 in No. 1,731-7-3 and No. 1,732-7-3 respectively. No. 1,741-8-8 have been given for paper cutting and envelope making.

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# HARIJAN

Editor: MANMOY DUTTA

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[ ONE ANNA

## SEVAGRAM NOTES

### A. Gangaiah

There is Sevagram a strange land of brotherhood and slavery of interests are springing up. To outward seeming we are no unlike our mother, for we have come from varying stages of slavery, and being—an father used to being—to all kinds of chains, cages and creeds. But an slavery of interests now binds us and makes us work towards an ideal order of society.

A man comes, whose acquaintance I am sorry I had not in the past because of my preoccupation. But now he introduced to the reader. Prabhakar had been from Andh Pradesh. He came to a Bhargava student in Maganwadi, recovered training there in paper-making, tea-keeping and carpentering and then came here to spend some time before he went back to his part of the country. It was found that he had given up wife and Gaudhara married to him, the reason why he had done so. He said he was born in a community which did not accept to eat beef, mutton, curries and pork. And carried too of the worst type, if there can be degrees in badness. He said, with visible emotion: "The reason would be eating for days in the week. We would strictly observe it and dry the curries for days and three years it was lost to all feeling in this matter. I took a peculiar delight in eating it and also mutton. Teddy I loved, and my widowed mother would spend her hard-earned money to get me mutton. She also drank a. With difficulty I went to school, tried twice in the matriculation examination, and thank God thought of going to the Andhra Jyotiya Kalyani. It was there that I began to read and understand Young India. I read Gaudhara and other articles on non-violence and my eyes were opened. I gave up the harmful dietaries and decided never to return to my folk. After finishing my course in rural regeneration I came to Maganwadi. There I spent sleepless nights over the offence I had done to the mother cow. I could not possibly persuade myself to take milk and I stayed in an aspen for the six I had consumed. I had to say all this in order to explain to Bapu why I had given up milk," he told.

"Was Bapu angry?" I asked him. And in reply he narrated a discourse which was as striking as interesting.

"I said to Bapu that I had refused that of my own will and in fact. Mother gives us milk for a couple of years. Mother cow gives us milk

the whole of our life. But Bapu and I am prepared to go one better than you. Mother cow is in many ways better than the mother who gave us birth. Our mother gives us milk for a couple of years and then expects us to serve her when we grow up. Mother cow expects from us nothing but good and gives. Our mother often falls ill and expects service from us. Mother cow rarely falls ill. Here is an unbroken record of service, which does not end with her death. Our mother when she dies means separation of loved or attachment. Mother cow is as useful dead as when she is alive. We can make use of every part of her body—her flesh, her bones, her uncleaned, her bones and her skin. Well I say this not to disparage the mother who gives us birth but to point to show you the substantial reasons for my worshipping the cow. Although I am such a cow-sucker I ask you to take milk. I don't take cow-milk as I took a view that it, but yours is not a view. But you see what I am doing to reward the dairy house. If you find so much for the cow, you can dedicate yourself to her service. I was amazed at the manner in which Bapu described her and her cow-protection, and I accepted his advice as a word of command."

"What a story!" I said, "What about your mother? Does she know all this?"

She knows much of it. She has given up curries and mutton. She wears no bangles in home. I have not worn her for three years. She is a hospital attendant. She used to receive tips from patients. I have persuaded her to refuse to accept them so more. The new clothes from Government. I have asked her not to accept them as I would make enough clothes out of my yarn for her. I propose to go down from village to village with the drumsticks, and with the message of hand-crafts, cow-protection, and of peace."

### The Bullah's Festival

That story is I think a good preamble to the description of an evening at Gaudhara with the cow and bullahs in Sevagram. A group of villagers now comes every Sunday morning to see Gaudhara who talks to them and answers any questions they may have to ask. On the last of this month they intend him to go and see plant apple orchards and Gaudhara readily agreed. "That one day is the only idle day in the year for the poor class. No work is taken from the bullahs that day. No work is done if there is no work, no work is done if there is no work. The bullahs

and bullocks' and bullocks' too? I do not know. "Thinking you are going to spend your life, I am not sure the time devoted to bullocks (even counting their pens and fences) amounts to less than 10 minutes of a 24-hour day. I am not sure that their condition is as good as our condition is to them."

So Gandhi gladly spent the evening with them. He told them how happy he was that they celebrated this ancient custom of giving a holiday to their cows and bullocks. "In ancient India," he said to them, "a man's wealth was reckoned according to the number of cows he possessed, not according to the gold and silver he owned. The cow was worshipped as mother, for she increased the wealth with milk and her milk produce helped us to carry on occupations which kept us alive. Cows are there in the West also, and they are kept very well indeed. But their milk produce is not used for different purposes; it is turned into beef. From time immemorial this idea has been repugnant to us, and we have worshipped the cow and her progeny. The bullocks are the means of transport everywhere in our villages and have not ceased to be such even in a place like India. The railway train and the motor car do them but all along the monstrous road I would bullocks trudging up and down dragging heavily-laden carts. It seems as if the means of transport is part of our lives and our existence. And the bullock has to endure all our harshest treatment as to animals."

But we have fallen on evil days. Our idea of wealth has changed; we reckon it in terms of hard cash and have come to regard our cattle which have been progressively decreasing. I am glad that you are celebrating this day, but you must know an implication. A dog's celebration would have no meaning if you neglected them the rest of the year. You have to find out whose animals are the best and to discover how he manages to keep them so well. You will find out whose cow gives the largest amount of milk and discover how he keeps her and feeds her. You may be more prone for the best bullock and the best cow in the village. We are here for your service. Parashara, who was a qualified doctor, man and bullockman, knows for his love and care of the animals are at your disposal. The good bull is being maintained for the benefit of the village. You must make use of all the facilities we have provided. But you can do so only when you have a genuine love for your animals. "Here," he said, showing a spotted stick that is used in order to prod the bullocks, "this is a thing of which you and I should be ashamed. Supposing I were to prod one of your children with this stick, would you let me do it? And if you will not, how dare you prod these useful animals?" Nowhere else in the world to my knowledge, is such an instrument of torture used. You should either give the up or not bring me to these shows. You should treat them as kindly and handle them as gently that they will understand a word or a

gesture from you without the use of any stick at all. Adding something to the talk, from today, and on this important day, we make it the rule we have the cow, bullock. Our aim is to make of Sarvodaya a model village. I have on another occasion told you what to do in other matters. Today I am telling you that without model cattle we cannot have a model village. Our service is at your disposal, but our service too cannot be of much use without your co-operation. I hope you will, therefore, meet together at once and frame a programme of immediate action."

### A Marriage

In the midst of daily work and other preoccupations it was no easy matter for Gandhi to agree to celebrate the marriage of a Harijan worker from South India. But he almost went out of his way to do so because he was a Harijan worker and had come all the way for the purpose from Mahatma. Shri Vekateshwar of Travancore is a graduate and a diploma-holder from the Tanjore University School of Sociology and is a research scholar sponsored by the Harijan Sevak Sangh for South India. Shrihari Dakshapathi from Cochin is a B.A. B.L., and both belong to separate sub-castes among Harijans. Marriage between them is against orthodox usage, and Shri Vekateshwar had not been so having his marriage performed through Gandhi according to strictly religious rites. So they came here on the morning of the 4th and announced their intention. For a marriage Gandhi was unwilling when to serve as officiant at the altar. We could easily have got a friend from Windsor. But closer to a flesh he decided that Shri Pankaj Shastri, then whom we could not expect to get a more learned priest should officiate. A sufficient time before he has been with us for some time, and is spending his days in worship and meditation and teaching Harijans. He readily agreed, and the ceremony was performed right in front of his hut on the morning of the 4th. It was so charming with all its simple solemnity, though the presence of Hindu on the part of the bride and bridegroom lent a touch of humour to the occasion. The marriage, however, knew enough English to explain the meaning of everything that he said to them. "From among the dishes I have served," he said to Gandhi, as he asked him to give the girl away in marriage. "Not so quick please express it word by word, so that I can follow," said Gandhi, and as he repeated the simple words he warned the couple "Do you know what this means? I am being asked to give away the bride to you for the purpose of service and for the promotion of religion." Then the marriage vow was explained to them, and it was solemnly taken in front of the wedding fire and with all the gods and heavenly bodies as witnesses. The whole thing was performed in about an hour, and Shastri then requested upon them to have a row of about ten or twenty when they might break it after Gandhi had given them the *Saparam* — the Seven "Sons" — especially Vashista with his wife Anandhara.

Sharon had been punctilious in these details. He had himself fasted and observed the scruple to fast before the ceremony. At the close of the ceremony he himself sang an abhaya from Tibetan specially — an abhaya which is on the lips of every Maharajah and which Gokhale described as the favourite form of Bhakti —

*Om Namo*. (He who declares as one's own the lowly and the lost — knows him to be a man, knows that God dwells in him.) It was an beautifully appropriate.

The couple were delighted. Velupulian said to me: "If I had celebrated the marriage at home, there was no question of getting a Brahmin to officiate in person, nor to think of a covered Shaver like our Shavars here, and normally we should never have known the solemn meaning of this great rite." And Gandhi was delighted in that he had discovered that day that wherever in India there was a marriage to celebrate, he need not go out of Swarajya to look for a worthy priest. "I think I have not yet come across a Shaver like Panchare Shaver who has done the thing with so much understanding and wisdom. The shavars are so systematically and so meticulously, he said to me.

Swarajya, 9-4-41

M. D.

## QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

### Indian States and Congress Activity

Q. Should Congress members be enrolled in Indian States?

A. This question has been frequently put and answered by me. I have always held that it would be inadvisable to enroll Congress members in the States. There is danger of friction and clash with authority, and the latter interfering with the work of organization. Indian States seldom admit who may be anxious to become Congress members can enrol themselves on the request of the nearest Congress office of their province in British India. But it would be better for them not to hinder their membership and to confine themselves to such activity as is possible within their own States. This can be largely only constructive work. It will mean self-consciousness and solidarity among the masses. In fact it may on the whole be better to make people Congress-minded in the true sense of the term than to enrol them as Congress members.

### A. I. S. A. Workers

Q. Supposing members are enrolled in the States for the Congress should not workers of the Charika Sangh or the Pura Mandals participate or co-operate in Congress political work?

A. Number of these organizations may go outside an allotted field. The Charika Sangh workers are already precluded from doing so by the standing rules. Although it is a question of the Congress, it has no connection with Congress politics. It is purely an economic and philanthropic institution and cannot be made to subserve a dual purpose. The Pura Mandals should be ruled

by their position within. Pura Mandals should be under strict discipline, working only within limits or borders that are set. Congress will not interfere from this that they cannot be asked to limit the operations in the Congress organization itself as to be in the sense of strict economic repression and constructive work. All these organizations can help one another by each rendering one another as well-defined units. Thus if the latter area is successful in the political field, the Charika Sangh and the Pura Mandals would profit thereby. Similarly the success of the Charika Sangh would serve the Congress. Any single Pura Mandal that achieves success in its economic structure, the Congress to that extent, by stepping from one allotted field we are likely to do more harm than good.

### Swarajya, 9-4-41 (Translated from Hindustani) Students and Students

Q. Why do you object to students participating in the anti-pass campaign? Is it launched? And why must they leave school or college for good or even they are prevented? Simple students in England are not already looking on when their country is engaged in a war.

A. To withdraw students from schools and colleges is to encourage them in a programme of non-cooperation. It is not an end programme today.

If I were in charge of the anti-pass campaign I should neither want nor encourage the students to leave their schools and colleges. We have more by experience that the students have not yet got over their passion for Government schools and colleges. Thus these institutions have lost their glamour in a pass but I do not see much more by it. And if the institutions are to continue, withdrawal of students for anti-pass will do them no good and will be of little help to the cause. Such withdrawal will not be non-violent. I have said that those who aimed to run the campaign should leave their schools or colleges for good and venture to devote themselves to the nation's service even after the struggle is over. There is no comparison between the students here and those in England. There the whole nation is involved in the war. The institutions have been closed down by the managers. Here on the contrary students leaving their schools and colleges would do us in spite of the hands of these institutions.

### Are Not All Passes Violent?

Q. Are not all passes violent? Do I not create a fraud when I try to prevent him, by means of my hat, from doing a wrong act?

A. Passes undoubtedly according to the rules governing them are truly non-violent. There is no room there for coercion. If a friend of mine is going away, and if I suppose suffering is caused by forcing in order to workers, his better nature, it can be only one of two. If the friend for whom I fear has no love in him, he will not respond. If he has it and responds, it is all to the good. Thus a how I would analyze his act. He asked me how he can more than he had said. There is a possible risk, I admit, namely that it

seem as the *Shikhar* like fast is over he would be tempted to go long in his old ways. But then I can fix upon. Largely the increasing influence of our love will convert the friend to the extent of winning him completely from his evil ways or repeat I fear may lose their novelty. But his mind, and make it impossible to my friend. It is no conviction that a fast undertaken out of devotion love cannot have such an untoward result. But because such a result is not impossible we cannot afford to disregard the pure movement of moral reform. The task, however, makes it clear that he who fasts should be properly qualified, and that it should not be lightly undertaken.

#### Penance

Q Is not the realisation of one error and the resolve never to repeat it a penance in itself? Is any further penance necessary?

A Realisation of an error, which amounts to a fixed resolve never to repeat it is enough penance. One error never has evil babies as a single error all his time, and thus punishes himself. Such self-realisation is itself complete penance. But he who goes into the habit of committing errors cannot easily shed it. For all such, penance in its accepted sense, of undertaken with discrimination, is likely to be a good help.

Srinivasa, 10-9-40. (Translated from Gujarati)

## Harijan

Sept 15

1940

### ECONOMIC RUIN IN SINDH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following printed letter has been circulated by Shri Tanschand D Gani and Shri C. T. Vaidya:

"We wish you received our previous communication, 'A note on the present state of lawlessness in Sindh'. Here we follow another one, 'Economic ruin due to the lawlessness in Sindh'. It is a sad story of what misery that has befallen those who are suffering without any financial aid from the public or the authorities. Everywhere such a thing would evoke wide international public support and sympathy. We hope your interest in our province will grow."

I take the following from the statement referred to in the letter:

"Great havoc has been wrought in the economic life of the province by the present lawlessness in Sindh. The village life is almost at the brink of total ruin. The peasantry, whose only property and means of sustenance are the land, and the milk, cattle, lost themselves without both on account of depredations by thieves, as droves of cattle have been to abominable proportions. The loss of the cultivator has come to the point that he passes the day of and followed by a night of vigil.

The Hindus in the villages do not feel themselves strong enough to face thieves and dacoits. Hence they

have taken to migrating from smaller villages to bigger villages, and those who are in bigger villages are likewise in other areas.

With a view to having some idea of the migratory movement, figures below are given figures about one of the regions which in Sindh, namely Hyderabad taluka. These have been collected by Prof. Chaudhry M. A. (Congress = Hyderabad Rural Committee). From several villages along all Hindu borders have left, and from most of the remaining area nearly fifty per cent of the Hindus have migrated."

Then follow the figures about the migration from 42 villages in the single taluka of Hyderabad. Of these all the Hindu families in 17 villages have migrated. Of the rest some villages had only one family left. More than 50 per cent of the families had left all the other villages.

The figures of the statement thus comment on the figures:

"To fully grasp the significance of the above figures it should be borne in mind that Hyderabad taluka is one of the best situated parts of the province. It is immediately round the desert headquarters, while the Hyderabad district itself is the central district of the province—both the western desert boundary and the hills region border of the province being far away. Even the Indian desert, which witnesses the most despicable atrocities, is far distant from Hyderabad. It is at the state of affairs in the midst part of the province, the extent of migration from villages in the taluka in other districts such as Dado, Juchand, Larkana and Baluch can easily be imagined."

I need not reproduce the other paragraphs of the statement. The whole of it is a detailed and depressing narrative of the calamity that has overtaken the Hindus. The message shows that it has begun to affect the Muslims also. The Hindus of Sindh are enterprising. They supply the fish works of the Muslim agriculturists. The two are closely interwoven. Communalism of the worst type is a most growth. The lawlessness is a monster with many faces. It hurts all in the end including those who are primarily responsible for it.

The writers of the covering letter are right in saying that the Sindh calamity is an all-India concern. It is in such the duty of the Congress as of the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha to deal with the situation in the right way. The Government of Sindh will be judged by the manner in which they handle the situation. Now can the Central Government look on indifferently while a province of India, which is watered by the might Indus and which contains the remains of one proud and ancient past, is being devastated by lawlessness which if not checked in time, may spread beyond the imaginary boundary of Sindh. For what happens in India, whether good or bad, in one part, must ultimately affect the whole of India.

On the issue to Bombay, 12-9-40

#### Wanted Agents

For selling copies of *Harijan* in various towns of India. The same apply to the Manager.



## Notes

### Congress Address

I am being inundated with letters complaining about my giving my definition of ahimsa before the Poona Congressmen, who saw me recently at Wardha. I have strenuously misinterpreted the scope of ahimsa. These friends forget that my remarks were confined to Congress ahimsa only. Personally I would not kill insects, serpents or even snakes. Nor would I under any circumstances take meat. But I may not impose the creed of such ahimsa on the Congress. The Congress is not a religious institution, it is a political organisation. Its non-violence is limited to human beings. If it were to be further extended only Hindus, and among even them only Vaishnavas and Jains, would be left to participate in it. Millions of Hindus who eat fish and meat would be excluded. My proposition, to my mind, is so simple and straight that I never thought that anybody could object to it.

My critics should further understand that even Mahatmas have not accepted even the limited ahimsa of the Congress on their creed, and that the Congress itself has by no Wardha and Poona resolutions so cramped its scope as to render it almost meaningless. It follows, therefore, that any attempt to widen its scope as to include the sub-human species will defeat its purpose. Unlimited ahimsa will take time to be universalised. We will have ample cause to congratulate ourselves if we learn to internalise the law of love in society for that of the jungle, and if instead of harboring all-will and enmity in our bosoms against those whom we regard as our enemies we learn to love them as actual and potential friends. It should be remembered too that mass goodwill (kindness to animals) does not enable us to overcome the 'unhealthy enemies' within us, namely love, anger, greed, infatuation, pride and falsehood. Give me the man who has completely conquered self and is full of goodwill and love towards all, and is ruled by the law of love in all his actions, and I for one will offer him my respectful homage even though he be a meat-eater. On the other hand the goodwill of a person who is steeped in anger and lust but daily feeds the mice and cats and refrains from killing has hardly anything as a recommended merit. It is a commendable performance without any spiritual value. It may even be worse—a hypocritical screen for hiding the corruption within.

### Non-violence during Riots

#### A friend writes

"How can non-violence be efficacious during riots? By self-consciousness we can influence only those with whom we have already established living contacts. But the hoodlums who perpetrate violence during riots are, as a rule, hoodlums imported from outside. How can they have any scruples about hurting those whom they have never known before and for whom they can have no actual or considered love?"

The question deserves careful consideration. The friend who has put it is a valiant worker who

surely lost his life in trying to do his duty during a riot. I have often written on this question before. The key of it is that Congressmen have never seriously thought over the question of finding a non-violent way of quelling riots. Their non-violence was restricted to the sole purpose of offering civil resistance to the authorities. In my opinion the non-violence that goes so far and so further strongly deserves the name 'ahimsa'. You say, if you like, call it unarmed resistance. So far as it is a device for embarrassing the Government it is a species of *himsa*. To quell riots non-violently, there must be true ahimsa in one's heart, so ahimsa that rules even the enemy hoodlums in its warm embrace. Such an attitude cannot be cultivated. It can only come as a prolonged and patient effort which must be made during peaceful times. The would-be members of a peace brigade should come into close touch and intimate acquaintance with the so-called goods element in his society. He should know all and be known to all and win the hearts of all by his living and written service. No action should be initiated as too considerable or mean to suit with Gandhi do we drop from the sky, nor do glory spring from the earth like evil spirits. They are the product of social disorganisation, and society is therefore responsible for their existence. In other words, they should be looked upon as a symptom of corruption in our body politic. To remove the disease we must first discover the underlying cause. To find the remedy will then be a comparatively easy task. So far we have not even attempted a proper beginning. But it is never too late to mend. It is enough that we are at last alive to the necessity of it. We have now to follow it up with prompt action. Let everyone who is concerned make a pocket beginning in his own neighbourhood. The defender mentioned by my correspondent will automatically resolve itself, if we proceed with our effort in the right spirit.

### How to Overcome Khat?

#### A correspondent writes

"1. The opening propaganda is going on in every part of India, but I wish the A. I. S. A. would send somebody upon khat production centres where people could see or take their yarn, without much expense, for women, and where they could sell their yarn if they wished.

"2. The A. I. S. A. should allow every spinner to have his or her yarn woven locally and also to sell it locally.

"3. Khat bladders in big towns and other some heavy overhead charges due to transport, electric lighting, management, and other office expenses, and this makes khat too dear. It ought to be possible for people to purchase cheap khat in villages or small centres."

All the three suggestions are good. But the great difficulty in carrying them out is that we have not enough workers. There is no doubt that all the yarn should be woven where it is spun, and that the khat should be disposed of cheap and then. Therein lies the beauty of khat. The economics of khat are to a great extent

country to those of mill cloth. Cloth manufactured in Manchester is made for use not in Manchester or England or Europe, but to be exported to Asia or Africa for the use of the people there. On the contrary khadi is meant to be made for the millions by the millions living in villages. Mills use cotton imported from all parts of the world. Cotton for khadi should be produced where it is turned into khadi. We have not yet attained the ideal of the status of khadi, and so this status the foundation of khadi must be regarded as weak. There was an export of khadi when we began to use khadi. It has evolved with the progress of khadi, and even now it is far from being perfect. But even-winded khadi workers are constantly thinking about it and going on perfecting it in the light of experience. I am afraid it will be some time before we can reach the ideal pursued by the correspondents. The A. I. S. A. is not slack in its effort but it is faced with difficulties at every step. The main thing needed for the universalization of khadi is the co-operation of the people. Machine manufacture can be planned in an office and can be carried out according to plan. Where people have to be converted is an idea it does take time. We have therefore, for the time being, to put up with khadi blunders as towns and areas. Many of these are self-supporting but for them there would not be the demand for khadi that there is today. While, therefore, we should make every attempt to reach the ideal, we cannot jump to it in one bound.

Sevagram, 2-4-40

M. E. G.

(Translated from Gujarati)

### Not Quite New

Aspenet of my suggestion that a successful non-violent defence against aggression from without is not so fantastic as it is supposed, a correspondent made me the following extract from a writing in *Prashant* of 1929:

"Of course, we must not think that killing one another is the only form of war. Man is preeminently a social being. His war cannot should be dated to the moral plane and his weapons should be moral weapons. The Hindu adherents of Dharma, while giving up their lives before the invaders, fought with their moral weapons against physical power. A day will come when man's history will witness their victory. It was a war. Nevertheless it was a learning with peace, and character growth."

Sevagram, 12-4-40

M. E. G.

### A Fruitworthy Endeavour

Behan Kalsam Sayani sends an instructive report of her two months' herring work among Muslim women in Bombay. She started by employing two catchers for two months, on a salary of Rs. 20 per month, and made over these catches each to them where they had to hold classes for two hours daily. The enterprise was not too good to begin with, as is naturally the case with women, and Behan Sayani came to the conclusion that, in addition to more herring, other subjects of utility and interest should be taught and per-

sonal contacts with the women made in order to attract them. Late Begum Sayani organized centres for the Bombay branch of the All India Women's Conference and the *Adhama-ul-Islam* on behalf of the Adult Education Committee. In the former 300 out of 400 women were made herring and in the latter 225 out of 325. Begum Salabi has endeavored to keep the level somewhat higher than the accepted standard of literacy. She seems in her lectures being able to count up to 120. She is a little simple arithmetic and read the 2nd primer in Urdu. For general knowledge she has been giving regular talks on questions, particularly truth, religion and communal tolerance, social duties, etc. Newspapers have been read to them in order that they may learn to take an interest in national and foreign affairs. The spirit of socialism is sought to be inculcated by a *Shanti Sangraha*. Haberman Hamara is compiled every in every class. The women have succeeded in a wonderful way to resistions of poverty. In addition Begum Sayani is issuing a post-graduate journal every month called *Rakhi*. The director of herring work (literacy) is ever present and some valuable literature for freshly made literates is very essential. *Rakhi* is a useful little paper and should therefore hold a much felt need. This month's example may well be combined by women workers elsewhere. Begum Sayani is to be congratulated on having published *Rakhi* without disfiguring it with a single advertisement.

Sevagram, 7-5-40

A. E.

### Two-shoulder and Village Industries

The following is a summary of a contribution from Shri Gyanesh Chak.

"It is essential to study the root cause of the existing poverty and unemployment that prevails in the country. Inasmuch as the use and consumption of machine-made articles takes the bread out of the mouths of our artisans, those who use these goods are guilty of adding to our misery."

A middle class family in Bombay spends Rs. 1.12 annually on food as against Rs. 20 on clothing. But even those who wear khadi forget that their savings value apart, it is just as measured from the economic point of view also in our hand-pounded fibre, hand-ground flour, glass oil, gold or hand-made soap, etc. The Narayan Singh in Bombay have sold Rs. 20,244 worth of hand-made handkerchiefs during 1939-40, but this is a mere drop in the ocean as the city of Bombay is estimated to have had for every woman (25 lakhs) of fine white cotton go to the labour for making. The argument that these white, not more expensive than red handkerchiefs because of the benefit to health and consequent saving to medicine and doctor's bill—yet the fact that in the long run a lesser quantity of these handkerchiefs is consumed.

These two more billion houses in Bombay alone hand-made handkerchiefs could easily be used with advantage. A single one shirt takes 12 handkerchiefs per year. Rs. 663 worth of hand-ground flour, hand-pounded oil, hand-made oil and glass oil is not made. The result, that a 25" 17" white-

and even older and on the other hand an Indian majordomo, with broader knowledge, an expert on local conditions and an efficient administrator. These two men made it clear that the Government was not only a model of efficiency but also a model of justice. The majordomo was not a Hindu but a Muslim, the majordomo of village affairs was a Hindu and a Muslim. In this way a new unity could be given to the work of the A. I. C. C. (Continued on p. 48.)

### Old Man + Old Age

The word 'old' is generally applied to those who are well advanced in years. In our land there cannot be many such for our average age is only 34 years. England and other Western countries, however, where the average span of life is twice as much as ours, can number many old people in their population.

But if we cannot boast of many 'old in body', we can certainly boast of plenty who are 'old in mind'. And I agree with the sage who said that in his opinion the term 'old age' is far more applicable to those who have lost the will and energy to improve themselves by constant research in new fields of endeavour. The unfortunate awareness of mental poverty among both Hindus and Muslims—possibly even more among the so-called educated.

I once happened to say to a teacher in a national school that as we were trying to make Hindustani the national language, he should make an effort to learn it. As it was an easy language he would be able to learn it during the summer vacation. But he told me that he was quite incapable of doing so. It was not possible at his age (he was only middle-aged) to undertake any new endeavour and he had had so much to learn he was tired of it! And if one suggests that in order to work towards Hindu-Muslim unity it is essential that one should have a fair knowledge of each other's culture, history and customs and it would, therefore, be a good thing for teachers in national schools to learn both Hindi and Urdu, the answer one gets is: "Well, that is the limit! How can we possibly learn a script which is so wholly different from ours?" In the matter of speaking the general excuse is: "We have not the time to spare and even if we had, how can we suddenly take up something we have never put our hands to up till now?"

This mental debility is indeed tragic, and it is real old age. It is good to live to a ripe old age, but that cannot be an end. We must live to purpose. And if we do, we are never too old to learn.

Bengaluru, 5-9-40

(Adapted from Shri Yashwantrao's writings.)

### Autobiography

Gandhi's *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*. Price Rs. 4. Postage 12 1/2 pms.

### Mahatma Gandhi

By S. Radhakrishnan (New Edition). Rs. 1-75-4. Postage 3 As. Available at Newage Book-Store, 4

## KACHHAWAD FAMINE WORK

(By G. Ramakrishnan)

I returned recently for a few days to Rajkot on call of personal matters now. There I met an old friend Shri Chhagmal Joshi whom I had known intimately at the Nagardeshwari, Sharnar, many years ago. We were pleased to meet each other, and he brought Dharwadkar to see me.

On the second day the latter offered to take me with him on a tour to inspect the famine relief centres they were conducting. I jumped at the chance of taking a peep into the heart of Kachhward. I spent some time that day at the office of the All Kachhward Famine Relief Committee. I found out there what wonderful regularity and thoroughness this wholly non-official committee was conducting famine relief operations throughout Kachhward. Shri Dattaraj Gopaldas is the President of this committee, with Shri Bhocharaj Kishan Jivani as Vice-President and Dharwadkar and Chhagmal as Secretaries. Over 50 centres were working under the committee. The weekly reports and accounts were in perfect pattern furnishing a wealth of detail regarding every aspect of the work and expenditure. Relief work was going on under five heads: sale of grain at cheap prices, labour employment of unemployed villagers, relief to the old and infirm, and cattle relief. The amount of work under each of these items astonished me. Grain was being sold at over 80 centres at less than the cost price, and the item alone had cost nearly three lakhs of rupees. Under the second item some 250 thousand men and women had found employment in deepening village tanks, building tank-bunds and constructing village roads at 51 centres. Within two and a half months the committee had given out Rs. 25,000 worth of grain to women. Rs. 25,000 had been spent in giving relief to the old and infirm, and Rs. 15,000 in providing fodder and cattle feed for the famished cattle. All this massive relief work was being carried on almost entirely through some 300 voluntary workers. The current fund is a weekly clipping of the *Indian Leadership* and *Impresso* of the *Border of Gujarat*.

Now to the brief story of our tour. We left Rajkot at noon on the 6th of August. Our first stop was at Anandpur, 28 miles from Rajkot. Here we saw a tank and a stream embankment on which some four hundred village men and women had been employed at a cost of Rs. 1,200. All wages were paid in grain. We saw a well which the Marjara Sewak Sangh had constructed for the Harijans and which was one of the many 'Goodie wells'. I saw to the west. The second stop was at Chohan. Here at the mouth of a barren hand tract, I was shown a very old well. It was a beautiful well though in thoroughly dampen. Some led into it from all four sides. You could walk over the top of the well on beautifully carved stone beams laid end to end. The water level was some three feet below





# HARIJAN

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[ ONE ANNA

## SEVEN DAYS IN BOMBAY

### The Five Days

An author of the history of the Bombay Revolution wrote some years ago in daisy form, a history of the happenings of the ten days that preceded the birth of Seven Days. He gave that book the title *Ten Days That Shook the World*. May it not be that the seven days in Bombay—1930 to 1931—may come to be recorded in history as the Seven Days that Shook the World? And as a better name perhaps? The days in Bombay had all the colour and terror of a revolution. The Seven Days here had a different character altogether. They were as peaceful as anything can be, and they mark a distinct stage not only in India's march towards peaceful freedom but also perhaps in the march of the world towards peace.

The whole setting was one of peace and not of war. For even if it was a gathering of men who were determined on war for the assertion of their right to self-existence or was a gathering of people who would not hurt even a fly. The Government had, therefore, no need for any elaborate police—not to say of military—preparations or anticipation of what might happen. Those who met were the guests of a most peaceful body of people—the East India Cotton Association, who do not usually interest themselves in politics but who at this unique juncture in the history of India bore the risk of being regarded as having identified themselves with politics. For they knew that the ones at stake concerned them no less than the rest of India, perhaps more.

The Working Committee was facing the hour of the greatest crisis in Congress history. The days since June 18 when they asked what is known as the Wardha Statement had been days of unmitigated travail both for them and for Gandhiji. For Gandhiji had had four days also of anxious prayer. I may not produce here a diary of the seven days, but Pandit Jeevalchand is his speech at the A. I. C. C. described in one or two sentences what had happened. He was to turn pain over the wild and irresponsible sentences of a handful of the members of the Committee, and was trying to plead with them to sit the error of their ways. "You know," he said, "what Gandhiji has done? He has accepted full responsibility for the resolution. But do you know how a name was being? How great he spiritually is. I do not know. But I know that politically he is without a peer. So far as matters of principle are concerned his own will will not bend to any appeal for a compromise. But he listened to us, for

hours, in every aspect and argument that we had to press work upon his mind. He produced one draft and then another and then a third until he saw that he had met the considerations advanced by every one of us and was not content until the result was a resolution that was as far as possible the collective reflection of the minds of us all." (I am not quoting his words, I took on notes, but I am giving the impression left on my mind by his moving speech.)

And as one could see it, Gandhiji seemed to grow from moment to moment. He took two hours to produce the first draft which became the basis of the resolution as it ultimately emerged. He did not know then a speck of the storm that he had devoted to it. He drafted collected the minds of the members. When he addressed the house in Hindi though he spoke in firm and measured tones there was trepidation and hesitation. "The responsibility I am assuming," he said "is perhaps the greatest I have ever assumed in my life. I do not know whether I shall succeed in satisfying you or even satisfying me. Nor have I the vaguest notion of the result. But for over 20 years I have trained myself never to be concerned about the result. What I should be concerned about is the means, and when I am sure of the purity of the means, faith is enough to lead me on. All fear and trembling went away before that faith, and now we have leapt forth clear as no leaping back." In the English speech the firmness seemed to have increased, the soul is here more out. "We have waited long enough. Now comes the moment when the virtue of waiting has become vice." And yet he said, "There is impenetrable darkness before me regarding the future course of action. Would you trust your ship to a captain who is groping? If you would, well and good. Otherwise reject his guidance summarily." For days he had waited for light, but beheld obscurity. A glimmer had appeared on the horizon with the confidence with which he addressed the Working Committee. But still there was a pall of haze. The next day it had lifted, and he was able to declare himself in the embrace of certitude. "The thing I have placed before you is not small. I myself had thought it was small. But it was not so. It has not come from my weakness. It has come from recesses of the heart where darkness dwells the innermost. It is I, who has given it. It was born at the end of infinite travail."

Truly once more the words of the Psalmist had come true: "Light is sown for the righteous and gladness for the upright in heart."

### When Virtue Becomes Vice

I have at brief given the setting in which the event happened. I shall now proceed to give the outstanding portions of his three utterances. They have appeared at length in the press, but as they are unprinted and unrecorded, one is apt to miss the word for the deed. Mine will be a rapid summary with points or passages of outstanding importance.

An esteemed friend had sent him a telegram on the eve of the decision reminding him of the attitude of sympathy and of unconditional co-operation that he had adopted at the beginning of the war. He had not forgotten it. But if he could not take the mind and the heart of the Congressmen with him, that attitude would have been useless. "If what I said did not find an echo in their hearts, they would have been of no use whatsoever to the Viceroy, to the great British Nation and to India." But even after the first resolution on the War adopted at Wardha they had waited for nearly a year. He was not sorry that they had waited, the waiting had been all to the good, it had given him at any rate the strength to adopt the attitude he was taking. Why did the very men who had day in and day out stressed non-co-operation now would believe them with the latest resolution? He said: "There comes a time in man's life when virtue itself becomes vice. Virtue which was virtue in its time, when born from the purpose to which it was dedicated, becomes vice. The essence of self-restraint was good enough but when it threatened our very existence, the national spirit, whether it shined in Congressmen or non-Congressmen, when it threatened to kill the very spirit which enabled us to exercise self-restraint, then that virtue becomes vice." He protested: "I am speaking not only for the Congress but for all who want for national freedom—Muslims, Parsis, Hindus, Christians—even for those who are against the Congress, as long as they represent Indian aspirations for unadulterated independence. I should be untrue to all of them if I said now, 'No endorsement to the British.' My reputation of it would be just as useful for my enemies and for the standing of my virtue as the reputation by a poem of God's name which is but a mechanical vocal effort without confidence and which cannot enter him near to God. Therefore if I considered that self-superstition at this critical moment in the history of the nation, or would be harmful, I should be untrue to myself. We cannot sit still when we see men like Dr. Bhanu Prasad, Lala and Nityanath Narain, than whom I have no braver or straighter men, being marched to jail not because they preached violence but because they carried out the legacy of the Rumpshah revolution. It had become a point of honour with them. It is not unnecessary to watch these people being marched to jail in the exercise of their right of freedom of speech. If we looked on, the Congress would disappear and with it the national spirit. India, and the Muslims, at the time of Non-Coöperation,

was one vast prison, and therefore if we delivered her we would surely be able to free not one but all the Gandhians." If our liberty of speech is choked, the movement for the freedom of our country from bondage is choked. Thus as I have said the virtue of self-restraint is going to become vice. The virtue cannot be exercised in the resolution says, to the extent of self-superstition—assertion of the national spirit, wherever it resides whether amongst Congressmen or non-Congressmen."

### We Learn It from You

Further exercise of self-restraint, he explained, would be an act unfriendly to Britain. We have learnt from Englishmen, to value the freedom born of freedom of speech. In expressing his sympathy for Britain and his admiration of the bravery of the British Gandhians through this poem out in a striking way: "We have sympathy for all the suffering nations in this war. I wish well of Britain. The destruction of a single innocent child in England shocks me. When I heard of the appalling damage to St. Paul's I felt as much as I should have if the Kaiser's Viceroy and the James Mayall were in a similar plight. I know the statement that surrounds St. Paul's. The news therefore shocked me. But what can I do beyond saying that it has shocked me? In spite of the shock, the British people are playing and dancing and carrying on their business as usual, and we are told that an eleven year old boy writes to his father that he would like rather be dropped in England with his parents than seek refuge in Canada. The fatherless are in their homes, and if we have learnt anything from them it is a thing. Even if London and the whole of the British Isles were to fall, they have the courage to carry on the fight from Canada, Australia or New Zealand. Therefore let us embrace their bravery, let us not be carried away by our sympathy to the extent of neglecting our duty."

Thus duty is to declare from the 'home-caps' that we shall have none of the war, we shall do nothing by way of providing men, money or ammunition for the conduct of the war. To let the Viceroy tell the world that the whole of India is with Britain in this war is to allow him to deceive the world. If the war was being fought for democracy, with what justice can that claim be advanced when democracy was being trampled to death in India? Dominion Status was being pressed and the Provincial Autonomy that was refused to a majority. In his impassioned Hindi utterance he said: "Was Punjab crushed? Was Bengal crushed? Was Madras crushed? Was the Frontier Province with a population of over 60 per cent Muslims crushed before India was declared a belligerent? Were the people in these provinces asked whether they wished to join the war? How can one man, however good, be crushed with so much power over nearly 40 crores of people? I am a friend of the Viceroy and hope to remain his friend until the end of my days, but the crea-

can proceed by agreement, but if a third decision on India is inescapable. It is a negative of democracy.

#### The Demand

The Congress has during the past few years exhausted all the means in its power in living about on understanding with Britain. It asked for a declaration of India's Independence. It declared that it would be content if British Government were prepared to accept a Commission framed by a Constituent Assembly. It offered a third alternative and in doing so almost sacrificed itself nearly went back as it seemed to me, on the solemn professions of the past 20 years of its existence. It was pledged to winning Swamy by non-violence, it fought that in promising Britain its active co-operation in the war-effort it was Britain recognized India's independence. It was conducting itself and offering to pay the price of its principle—for the sake of Independence. But happily even that offer was rejected. Now comes the fourth offer in the field. 'Simply declare that India is free to carry on non-violently and openly anti-war propaganda. India is free to punish non-cooperation with Government in their war effort and we will have no civil disturbances.'

That is the lowest possible use of their history. Civil liberties are the very foundation of democracy, and if you deny them you deny democracy. Only the other day a British judge defined the essence of democracy. Delivering judgment in an appeal brought against *The Daily Worker*, Mr Justice Scales observed: 'The expression of views, no matter how unpopular, how flimsy or how wrong-headed they may appear to the majority, is a right, and a right which I, among others, are paid to see preserved. I subscribe wholeheartedly to the view that fell from the lips of Mr. D. N. Pritt, K. C. (defending Counsel) that it is those views which are held by only a few, those views that are unpopular, those views which do run counter to the views of the great majority of mankind, particularly in cases of national emotional crises such as war, it is those views which the court should be particularly anxious to protect.' It would seem that what is going on in India is the most flagrant negation of this elementary principle of democracy.

This is how Gandhiji put it in his direct simple language: 'In order completely to clarify our position, I propose to approach the Viceroy, if he will be good enough to see me—and I have no doubt that he will—and to place my difficulties before him. I will approach him in your name. I will tell him that this is the position in which we have been reduced. We do not want to continue you and defeat you for your purpose in regard to war effort. You go your way and we go our undisturbed, the common ground being non-violence. If our advice prevails there will be no war effort on the part of our people.' If on the other hand, without your using any but moral pressure you find that they respond, then we cannot help it. If you get assistance from the Powers, from the newspapers, from anybody high

or low, you will find it gets too hot for you also to hand. It gets too hot. It will be extremely uncomfortable, it will certainly be a weight on your cap. It will be honorable of you—although you are engaged in a life and death struggle—that you have recognized this liberty. It will be honorable of you that you do so although you have countless pretences to shake our ears and give us the illusion possible freedom, consistency with the observance of non-violence to tell the people of India not to join the war effort.'

That is the position that would put the Congress and the British Government at war with one another. As Gandhiji put it: 'The British can then say to the world, Judge us by our conduct. Here in India we are playing the game.'

#### What of Freedom?

Then, it may be asked, what about our demand for Independence? Independence is contained in the right to declare and practice non-cooperation with the war effort. 'True liberty,' he said, 'towards the claim of his speech "is the foundation of real Swamy. If that foundation-stone is in danger you have to assert the whole of your might to defend that single stone.' He explained this doctrine at greater length in his closing speech.

I am sorry that your head has failed to sleep a very simple but a very important point when I made yesterday. I described the right of free speech in the foundation-stone of Swamy. Let me explain this. I have got to cross across a complete declaration of Swamy. I do not think I have been able to give it myself. I do not think even Jawaharlal has ever gotten it. It is possible that someone there amongst you may be able to give it, so it has often happened that others have defined for me what I have been listening for. If anyone can do so I shall gladly make him my 'guru', that this audience continue the rest of Swamy. If you hold fast to it, all that the motion of the various amendments does is a systematically situated. If we can win this liberty of free speech—either by fighting for it or by negotiation—we have secured everything—free speech for a communist like Dr. Ashraf and free speech for a Forward Bloc-wallah like Shri. Sankar Singh. If I give it a religious colour, I can call it full religious liberty, the liberty national and religious that the Moslems are asking for. You say you want independence. But you forget that it is beyond their power to give it to us. How can we be independent by simply declaring that we are independent? We can be independent only when after the British have left we can remain unified and rule ourselves unified of any attack from any foreign power—Japan, Germany, Russia or Afghanistan. It is almost to launch civil disobedience today for Independence. How are we to fight for independence with those whose own independence is in grave peril? Even if independence can be given by one organ to another, it is not possible for the English. Those who are themselves in peril cannot give others. But if they

(Continued off p. 232)

# Harijan

Sept 22

1940

## I WAS UNJUST BECAUSE WEAK

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I know Rajag enough to understand that he is too busy to read any suggestion from anybody, be it too philosophical to harbour an injury for want of space, if not minutes. I know also that his fine sense of humour enables him to enjoy a joke at his expense. Therefore this confession must be taken as one for my own satisfaction only.

I have told the public that, had I not urged him on, Rajag would never have brought forward the resolution at New Delhi. Having gone round for his judgment and his honesty, when he agreed with anxious assurance that I was wrong and he was right in the employment and application of non-violence I allowed myself to doubt the suggestions of my interpretation to the point of allowing and encouraging him to act on his I chieftain weakness and become unjust to him. A week more a year by accident. A strong but non-violent man is unjust by accident. I was unjust to Rajag because I imposed him to advocate and uphold violence. Though no element here has come to the Congress because what I still consider was an error has been corrected, it is not a good thing for a great leader to have his weak without all of a sudden, for I know that Rajag will feel that he was right. If his view had prevailed, the resolution that now holds many would not have taken the shape it has. I would still have been out of the Congress. For I was out of it at Wardha before the Delhi resolution was taken as the natural outcome of Wardha.

If I was unjust to Rajag, I was also unjust to the Working Committee. For had I remained firm, the Wardha resolution too would not have been passed. I hold that, so long as I am accepted as the sole authority on non-violence and its applications, they must not be a matter of vote. My colleagues may debate the pros and cons with me and try to convince me that their interpretation is right. If I cannot accept it, my judgment should prevail because I am both the author of non-violence and general its applications alike. The only way the colleagues can ward my judgment is by showing me from outside. They did so in so many words at Wardha. But it is plain that the decision was not what the word meant. They were more unwilling to give me absoluteism. It was given because I wrong it from them. My weakness began at Wardha. When a person errs again, I should have mused the error of parallelism. It was outside the Working Committee's jurisdiction to decide upon the meaning and application of a matter which belonged to their expert who was their interpreter and executive officer.

I am aware that all the members of the Working Committee do not accept my opinion as to para-

doxism. The matter has not come up for decision. But before the Committee and I came to the conference now before the country I had made the conference I have now published for the sake of an intended co-workers.

It is my conviction that owing to a series of fortunate coincidences of some of the members at the last Wardha meeting the present resolution was conceived and we have been saved from a national disaster. We have come to a decision which, if Congressmen react to it as they should, must mean help to a position which it has never yet occupied, and brings it nearer to her goal as nothing else could have done.

Whether my estimate is right or, wrong time alone can show. But that is mainly by the way. More is the purpose of this confession to cross the reader to accept my judgment as to the paradoxism of the Working Committee. The mention of it was relevant to show the source of my error. It is responsible for a general to surrender his judgment to a fellow officer unless the conference goes home to him that the latter is right — one way is right.

I hope I have given the public enough material to show that in all that Rajag did he was throughout brave and correct. The inconsistency was due to me.

And I wish to say the more thing about his 'sporting offer'. It is no part of this confession to defend it. But so far as I can see, the offer was only sporting, if the acceptance of the Poona resolution be accepted. It should be remembered that the Muslim League is a great organisation working influence upon the Muslims of India. The Congress has dealt with it before, and I have no doubt it will deal with it in future. However, members Qader-Ahmed may be to our estimation, let us give him the same credit for honesty of purpose as we claim for ourselves. When the war cloud is lifted and when India comes to her own, surely Congressmen would give as much welcome a Muslim, a Sikh, a Christian or a Parsi as a Hindu, as they would a Hindu, and even a non-Congressman, on account of what faith he may be. I am sure that Rajag's 'sporting offer' means no more and no less than this. When persons have died, critics will read his offer as an 'proper light'. It is wrong to misapprehend a public worker, and doubly so when he happens to be of Rajag's calibre. He has lost nothing by the misapprehension. But a person may easily have paid by misapprehending as true servants and denying itself their services. Above all when the Congress may have to embark upon a great non-violent struggle for fundamental liberty, it behoves Congressmen to guard against such hasty and uncharitable judgments.

On the train to Wardha, 19-9-40

## A Correction

In the article entitled "Must Support" which appeared in Harijan on August 18, Dr. Desai's name is inadvertently described as representing 12 divisions. It should have been 11.



## SEVEN DAYS IN BOMBAY

(Continued from p. 281)

fight was done for their freedom if they are at all reasonable, they must recognise our right of free speech. This they can certainly do. It is our duty to fight for that right. If they want it and we have to fight, and they are unreasonable, they will have earned embarrassment themselves.

That liberty is a necessary aim which needs no defining. It is the foundation of freedom, especially when it has to be taken non-violently. To surrender it is to surrender the only means for obtaining freedom.

When Rajag told us that his own offer was made for the British to accept then more, he was expressing half the truth. It may be only asked for them to recognise our independence, but I can understand during the war their reluctance to grant an integral responsible government. For now they want it they have to carry on through us. One day it may be Rajag, another day it may be Jawaharlal and then it may be a Desai or Menon. This co-operation that we offer them would be no then a surrender of doubtful value for they do not trust us and if I was in the Viceroy's position, I should understand his misgivings. It is risky for them to carry on war through those whom they do not trust. But where is the risk in leaving everyone doubtful that he is free, in asking all co-operation in war and peace that co-operation to everyone in peace about whom they want to enforce co-operation at the point of the bayonet?

## The Only Limiting Condition

But the only condition to be entered is violence to the condition that we observe non-violence. 'The condition is necessary because a Government that is based on violence cannot tolerate violence. That is the unavoidable logic of violence. You even chase who are violently inclined, chased not despised, if they will leave us no reply. For if we are beating through non-violence, even the violence, if there are any will have no reply, the liberty to punish but to do violence. There would be no sense. But that will not prevent a Sikh or a Muslim from possessing a sword or a sword. If the rest are all believers in non-violence, what violence can there be? The restraint of speech and action of the majority will automatically exercise similar restraint on those who are internally inclined. At any rate, if I laid my way as the President of a non-violent Indian republic, I should not hesitate to get those who are violently inclined, the liberty of violent speech. On the other hand, let me tell them that under a violent State they cannot expect this liberty.

Let me tell those who were mass civil disobedience strikes no more campaigns, that they forget that all these things are done in our old resistance of 1932. In fact I have been giving all these years to prepare the country for all these things. We should have been able to do all of them and to form about a new social order by now, if only we had observed the condition. And

if we did not observe the condition and were not ready, none but we were to blame.

But you are free to suppose mass civil disobedience if you like, though you will then be guilty of disobedience. But as I read on Indian radio who put me the same question I shall gladly congratulate you if you succeed but you cannot have my blessings. Of course the honourable means for you would be to leave the Congress.

"But you know that you cannot enforce mass disobedience in the present stage without violence. For another reason I am asking students not to leave colleges to join marauding, unless they will leave them for good. Similarly about workers. Dr. Suresh Bhanusaheb who was once a co-worker but who has for some years strayed away from me has come now to be coming back, and to me some new idea that only I could conduct a labour strike to a successful conclusion. I can do all these things if I had your full co-operation and complete discipline."

## The Effect

As regards the immediate effect Gandhiji said: "When we come to our own, the Government will be in charge not only of the Congressmen but of non-Congressmen. There will be slight suffering, and the Government will be forced by the shared representation of all the adult voters—Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians, Jews and those whom we indignantly have regarded as unrepresentable. What a mixed Parliament of these representatives will do I do not know. But I hope that the Congress will always be in favour of non-violence. If it is in a minority, it will record its vote, if it is in a majority, it will administer the State non-violently. For the Congress as Congress can do nothing else. Supposed the Government accepts our demand tomorrow and says: 'Do what you like in future, but now please do help us with money and money.' I am afraid even then we shall have to tie to them. 'We are sorry we cannot give the co-operation. We wish you well, and may God help you. But concerned as we are to the policy of non-violence nothing that you can offer can persuade us to give you violent assistance.'

On the interval between now and Gandhiji's return from a visit to the Viceroy, what is to be done? Gandhiji said: "I am going to see the Viceroy but I may fail in my mission. I have never approached a man in despair. I have approached it with the consciousness that I may be faced with a blind wall. But I have often penetrated blind walls. But if I fail we shall be free to start our fight to carry on intensive propaganda and take the consequences. You are of course free to carry on the propaganda now, but it will not be free it will not be restraint. I would therefore ask you to be patient until my return from the Viceroy."

Since the war was written, the Workers' Committee passed the following resolution which leaves no manner of doubt about the Congressmen's duty during the struggle:

In view of the resolution just passed by the A. I. C. C. the Working Committee calls upon all Congress representatives to stop all civil disobedience individually or after pending definite instructions of Gandhiji. He repeats the response as responsible for his pending association with H. E. the Viceroy, and as a test of the discipline of organized and unorganized Congressmen and all Congress-minded men and women, and also as a short course of discipline in law before recourse to civil disobedience should become necessary.

#### The Hindu-Muslim Question

In his closing speech Gandhiji referred to the Hindu-Muslim question, as it had been raised during the debate. He said: "If a conflict is there is none for us, who can prevent it? We have to be prepared even for warlike aid and abet, but we must have the faith that non-violence cannot result in them. But if somewhere disorders take place they will be a test of our non-violence. Non-violence is a force that gains its momentum with the increase in the violence that it has to deal with. I hope that you will get that power of non-violence before I die. But there is a message I should like to reach the ears of every Mussalman. India cannot be independent if eight or more crores of Mussalmans are opposed to it. But I cannot believe that all of them are in opposition, and it is proved to me by the vote of every adult Mussalman. Let them declare that they want to leave their political allegiance apart from that of the Hindus. India is a poor country full of Hindus and Mussalmans and others staying in every corner of it. To divide it into two is worse than anything. It is a situation which cannot be achieved—not because I am a Hindu, for I am speaking from this platform as representative of Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and all else. But I will say to them, 'Present me before you without India. You shall not do what even the Mahab, who ruled over India for over two centuries did not do.' What I have said about the Muslims applies equally to Sikhs. If 30 lakhs of Sikhs will demand Indian independence we shall deal with them non-violently. Non-violence, however, cannot be won except by non-violence. There are other obstacles too imposed by the existence of an alien power. But we must mean every nerve to achieve communal peace. When means peace. This peace cannot be confined to the Hindus. It must mean peace for the whole world."

#### Implications of the Resolutions

The representative of the American Associated Press saw Gandhiji in Bombay within twenty-four hours of the termination of the A. I. C. C. and said: "Hundreds of our papers have printed the A. I. C. C. resolutions, and a summary of your speeches were by me, and have commented on it. Four questions emerge out of those comments, and I seek your answers to the questions. Gandhiji was summoned up to the case in work and was actually attending a meeting of the Working Committee when Mr. Stimson arrived. He interrupted the meeting and demanded his answers to the five questions."

The first question was: "How do you desire us to encourage Britain with your demand to punish non-violent propagandists in a non-violent way?"

Gandhiji said: "Because non-violence is the Congress creed which involves Congress hostility to all war. Hence it is a vital necessity for the Congress to dissociate itself from identifying itself with any war. Hence my desire not to encourage Britain was strongly based and condemned by the Congress necessity of preserving the Congress existence, and therefore civil disobedience is definitely restricted to freedom of speech and action, provided they are absolutely non-violent. Therefore I have claimed in my speech that if the full impact of Congress action is understood it must be the end help Britain and the world."

"Why," wondered Mr. Stimson.

Because in the matter of the configuration of all moral there is one powerful help pointing us back to uttermost non-violence. If it succeeds then the present world can have a sigh of relief and find a way out of these sinister circumstances.

The second question was: "How do you visualize the future of India in the event of a Nazi victory?"

A. All I can say is — I am not damaged by the prospect, if my country remains true to the oath of non-violence. But that does not mean that I should be in any way pleased with the prospect of a Nazi victory. What troubles me is that as things are going on at present defeat of Britain will be bought at a terrible price, viz., rape of Britain and by any name you like.

Q. In view of what has happened in Malabar, is there any hope of mass civil disobedience being carried on non-violently?

A. Not at present, and therefore as you must have noticed in my speech I made an emphatic declaration that so far as I was concerned there was no prospect of my endorsing on mass civil disobedience. But if you ask me whether it is possible to conduct mass civil disobedience without its resulting in violence I would emphatically say "yes. But no country is not at present ready for mass action and in a way I am thankful that the unfortunate events in Malabar have gone as a warning to the country and a pointer for me also."

Mr. Stimson's last question was: Does your policy mean disapproval of America's help to Britain in the shape of planes and munitions?

A. Not in the slightest. For the simple reason that America does not believe with the Indian National Congress in non-violent action. I wish it did. Thus America's contribution to power and help to Britain would be infinitely more substantial than any number of planes and any amount of material that America can supply to Britain. And if the weekly correspondence I receive from America and visits from Americans who come to see me in any order to American opinion, I expect America to take a leaf out of the Congress book and oust the Congress in the race for the establishment of peace on earth through universal disarmament.

## Am I inconsistent?

The correspondent of *The New Chronicle* who interviewed Gandhi in Bombay on the 18th asks him when he had already had a busy day on the top of a night of inefficient sleep, and when he had heavy engagements yet to fulfil, but so he presented a memorandum on behalf of the British people. Gandhi gladly found time for him and replied to his question which was as follows:

"While expressing your sympathy with the British people in their plight, don't you think there is an inconsistency between your earlier decisions and your latest decision?"

"I thought," said Gandhi, replying to the question, "that I had clearly and sufficiently expressed my position in my speech, in anticipation of the charge of inconsistency. If there is any inconsistency, it is due to the particular instance in changed circumstances. My sympathy is not only the same as it had been expressed to Benin on the declaration of war, it has become deeper because what was imaginary has become really real. In Benin almost a year ago I had expressed my grief over what might befall Britain. Today the dreaded thing has happened and is still going on. By nature I am so framed that every calamity moves me sympathies of the people whom it may overtake. But my sympathy goes through it is deeper today than a year ago, has undoubtedly changed in form. I was unprepared for the recent Government declaration and I claim that it is the guarantee of my sympathy which has made me swing out the one fact which Britain can easily recognize and yield without any loss in her prosecution of war. I readily grant that there might be some reason for not dividing the responsibility for the conduct of the war with those who are the determined opponents of British imperialism and all its works, and therefore I felt that, if the Congress command to shake by its policy of non-embarrassment which is inherent in its non-violence, the Congress should for the moment share opinion by way of direct action for independence. The freedom of speech and corresponding action is the breath of democratic life. Freedom of propagating non-violence is inherent for war is the most relevant when violent slavery is being perpetuated by the warring nations of Europe. The Congress will factor all its right to be considered a non-violent organization, if out of this sympathy or what would be worse—fear of consequences—it tried to agree against the humanity that is being perpetrated in Europe and which, if not checked by somebody or some organization, may overtake the whole world. I hope this statement of Congress policy as I interpret it, as its safe guide, will not only satisfy the British public opinion, but will make it swing and go on the side of the Congress, so as to enable the Viceroy to recognize the justice of the Congress claim, which is a claim not for itself but which is a claim for freedom of speech on matter by whose restraint so long as it does not perhaps violence in any shape or form."

Bombay, 25-9-40

M. D.

## Khadk Pattrika

Several Khadk Pattrikas have published these days by the various branches of the All India Congress Association. I have not seen all of them but of those that I have seen the Maharashtra Khadk Pattrika alone has captured my attention. The one so far as I have seen them are not up to much, if all the printers will send me their respective Khadk Pattrikas, I will gladly have them examined and send them the results. Besides these there is one the "Gaur Sena Pattrika" published on behalf of the Nalwadi (Wardha) Karmachari which is almost well worth reading. It is published in Marathi. This Pattrika is the exception behind it. As a rule, it contains at least one article by him. In my opinion no Pattrika should be brought out for its own sake. They should be self-supporting notwithstanding the fact that these readers are likely to be mostly workers of the publishing organization. The better will and more pay for the publications if they are really needed, since they will be getting back many times the worth of money spent on them in the form of useful knowledge.

The August issue of the Maharashtra Khadk Pattrika is lying before me. One item out of it is: "Our report of Khadk" has already been reproduced in these columns. The Pattrika is mostly in Khadk partly in Marathi. Each issue is priced at 2 for the subscription for the year Rs. 18-14-14 is printed on handmade paper. It is published from Chanda and can be had from the Khadk Karmachari, Wardha.

The Pattrika is filled with useful knowledge about Khadk. The issue under review contains the following articles: "The darkness of your and width of class", "The care of slaves", "Some experiments of Gandhi Ashram Ramra", "The corruption of the Varanasi Vidyapeeth, India", "The village service scheme of the Gandhi Sev Sangh", "For speakers on the Viceroy and the Khadk Chamberlain", "Dharmat Taktik", "The movement of speaking", "Dharmat Natak". No student of Khadk can afford to go without this Pattrika.

Srinagar, 9-9-40

M. E. G.

(Translated from Hindustani)

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### A. I. C. C. RESOLUTION

The following resolution was passed by the A. I. C. C. at Bombay on the 19th inst.:

The All India Congress Committee has given its careful attention to the events that have taken place since its last meeting held at Poona on July 27, 1940 and to the resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Wardha on August 1st. The Committee approves of and endorses these resolutions.

In order to end the deadlock in India and to promote the national cause in co-operation with the British people the Working Committee, even at the instance of Mahatma Gandhi's co-operation, made a proposal to the British Government in their Delhi declaration of July 1st, which was subsequently approved by the A. I. C. C. at Poona. This proposal was rejected by the British Government in a manner which left no doubt that they had no intention to recognize India's independence and would, if they could, continue to hold this country indefinitely as hostage to British exploitation. This decision of the British Government shows that they will impose their will upon India, and their recent policy has further shown that they will not even tolerate free expression of public opinion or consideration of their treatment of India in the war against Germany against the will of a vast body of the people of India, and of exploiting her national resources and man power for their purpose.

The All India Congress Committee cannot subscribe to a policy which is a denial of India's national rights to freedom which suppresses the free expression of public opinion and which would lead to the degradation of her people and their continued enslavement. By following this policy the British Government have created an intolerable situation and are imposing upon the Congress a struggle for the preservation of the honour and the democratic rights of the people. The Congress is pledged under Gandhi's leadership to non-violence for the realisation of India's freedom. As this grave crisis in the movement for national freedom, the All India Congress Committee therefore requests him to guide the Congress in the action that should be taken. The Delhi declaration confirmed by the A. I. C. C. at Poona, which prevented him from so doing, no longer applies to his latest.

The A. I. C. C. sympathizes with the British people as well as the peoples of all other countries involved in the War. Congressmen cannot withhold their allegiance for the bravery and endurance shown by the British nation in the face of danger and peril. They can have no ill-will against them and the agent of imperialism defends the Congress from doing anything with a view to undermine them. For this self-imposed constraint cannot be taken to the extent of self-surrender. The Congress must insist on the fullest freedom

to pursue its policy based on non-violence. The Congress has however no desire at the present moment to extend non-violent measures, should this become necessary beyond what is required for the preservation of the liberties of the people.

In view of serious misapprehensions that have arisen as regards the Congress policy of non-violence, the A. I. C. C. desires to state this clearly and to make it clear that this policy concerns non-violent methods contained in previous resolutions which may have led to these misapprehensions. The Committee firmly believes in the policy and practice of non-violence not only in the struggle for freedom, but also in so far as this may be possible of application, in free India. The Committee is convinced and aware world events have demonstrated, that complete world disarmament is necessary and the establishment of a new and juster political and economic order of the world is not to destroy itself and revert to barbarism. A free India will therefore, share all her weight in favour of world disarmament and should herself be prepared to give a lead in this to the world. Such lead will inevitably depend on spiritual forces and moral conditions but the State would do its utmost to give effect to this policy of disarmament. Effective disarmament and the establishment of world peace by the ending of national wars, depend ultimately on the control of the causes of wars and national conflicts. These causes must be rooted out by the ending of the domination of one country over another and the exploitation of one people or group by another. To this end India will peacefully labour, and it is with this objective in view that the people of India desire to attain the status of a free and independent nation. Such freedom will be the prelude to the close association with other countries within a country of free nations for the peace and progress of the world.

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# HARIVAN

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12 Pages

Editor: HALLABEY DESAI

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## I WONDER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"For some time you seem to have made it a point to strengthen your arguments in favour of non-violence by frequent but invariably vague references to the Holy Quran and the teachings of Islam. It is quite obvious that you only wish to impress the Muslims thereby. No doubt your eyes to please your cherished doctrine extend beyond all questions. Surely it is quite understandable that you should put the life of our great Mawlana Ishaq Khan Abdul Ghafoor Khan and Abdul Kalam Azad on the back. But, can't you realise that nothing can offend the religious susceptibilities of a Musselman more than to see a non-Muslim using the scripture for his own purpose? Well, the Musselmans have had thirteen centuries to know what the Quran teaches and to perceive what it means. The Muslims, of course, do not need a Musselman to strengthen their own holy book. It would be better, indeed, if you take it from the Muslims when they have throughout the last thirteen centuries believed it to be the treasure of their religion, rather than indulge in your own worldly interpretation. I hope you realise full well that you are and as your Muslim critics have already noticed the confidence of the Musselmans. Your references to the Quran are futile except that they cause the greatest pain to the Muslims. Muslims have shown about themselves all respecting enough not to allow their holy book becoming an arena for a non-Muslim battle. Your flattering words about Islam are of no use. The fact stands out that you are a non-Muslim. Hence the Quran cannot be the source of your ideas or ideals. You only turn to the Quran afterwards in order to popularise them among the Muslims. It is my friendly advice to you to stop forthwith all references to the Quran. In the meantime I would ask you to read what Khalid writes before he resented himself to be the Quaran of Muslim India."

This letter is from an M. A. (Aligarh). He is a research scholar in the Muslim University. The letter was received some time ago. I kept it in my file so long, for I was debating whether it would serve the cause of unity to publish it. But having received another from the same friend more substantiated than this one I decided to publish the foregoing in order to enable me to correspond with those who in Aligarh or outside hold views similar to the writer.

I have sweet memories of Aligarh. I have more than once visited the great University. I have still associations with it. I think I am an honorary member of their club. I received the honour at the hands of the late Dr. Sir Ross Masood when he was Vice-Chancellor of the University.

As for the holy Quran, it was our Muslim slaves and friends in South Africa who served me to read it. They furnished me with Islamic literature. On my return to India, Muslim friends sent me copies of translations of the holy book. Among the readers was Dr. Mohamed Ali himself a translator, and the late Mr. Pickthall also a translator of the book. I was interested by the late Hakim-ul-Uloom Ajmal Khan with Mawlana Shabbir's translation. Have I changed or have the times changed that it has become a source for a non-Muslim like me to read and even dare to put his own interpretation upon the Quran? Many years Muslims have remarked that I am a better Muslim than most Muslims in that I act in the spirit of the Quran and know more of the life of the Prophet than most Muslims. Whose testimony am I to accept — those Muslim friends or the research scholar's and of those who think like him? I wonder.

The research scholar is right in insisting to me the desire to read my meaning into the Quran. Surely there is no harm in it so long as I remain absolutely faithful to the text and approach my task with a prayerful and open mind. My correspondents should know as a scholar that an interpretation of a life or a book is not necessarily correct because it has been handed down for generations. An error does not cease to be just after a given number of repetitions by a given number of men for a given number of years. The Biblical texts are still being corrected. And many good Christians believe that the Christianity of the West is a negation of Christ's central teaching. It is just possible that the research scholar's views about the qualifications required for reading and interpreting the Quran and his own interpretation are wrong, and that my being a non-Muslim is no bar to my reading the Quran or interpreting it. And it is not at all impossible that my interpretation may be found to be right. It will be an odd day if the reading and interpreting of religious books are to be confined only to those who wear particular religious labels. I ask my correspondent and his companions, as they friend, to shed what in my opinion is their gross intolerance and give the same credit to others for seeing truth as they claim for themselves. No one has a monopoly of truth. All truth represented by imperfect humans that we are is welcome. We can each act according to our lights. God alone knows the end. That being so, it behooves research scholars at least to be humble and tolerant. Ferozdeen and

understand the feeling leading to America's work not so much in the name of Congress.

Benares, 21-9-49

## KHADI WEEK

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is a happy thing that the khadi week coincides with my pending visit to H. K. the Viceroy. I want the progress of all who believe in the efficacy of progress than the result of my visit may prove fruitful to India, the British people, and ultimately conduce to peace between the warring nations. I feel that through the means raised by the A. I. C. C. resistance seems small it has in it great potency for the good of mankind.

'Khadi Week' is the name given by me to my birthday celebration. Birth and death are events. I should be sorry if the annual celebration was foregone with my death. Therefore, I have popularised the birthday celebration as Khadi Week. It enables me to deal with the event incessantly.

I shall never ever nerve to avoid a civil disobedience struggle but it would be wrong for Congressmen to go to sleep while an effort for peace is being made. I hope no Congressman thinks that because I have undertaken command of the struggle, if it comes, the spinning and khadi industries are waived. Those who do not strictly conform to these and other conditions will find themselves left out of civil disobedience forces at once, and, what will the millions do who will never have to exert any kind of suffering? The constructive programme is as much for them as for the civil resisters. Indeed if it was confined to the latter only, the improvement of a few could never deserve to be called a national struggle. The voluntary suffering of even one person in the name of an organisation or the nation, if backed by their unreserved co-operation in all manner prescribed by the commander must ensure success. Khadi and spinning are the visible symbols that all are doing. I would therefore expect a phenomenal rise in khadi sales, spinning and village handicrafts during the celebration week. I say also mention that the A. I. S. A. having given up the policy of asking loans, it has become necessary to resolve donations, if the work is not to be curtailed. The unexpected and unexpected rise in the wages of spinners has meant an increase of spinners. These cannot be provided for without more stored Persepolis weavers have come forward to collect funds for the A. I. S. A. I hope that there will be an economic response to the appeal. All, whether Congressmen or others, should liberally support the appeal. The A. I. S. A. is a purely humanitarian economic movement. As much as has no politics, even though it has occurred its charter from the Congress. It is a purely humanitarian body. All can, therefore, help it without any scruple. Khadi has no doubt a political, as it has an economic and humanitarian significance. And viewed as a symbol of non-violence, even its political significance is no way detracting from its moral appeal. For poverty and

unemployment non-violence can have no colour of mere politics. And the Congress will cease to be a policy label but will be unanimously acknowledged as a national movement having no quarrel with any party or nation.

Benares, 23-9-49

## AN AMERICAN'S QUESTIONS

An American journalist had important questions to ask arising from the latest decision of the A. I. C. C. in Bombay — questions not merely political, but dealing with international relations and commercial and social intercourse.

'What is India's consciousness towards making the world safe from Hitlerism?' was his first question. The reply was, perhaps as he had expected, short and sweet. 'If the Congress succeeds in its non-violent effort, Hitlerism and all such war will go as a matter of course.'

'Does you think,' he next asked, 'India should do something to make their better known in America and thus prevent the overhangs of goods and ideas? What do you think should be done in this connection?'

'First let us take up goods. America has had her lot, irrespective of Indian conditions and India's wishes. So far as ideas are concerned, my unhappy experience is that anti-Indian propaganda carried on in America has held undisputed sway, so much so that even the war of outstanding personality like Tagore produced little impression on the American mind.'

'But why does not India endeavour to make herself better known in America?'

'If America really wanted to know what Indian opinion is at a given time, there is ample literature which is pouring from day to day so which they have access. If you have a word on Indian opinion which should do propaganda work on behalf of India upon our former experience has been that unscrupulous propaganda that is carried on with much display and perseverance and as a heavy expenditure in such that we can never overcome it, and the work of any such agency has up to now proved fruitless.'

His next question was rather strange. 'Why not have Indian people use Indian handspun cloth and keep her mills busy for the export of manufactured cloth and yarn? Does you think that this would help the cotton-growers? He evidently was thinking of a free India.

'I would not mind such a thing, and handspun, but it must be in order to supply the felt needs of the country which received our cloth. I have no idea of exploiting other countries for the benefit of India. We are suffering from the poisonous disease of exploitation ourselves and I would not like my country to be guilty of any such thing. If Japan, say, is a free country without India's help and aid we could produce various goods cheaper, and we might export them to Japan we would gladly do so. But under my scheme of things all dumping of goods by one country in another, supported by her army and her navy, has to cease.'

"Apart from export of commodities what has India to give America and is there what does India expect from America?"

"I must correct your question for the India needs to merchandise to America, she needs only raw material, and that is a matter for serious consideration for every nation-state. For we cannot suffer our country becoming an exporter of raw produce, for it means (as it has meant) extinction of handicrafts and art itself. I would expect America to treat India not as though India was a country for American exploitation but as if India was a free country, although warred, and deserving therefore, the same treatment that America would wish at the hands of India.

"You are repeating for the marriage of Jesus" and the correspondence.

"I agree and Gandhi. "We are poor in technical skill, but as soon as you accept and consent to follow Jesus' teaching I would not have to complain of all the skill being monopolized by America. You will then say, 'There is a more cunning power in technical skill, let us offer our skilled assistance not for exploitation but for a terrific price, but for its benefit and so for nothing.' And here let me say a word about your manufacturers. You send them here for nothing, but that also is part of imperialist exploitation. For they would like to make us like you better buyers of your goods and unable to do without your cars and luxuries. So the Christianity that you send us is a subterfuge. If you abolished your schools, colleges and hospitals without the object of adding to the number of the so-called Christian population, your philanthropy would be untrammelled.

"As regards technical skill, I cannot afford to do what the Tatars are doing. They are offered to bring an American expert manager at Rs 2000 a month. But while they represent the spirit of adventure, they do not represent poor India. India has seven lakhs of villages which take in 30 per cent of her population. America has to think of these America ought, if she will be of real help, to exercise her benevolence in this direction. And for this purpose America will have to cease to be the premier exporting country that she is. My view as expressed elsewhere differ from the prevailing ones. I do not want to sleep untroubled here. I want to prevent our villages from catching the infection of industrialisation. American exploitation has added nothing to the moral height of the exploited countries nor of the exploiting country. On the contrary it has impeded their march towards spiritual progress, and degraded America's real spirit of philanthropy. A phenomenon like the one that America witnessed cannot happen in India. I mean the destruction of tens of crops and other agricultural products. You might have supplied other countries the sugar and the wheat or fed America's own unemployed.

"But," said the correspondent, laughing, "you could not have taken our pigs."

"I know. But that is an awful thing," said Gandhi. "Moral world commercialisation means, he thinks that it is a 'business' it would be free from the evils of capitalism. My own view is that the evils are inherent in industrialisation and no amount of socialisation is a substitute there."

We have seen what Germany has done to Belgium and to the other countries. You would still say 'non-violence.' And yet you ask the Congress to fight because it is in danger of subduing. England also is in such danger and therefore fight."

"Don't you see the obvious difference? England would have to out-Hitler Hitler in debasing her. We do not want to use any of the weapons used by those who would crush us. I would say to an aggressor 'You may destroy our churches, our houses and our homes, everything but my soul. I won't cater to your country to destroy your churches, houses and homes. I will not defend my country with your weapons. I will simply refuse to co-operate with you, refuse to owe any allegiance to you, in a word I will say 'no' to you. He may take possession of India, but if I have my will he will not impose a single Indian in his service."

"Then you mean yet another distinction. If we were fighting Government with Government's weapons, it would be the best chance for us to surprise the enemy and making their difficulty our opportunity. But we have been for over a year loving the enemy more on non-exploitation. It might not so be turned against us. But we shall not use Britain's weapons, and that is how we shall help Britain against her will. I can understand the Viceroy's reluctance to surrender the rule of Government to us while he has to fight Germany, but I cannot understand the Government's desire to suppress the non-violent spirit of the nation."

"But you agree with Mr. Chelmsford on earth, and they cannot understand that language" said the correspondent.

"I must pause at the peak of my life. In my opinion non-violence is not an individual virtue, but a course of personal and political conduct both for the individual and the community."

Telegram: 23-9-46

M. D.

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## MORE ABOUT THE RESOLUTION

### For the Masses

In my famous notes last week on the A. I. C. C. resolution there were certain points that I omitted and would like to take up this week. What had passed Gandhiji's nose about the Delhi resolution and the Poona resolution was not only that we would contradict ourselves for period non-violence in the prize of independence, when we had had all along been declaring that we would be independent by non-violence—worse than that consideration was the fact that the resolution, if acted upon, would have been a sad betrayal of the masses whom for twenty years we had made non-violence-minded and whom we would now make war-minded. It is for the sake of them, he explained to his Hindu speech, that he welcomed the Bombay resolution. "No," said he, "the Congress strength is derived not from the members as the Congress represents him from the millions who have never entered the Congress but who feel that the Congress represents them. It is in that character that makes the Congress speak for the Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians, Jews and all. Throughout its history of over fifty years it has had not only Hindu presidents but Muslim and Parsi presidents, who made no distinction between different communities, and who proved that those who rendered the Indian service in the mass and who desired its freedom could take charge of it. The Congress had been described by some of its critics as a fascist organization. But if they admit that the Congress has no other weapon but non-violence they disprove their charge. For Fascism, Nazism and Imperialism depend for their existence on violence. The Congress could not hold together without non-violence. Non-violence and satyagraha, its active principle, guarantee the coverage needed which could be applied by all the minorities in the country, and which was far even the smallest minority a man subjected against the tyranny of the majority however big a single be. Non-violence was thus bound up with the very existence of the Congress, and to give it up would be to betray it and the masses for whom it stood."

A visitor recently asked Gandhiji if he re-considered that the Congress had become again non-violence at heart. "So far as I can say from change in the People," said the visitor, "I think that though there is a good deal of self-interest, there is little non-violence."

Gandhiji replied, "I agree. The resolution is the result of several days' full-fledged debate among the members of the Working Committee. I may confess that many of the members have no understanding both of non-violence but they are trying to imitate it. But you must know that the Congress is not merely the Working Committee, nor the A. I. C. C., nor the members on the Congress system but the whole millions. They are all participating, and we have to represent them truly. These millions, before the Congress identified itself with them in 1930, had taken no part in any violent or non-violent or even a re-

called constitutional fight but they rose like one man on the 6th of April 1930. They took up peaceful resistance as their motto, and without any organization, without any country-wide movement I had not then traveled in the country—they unconsciously took up the call, and the Congress organization became a peaceful rebel organization. The Bombay resolution had these masses in mind."

### No Threat

It is surprising that a paper should have accused Gandhiji of an intention to go to the Viceroy with the threat of civil disobedience. The very same paper published extracts verbatim from Gandhiji's speech from which the following are enough to prove that there was no such intention.

"That is one thing which is not mentioned in the resolution. In every one the authority that the Working Committee has done, there is a reservation. I do not want to put civil disobedience or anything in the face of the Government without making my meaning clear, the meaning I attach to the word total of Government action—action beginning with the declaration of the Viceroy, then the statement of the Secretary of State for India, and then the issue of action and the policy that the Government have passed upon."

The very mind of all these things has left an indelible impression on my mind that there is something wrong, some injustice, being perpetrated against the whole nation, and that the voice of freedom is about to be killed. It is there in the resolution, not in the exact language which I am using now, but you will see the meaning clear as daylight. In order completely to clarify my position, I propose to approach the Viceroy with a request that he will be good enough to see me, and I have no doubt that he will. I will place my difficulties before him, I will place the Congress difficulties before him. I will approach him in your name. I will tell him that this is the position to which we have been reduced. We do not want to embarrass you and defeat you from your purpose as regard to our effort. We go our way, and you go yours, understood, the masses around being non-violent. Let this be ourselves, there will be no war effort on the part of our people. If, on the other hand, without your name and our moral pressure you feel that also, indeed, then we cannot help it. If you get assistance from the French, from the Russians, from anybody high or low, you can have it, but let our voice also be heard. If you do so, it will be immensely hazardous, it will certainly be a failure in your eye. It will be hazardous of you, although you are engaged in a life and death struggle, that you have gone on this short. It will be hazardous of you that you take this great step although you have freedom power to make our voice, and give us the fullest possible freedom, consistently with the absolute state of non-violence, to tell the people of India and to join the war."

### The Demand

While some have regarded the Congress demand as too difficult to be accepted, some have regarded it as too trifling. A note that Gandhiji had with an address paragraph may be remembered for the benefit of both. "If," asked the paragraph, "the Congress demand is complete, it means that we



do not need Swamy, and that we shall be dynamic with the liberty of speech and the press.

"Our objective is Complete Independence as you know, but do you know the means to attain it?"

"Carrying out the constructive programme."

"That is one of the principal branches of the tree. But what is the root?"

"Truth and non-violence."

"Well then we want the right to preach truth and non-violence."

"But will newspaper articles and speeches be enough for the propagation of truth and non-violence?"

"No, we have to do much more, but the right to preach truth and non-violence is threatened. The law seems to say that we may not tell people that they have every right not to co-operate in the war effort, and that it is their duty as a non-violent people not to co-operate then."

"But you have yourself said that we can get Swamy if we fulfil the constructive programme. Why then this trivial case?"

"It is not a trivial case, it is a concrete and all-important one. If we surrender as a race will come when we may have to surrender all, when we may have to forget even the name of truth and non-violence. To preach these is our heritage and to forgo it is to forgo our existence."

"But what I am troubled about is the emphasis on mere speech and writing."

"It is the liberty we claim. How and when to use it and whether to use it or not is our concern. If we cannot stand a strong fence, we shut the windows and even doors. But how should we feel if someone were to shut us up?"

"I see. But may it not be dangerous? If you ask a little child not to run with a stick, it will use it. It is the children that are getting. Do you want to remove the children?"

"The analogy is wrong, for the little child has no right to run with, whereas no one has a right to prevent us from carrying this one. But let me take another example for you, as you are a child. Prohibit was ordered by his father not to take the name of Rama (God). He might have argued with himself, 'I have nothing to say repeating the name of Rama, for Rama is in my heart.' But if he had consented to the argument, he would have deceived himself. He did not do so, and he defied his father to do his worst, he was not going to give up repeating *Ramayan*. And because he heeded the more doubtful heresays and dared even death for that sacred right, we have today a living hero in *Ramayan*. If he had yielded, that faith would have vanished from the earth. Even so, if we give up our right to preach truth and non-violence we give it up for ever."

"But abstract truth and non-violence do not prevent us from preaching."

"No principle exists in the abstract. Without an concrete application it has no meaning. And when I want to preach non-violence I want to preach it as an effective safeguard for war, and thereby to be able to warn Britain and other wrong countries from violence and barbarism."

## Why for All?

"But," someone asked, "why do you claim this right for all?" In your speech you said that you would speak as a conscientious objector, but does others might use my reasoning they liked — e.g. the financial or the superstitious argument."

"I have no business to claim the right only for myself and for those who are conscientious objectors. For some other grounds may be as important as, if not more than, conscientious grounds, and if I may not be smothered, how can I suffer those others to be smothered? If, moreover, the liberty was restricted to conscientious objectors, we should compel a number of our people to be hypocrites for they would take shelter under the conscientious sentence. All that is necessary is the acceptance by all of the conduct of non-violence. That cannot be argued."

## A 'Columbus'

Twice during the past few days Gandhiji likened himself to Columbus — first after the last Warlike meeting of the Working Committee and then in his speech at the close of the A. I. C. C. proceedings. On the second occasion he went some ways toward to trying the comparison. "I do not ask you to appoint me your captain as I favour. I would advise you to do a number of other things but I do not request you to make me your captain. If you with eyes open and your minds clear feel that you should make me your captain, you may do so, not otherwise. For unless I have your mind and heart with me we cannot reach the promised land. I am in the same predicament as Columbus when he started on his voyage to discover India. Perhaps I am in a worse plight in that I have no ship and no compass which Columbus had. I therefore ask for your implicit obedience and discipline as the ship's officers and crew. We have to be an army in action tomorrow, and unless you give unflinching discipline, we shall be useless. A ship's captain never brooks disobedience, and may even relieve the ship of the disobedient crew."

It would be interesting for a moment to see the powers of authority and discipline in the comparison. Columbus before he started on his voyage made himself adored and assumed full powers as Gandhiji has done. His journey was perilous and though he had a ship and compass the journey was over uncharted seas. But the comparison ends there. The bulk of his 38 crews were criminals and vagabonds who had been given the chance between imprisonment and the perilous voyage. They were so undisciplined and wrong-headed that they did desert to enemy and even in such Columbus overboard some dark nights. To control these men Columbus had to have recourse to discipline, threat, punishment. The very nature of our struggle makes these conductors impossible, and Gandhiji has promised in advance to make room for a better system as soon he fails or even without, if people do not want him.

Sevagram 23-9-49

M D

# Harizan

Sept. 29

1940

## SOME CRITICISM ANSWERED

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The recent resolution of the A. I. C. C. and my speeches before the meeting have come in for much criticism, if they have earned some praise. Of the criticism there are two items which I want attempt to answer. But they are of paramount interest. The Times of India of the 17th inst. in its impressive column takes me to task for my statement that 'the peoples of Europe do not know what they are fighting for.' It was bound to be assumed that truth, though seemingly harsh, has to be uttered when wrongness becomes relevant, indeed imperative. I believe that the statement had become overdue. I state my why. I think that the warring nations do not know what they are fighting for. I had used the expression 'warring nations', not 'peoples of Europe.' This is not a distinction without a difference. I have distinguished between the nations and their leaders.

The leaders of course know what they are fighting for. I make no admission that they are right. But neither the English nor the Germans nor the Italians know what they are fighting for except that they trust their leaders and therefore follow them. I believe that this is not enough when the stake is so bloody and shattered as during the present war. It is perhaps common sense that Germans and Italians do not know who English children should be characterised as cold blooded and heartless English homes should be destroyed. But The Times claims probably is that the British people know what they are fighting for. When I asked the British soldiers in South Africa during the Boer War they could not tell me what they were fighting for. There was 'merely' not to miss who? They did not even know whose they were being marched to. The British people would not be able to give me a more satisfying answer, if I happened to be in London and asked them who their soldiers were working havoc in Berlin. If the press continues not to be relied upon, British skill and valour have wrought more havoc in Berlin than have the Germans in London. What wrong have the German people done to the British people? Their leaders have. Hang them by all means but why destroy German homes and German civilian life? What difference does it make as to the dead, the orphaned and the homeless, whether the mad destruction is wrought under the name of nationalism or in the holy name of liberty or democracy? I even in all humility but with all the strength at my command that liberty and democracy become utopias when their hands are dyed red with innocent blood. I hear the living Christ saying "These so-called children of mine have not what they are doing. They take my Father's name in vain, for they despise the moral command

of my Father." If my name do not deceive, I have tried to stand company if I have erred at all.

And why have I uttered the truth? Because I am confident that God has made me the instrument of showing the better way. If Britain seeks justice, the most appear before the imperial court of God with clean hands. She will not defile liberty and democracy by following gentleman methods as far as war is concerned. She will not be able to remove her scape about non-killing Hitler in war. The last war is a revealing lesson. Her victory, if attained, will be a stain and a defilement. I know mine is a voice in the wilderness. But it will some day ring true. If liberty and democracy are to be truly saved, they will only be by non-violent resistance as less known, no less glorious than violent resistance. And it will be infinitely heavier and more glorious because it will give life without taking any.

Now I come to The Statesman's article of 19th September. I am sorry to say it is commonplace and written in error. It is full of palpable mistakes (to use a mild word), no doubt unconscious. But I am not concerned with the misrepresentation of language. In the fierce heat of battle unknown before, the wonder is that the commonplace are not sometimes a not much greater than a lie.

Here is the cream of the heavy indictment—

"We have often expressed our view about the fundamental necessity and constitutive character of the doctrine. Non-cooperation is a method of war and not of peace... It comes with it a pretentious claim to special value which involves unorthodox, unorthodox and even hypocritical making intended harm... A nation which accepted the doctrine would come down to slavery."

This is all contrary to the history of our own times in India. I claim that there is nothing immoral in non-violent non-cooperation. Violent resistance is itself non-cooperation and it is immoral because of its violence. It becomes moral when it is non-violent. Non-cooperation with evil is a sacred duty. It is essentially upright because of its non-violent character. The objectives used by the writer would be deserved if it was non-violent in name only. For the present argument I must take the genuine article. Now for the facts. Non-violent non-cooperation, however imperfect a war, has redeemed India at least somewhat from the slavery under which she was groined. It has saved India from the clasp of despotism, and has brought her prestige which nothing else could have I make bold to say that, if the non-violence offered had been not adulterated, its effect would have been still more visible. My greatest claim, however is that it is that despised non-violent resistance which has redeemed India from slavery and led her to a not yet entirely saved. If it is to be saved, it will only be by the non-violent method. I invite The Statesman writer to test the truth of my statement. He will have many reliable people as his support. A dispassionate study will enable him to move back Britain and India.

On the way to Delhi, 28-9-40

## GANDHI'S SPEECH AT THE A I C C

[Here is the full text of Gandhi's English speech at the A I C C meeting in Bombay on 15th September. It is revised by Gandhi and is thus an authorized version. M D.]

I know that you have listened to me with the greatest patience. I am specially grateful to you today, for the simple reason that I have said many things which may have displeased you. But it was never my intention to displease you, whom I want to harness for the great work that lies before you and before me. I have to speak to you at length because I have to shoulder this burden. I have not come with a prepared speech at all. The thought will come as I proceed.

Let me begin with a thought which has been weighing with me for a considerable time. When the war broke out, and I went to London, to see the Viceroy I raised a statement the next day, not in a representative but in my individual capacity. A friend has now reminded me how good it would have been if I had simply hung on to that statement although I could not take the Congress with me, and on the eve of my shouldering this responsibility, be prayed that I should be guided by God to take up that original position and return. I have very great regard for him. I have not forgotten that statement, nor have I any regret or apology to offer. If such a thing occurs—and history often repeats itself—and I happen to go to another Viceroy, I should make the same statement.

Although I spoke only for myself, deep down in me there was the Congressman speaking. The Viceroy also did not mind for me because I was M. K. Gandhi. M. K. Gandhi has absolutely no place in his books. The man who wields the sceptre can have no room for individuals. He sees for me because he thought I would represent the Congress view, and I would be able to carry messages to Congressmen.

I withdrew from that position, not as an individual but as a Congressman, and because I failed to carry conviction even to a single Congressman. Hardly two have got on the Working Committee men with nothing, however, who had the courage to tell me that, although it was my statement, they did not feel like accepting it. They added that they had had better experience behind them, and that therefore they would not be able to take that position. Then you had the resolution that was passed by the Congress immediately after the war. And I agreed with the conference as a representative, although I said so then that if I could carry conviction, my original position was the best possible one to take up. If I had pressed the members of the Working Committee to accept my position, they would have done so, but it would have been only mechanical. The statement was not made to disserve the Viceroy on the one hand or, as a matter of fact, to escape criticism from the latter. It was not a

mechanical matter. It was the result of the consideration of the great issues of the world, the movement of the Congress. If great words of mine could not find an echo in their hearts, they would have been of no use whatever to the Viceroy, or to the great English nation as in India. That still remains my sentiment. If I could not convince the Congress of my attitude, it would not carry me further. It would have been a wrong step to take, and hence it was not taken. With that background, I approach this resolution.

I have made repeated statements that I would not be guilty of embarrassing the British people or the British Government when their very existence hung in the balance, that I would not be true to my conscience, would not be true to non-violence, would not be true to the truth which I hold dear if I did so, and therefore could not do so. That very man now stands before you to shoulder the burden of responsibility. Why? There comes a time when a man or his movement makes voice for virtue and virtue itself, when taken away from its context and from the pursuit for which it was dedicated, becomes voice I felt that, if I did not go to the assistance of the Congress and take the whole event of it to be in that and nothing, I would be untrue to myself.

I feel that in taking this step that we are doing we are rendering a great service not only to the Congress but to the whole of India. And we are rendering a service not only to the whole of India. History will record—and Englishmen will be able to grasp the statement some day—that we rendered help to the English nation, and they will find that we were true to our side and had the same honesty and steadfastness of which the Englishman is proud and for which he is renowned. I, who claim to be a firm friend of the British people, will be guilty of unduly neglecting it unless a like sense of modesty, or because people may think otherwise about me, or because Englishmen themselves will be angry with me, I do not wear a warning that the virtue of self-restraint now becomes vain, because it will kill the Congress organisation, and it will kill the very spirit which is creating this nation.

When I say this, I am speaking not only for the Congress, but for all who stand for national freedom—Muslims, Parsis, Christians and even those who are against the Congress, so long as they represent the aspirations of India, namely, unadorned independence. I should be untrue to all of them, if at this time I said, 'no embarrassment to the British'. I may not repeat precisely 'no embarrassment'. Then that statement would be just as useful for my salvation or for the salvation of my virtue in the operation by a power of God's name which cannot bring him salvation, because it is only a mechanical and void effort without any substance behind it. Therefore if I ensure that reputation at this crucial moment in the history of the nation, it would be useless. I should be perfectly untrue to myself if I had words of freedom and said, 'No, I have told you, "no embarrassment".'

The language of this resolution is in the same name. It appealed to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I used to be the Congress spokesman. Now he has taken my place. He saw it was inevitable, if we were to be true to our avowed commitment to the extent to which we wanted to go. The Working Committee has accepted this philosophy deliberately, well knowing its implications. The result is this: If we can get a declaration from the British Government that the Congress can carry on without propaganda, and possibly co-operation with the Government in their war effort, we will not have any doubt.

I do not want England to be defeated or humiliated. It hurts me to find St. Paul's Cathedral damaged. It hurts me as much as I would be hurt if I heard that the Kailash Vishvanath temple or the Juma Masjid was damaged. I would like to defend both the Kailash Vishvanath temple and the Juma Masjid and even St. Paul's with my life, but would not take a single life for their defence. That is my fundamental difference with the British people. My sympathy is there with them nevertheless. Let there be no mistake on the part of Englishmen, Congressmen or others whom my voice reaches, as to where my sympathy lies. It is my because I love the British nation and hate the Germans. I do not think that the Germans as a nation are any worse than the English or the Indians are any worse. We are all mixed with the same blood, we are all members of the vast human family. I decline to draw any distinctions. I cannot claim any superiority for Indians. We have the same virtues and the same vices. Humanity is one divided into warring compartments so that we cannot go from one to another. They may occupy one thousand rooms but they are all related to one another. I would not say, 'Indis should be all in all for the whole world perish.' That is not my message. Indis should be all in all, consistently with the well-being of other nations of the world. I can keep Indis united and its freedom also intact only if I have goodwill towards the whole of the human family and not merely for the human family which inhabits this little spot of the earth called Indis. It is big enough compared to other smaller nations, but what is Indis in the wide world or in the universe?

Let there be no mistake as to what I am about. I want my individuality to remain unimpaired. If I love it, I would be of no service to Indis, much less to the British people, still less to humanity. My individual liberty is the same as the nation's convertible with national liberty. I do not claim any greater liberty for myself. Hence my liberty is equal to the liberty of all of you and no greater. I feel that, if my liberty is at stake, yours is also at stake. I claim the liberty of going through the streets of Bombay and say that I shall have nothing to do with this war, because I do not believe in this war and in the friendship that is going on in Europe. I admire the bravery. But what is the use of this bravery? I deplore the selfishness and the cruel ignorance. These people do not know what they are fighting for. That is how I look

at the war that is going on across the seas. I cannot possibly take part in it. Nor do I want the Congress to do so.

The part that I would like to take is the part of peace-maker. If the British people in these weeks had recognised the independence act of the Congress but of all Indis and if other peoples in Indis had also co-operated with us, we would have taken the honourable place of peace-makers between these nations. Such is my ambition. But today I know that it is a day-dream. But sometimes a man lives on his day-dreams. I live on mine, and picture the world as full of good human beings—not goodly goodly human beings. Is the Swastika's language there will be a new structure of society a new order of things. I am also hoping after a new order of things that will smooth the world. If you try to dream these day-dreams, you will also feel realised as I do.

And now I come to my 'in-part' Congress—con-pon is the examination of others, not my own. If we do not take care, the Congress will disappear and if the Congress disappears, the national spirit disappears. One after another Congressmen are being selected and jailed. It is an atmosphere in which people being taken away. It is much better for all of us to rush into the jaws of the oppressor. After all, as the Marathi Sahib once said, Indis is a vast prison. Let us get out of this imprisonment by breaking the prison bars. He said in the Kithi at the time of the Marathi Sahib's captivity: "You may prevent one starfish; but what about the vast goodness that is Indis? We have to deliver it from bondage." Those words ring true even today in my ears. If the liberty of the nation or the movement for freedom is likely to be choked, then I say that the virtue of self-sacrifice is going to become a vice. That virtue of sacrifice cannot be turned to the extent of the construction of the national spirit whenever it may result, whether among Congressmen or non-Congressmen.

I do not want to feel civil disobedience or anything in the face of the Government without getting my meaning clear. The wrong I speak to the sum total of Government action—without beginning with the declaration of the Viceroy, the signature of the Secretary of State for Indis and the series of actions and the policy that the Government have pursued since. The sum total of all these has left an indelible impression on my mind that there is something wrong, some injustice, being perpetrated against the whole nation, and that the cause of freedom is about to be smothered. That is implied in the resolution not in the exact language which I am using now, but you will see the meaning clear at daylight.

In order completely to clarify our position, I propose to approach the Viceroy with a request that he will be good enough to see me, and I have no doubt that he will. I will place my difficulties before him, I will place the Congress difficulties before him. I will approach him in your name. I will tell him that this is the position to which we have been reduced. We do not want

to embroil you and deflect you from your purpose in regard to war effort. We go our way, and you go yours, understood, the common ground being non-violence. If we carry the people with us, there will be no war effort on the part of our people. If, on the other hand, without your using any but moral pressure, you find that the people help the war effort, we can have no cause for grumbling. If you get assistance from the Princes, from the aristocracy, from anybody high or low, you can have it, but let our voice also be heard. If you accept my proposal, it will be immensely honourable, it will certainly be a feather in your cap. It will be honourable of you, although you are engaged in a life and death struggle, that you have given us this liberty, it will be honourable of you that you take this first step, although you have limitless powers to silence our voice, and that you give us the fullest possible freedom, consistently with the observance of non-violence, to aid the people of India not to join the war effort.

Let the people use any reasoning they like for refusal to help the war effort. My reasoning is the only one which will go well on Congressmen's lips. But I do not expect all to restrict themselves to this reasoning. Those who have conscientious objections, as I have, will adopt my reasoning. Those who are used of British imperialism will use that argument. There may be others who will have other arguments. All these should be covered under the freedom of speech, provided, however, that they all accept non-violence, provided also that what they say is said openly and not secretly. These are the implications of my proposal. If these do not satisfy you, you must reject this resolution summarily. So long as you can preach non-interference with war effort in men and women, there should be no civil disobedience. But if you have not that liberty, there is no Swamy but perpetual bondage. I would like the British people and the Viceroy to be able to tell the world that they have given the leaders of the Indian people liberty to preach to their people what they like. The British can then say to the world "Judge us by our conduct. Here in India we are playing the game."

I do not mind the British not responding to the Delhi resolution. They may say, "At the present moment you cannot interfere with the management of affairs as they stand. Deliverance will come to you in its own time. At the critical juncture do not worry us." I will understand that sentiment. I will sympathise with it. I will hold my hand as long as there is no final act of failure in what they say. It is impossible for them to give us freedom. If freedom has got to come, it must be obtained by our own internal strength, by our closing our ranks, by unity between all sections of the community. It cannot descend from heaven, nor can it be given as a gift from one nation to another. I do not know whether I am representing the feelings of the members of the Working Committee, because I have not discussed these things with them. But you have to take me with all my limitations, with the workings of my mind.

The Viceroy may say, 'You are a visionary.' I may fail in my mission, but we will not quarrel. If he says he is helpless, I will not feel helpless. I will make good my promise. I cannot sit and when I see Ram Manohar Lohia and Jhpirahab's Narain in jail, when I do not know braver or stronger men. They have not preached violence, but simply carried out the behests of the Rangoon resolution. It was a point of honour with them.

I have restrained myself, and will restrain myself. I will not seek imprisonment. I do not want to offer civil disobedience. I will not place myself in peril. In this battle I will not expose myself to imprisonment. But if the Government chooses it will not be difficult to take me away. I will not be able to seal my lips or restrain my pen. It will be difficult for them to keep me in prison, not because India will rise in rebellion, India will be wrong if it does so. My own reason is that they will not be able to keep me in jail.

I will place my arguments before the Viceroy. I may fail in my mission. But I have never approached a mission in despair. I may have approached it with the consciousness that I may be faced with a blind wall. But I have often penetrated blind walls. I shall approach the Viceroy in the confidence and hope that he will understand the great reasonableness of the request of the Congress for full liberty to preach 'no war' in India. Everyone should have perfect liberty to preach by pen and tongue, "We cannot aid imperialism, we cannot help capitalism."

I shall strain every nerve to avoid martyrdom in your name. What shape it will take, when it comes, I do not know. But I know that there will be no mass civil disobedience, because mass civil disobedience is not required for this occasion. I have impenetrable darkness before me regarding the future course of action. I have no mysticism. I do not know how I shall lead you, what action I shall put before you. I hope that any action that we may take will be worthy of the Congress tradition and of the occasion.

I have often said that I do not know the Congress mind as I have based myself in Sevagram. It is because of the Congress difficulty that I have dragged myself to Bombay, and immediately I am released from the duty you will find me in Sevagram. But I have got strength and resourcefulness enough to lead this battle, although I am based in Sevagram. I shall do better and clearer thinking in Sevagram than anywhere else, simply because I have built up there an atmosphere for my growth. With the march of time my body must decay but, I hope, not my wisdom. I mean to use things more clearly with the advance of age. It may be self-deception, but there is no hypocrisy. Self-deception is good sometimes in that it helps one to remain cheerful and not to give way to despair. It will be, therefore, wrong of you to drag me from Sevagram, and I promise that I shall give a good account of my stewardship.

There are many parties in the Congress. We are not all of the same opinion. There is radi-

office in the Congress. I know it is inevitable if I join organisations which is growing from dis-order. If it is all discipline and no discipline, the movement is on the downward path. Let it be in the mind of you that you come to the Congress although you do not believe in non-violence. How can you possibly join the Congress pledge with violence in your hands? I was complete obedient to the policy of non-violence. While the collection it is the same as though it was a creed. It is like as it holds good it is as good as a creed. My creed holds me for life, yours as long as you hold it. Range from the Congress and you are free from it. Let us be clear regarding the methods we use and the thoughts we nurture. For what is language but the expression of thought? Let your thought be accurate and truthful and you will know the scheme of Swamy even if the whole world is against you. You will have won Swamy without having to spend one million pounds a day or without burning a single house. If we are true to your policy I am sure that without doing any of these things you will build up the majestic edifice of freedom.

Now for the violence query. Do not mix up the methods if you can help it. You have constrained yourselves for some years. Reconsider yourselves for some more years. That is not a small burden. If you restrain yourselves you will lose nothing.

Freedom of speech and press is the foundation of Swamy. If the foundation-stone is in danger, you have to sweep the whole of your might in order to defend the single stone. May God help you.

## SILKS AND THE SWORD

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

The reader will find in another column aspects of correspondence between Master Tarungh and myself. My letter was addressed to him as a friend. I had no wish to see it published as it correctly comprehended him, as did also his letter to the Maratha Sahib. Master Tarungh has turned to me for advice on several occasions, on subjects with the Sikhs being of the friendly nature. I better myself with the belief that on occasions I have saved the community against itself.

But Master Tarungh asked me for permission to publish the correspondence which I readily gave. I would still have refrained from entering into a public discussion of it but for the fact that my advice is being grossly distorted and that I have received a pressing letter from autocratic Sikhs who do not share Master Tarungh's views and who exempt the Congress non-violence and no discipline. In their letter they say:

"Your letter to Master Tarungh is a credit to your pen in the Punjab Press and especially in the 'Vishvakosha'. They say that you wrote to Master Tarungh that the whole Sikh Panth is a believer in violence, hence useless and incapable to remain in the Congress. We think that your letter was a personal one and referred to Master Tarungh or his party only. But the Sikh party has raised a storm of agitation on the account."

My letter is absolutely clear. It applies only to Master Tarungh and those whom he represents. It can apply to the whole of the Sikh community only if they accept Master Tarungh as their undisputed leader. I know where I answered the letter that at best he represented only a portion of the great community. I know also that there were many autocratic Sikhs who are as much opposed to it. No letter to Master Tarungh lays down general propositions of universal application, though worded in connection with a concrete case which was put before me for advice. Short of its conclusions it simply states that (1) The Congress is pledged to a non-violent policy. (2) Therefore no one who does not believe in that policy can belong to the Congress. (3) The Congress is a purely non-violent, non-communal organisation. (4) Therefore no one with a communal bias should belong to it. (5) The Congress being a non-violent organisation and being a determined opponent of imperialism anyone belonging to it will have little bearing from Imperialist forces so long as the Congress stands as policy and is as 'not-with' Imperialism.

Those, therefore who misrepresent me letter in the way they are expected to have done, cannot have not had before themselves of the services and advice of one who has been their faithful servant for practically twenty years.

Master Tarungh has sent me a copy letter in reply to mine. As it contains no new argument I refrain from publishing it in these columns. But it is necessary to correct one error. In my attempt to solve the Hindu-Muslim tangle I have been represented as having abandoned the Congress position as stated in its famous Lahore resolution on the communal question. That statement is a sacred trust, and so far as I am concerned when and if the time comes for a solution of the communal problems full effect will be given to the Lahore resolution. No non-violent solution is possible without the acceptance of all parties concerned. I therefore wish Sikh friends not to come to hasty conclusions but to judge everything dispassionately. Under a short medium and it bears those that are consistently or continuously betrayed into it.

(On the way to Santa, 25 9-40)

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## CORRESPONDENCE

AGARTTAH, 26 August, 1942

Dear Mahatma Sahib,

I feel that it is impossible to gauge reality of war. Independence is synonymous with power. Only nations that are fully organized and have a disciplined army are able to preserve their independence. We who are looking to secure independence cannot afford to neglect the opportunity which the war offers of training the army and learning both the meaning of sacrifice, unity, command and obedience and art of defence and defence.

The first of nations is in the balance. I trust you will agree with me, as we claim to be spokesmen of our own future, that we must do all we can to help the maintenance of our own power and our resources with one object only that, whatever the result of war, we may be able to retain and maintain independence.

I am therefore, of opinion that we should not only do nothing to prevent recruitment but demand that India should be in a position to produce the modern armament as factors under Indian control only. To leave the responsibility of defence to Britain is to accept continuance of dependence.

It is Britain's interest, at the moment, to prepare India for her own defence. England is no more in a position to spare any force for Indian Defence. It is a rare opportunity for us to raise India from a position of helplessness to a position to be able to help herself. It is the interest in England to defeat her enemies by raising India to a position which England could never have contemplated before. It is in the interest of India to make the most of the opportunity which circumstances have created.

It is my considered opinion that, even if the Congress is compelled to have recourse to Civil Disobedience to exert moral pressure on the Government, it should do nothing to prevent recruitment to the army but render its assistance in agencies which do not infringe on the morale of our troops or diminish our powers of defence.

In our present preoccupation of winning power from Britain, we must not close our eyes to dangers internal and external to which our country would be exposed if England fails in the war. We must prepare ourselves for all contingencies. No other preparations can take the place of an Indian army offered by Indians ready to meet all contingencies.

I am writing to you to make the position of my community and my own clear. I am definitely of opinion that Swis should join the Army in as large a number as possible in the interest of their Motherland and their own. They can only then maintain their position as free Government. I cannot be a party to anything which is likely to weaken the position of my community. To be strong is the motto of independence.

In my anxiety to help the Congress and removing the last obstacle in the path of recruitment to the army I made a conditional offer to provide

a hundred thousand recruits in case a Congress-Government agreement was reached. The chance of an agreement appear to be far from encouraging while the world situation is worsening. I therefore see no alternative but to support full and free recruitment of the Swis to the army. I am, therefore, inclined to give public exposure to these views, unless otherwise advised by you and other friends.

Need I say that in all other matters you can rely on my full co-operation and support including Civil Disobedience?

I may add here that I have information that discipline is spreading in the Sikh army. There have been desertions and disobedience. Innocent people are suffering under wrong notions. Some of the deserters from the army have reached villages in the Punjab where they are committing murders and diseases and spreading a terror to the countryside. This has alarmed us, and immediate action has to be taken. If we start civil disobedience without properly arming the army not to participate in such disobedience, the civil disobedience is apt to turn into ordinary disobedience which means bloodshed and misery. Under these circumstances civil disobedience will fail, and impending anarchy will be suppressed by the British with a strong hand, thus reversing the course of the progress of India.

I seek your advice and that of Mahatma Gandhi, at this critical juncture in which I am sending a copy of the letter. I know Mahatma's views on non-violence but I still hope he can give me valuable advice at this critical juncture.

Yours sincerely

(MAHAT) TARABHIN

To Mahatma Gandhi for information with the request that the Mahatma may kindly give advice immediately. TARABHIN

Dear Sahib,

I am glad you have sent me a copy of your letter to Mahatma Sahib. As I have told you in my opinion, you have nothing in common with the Congress nor the Congress with you. You believe in the rule of the sword, the Congress does not. You have all the time my community' in mind. The Congress has no community but the whole nation. Your civil disobedience is purely a branch of violence. I am open about in my mind that based on the Congress you weaken your community and weaken the Congress. With your community, you have to offer your services to the British Government unconditionally and look to it for the protection of the rights of your community. You do not support for one moment that the British will take your services on your conditions. They would commit suicide if they did. You have to be either fully surrender or fully committed and therefore dependent upon the British or other foreign power.

This is the considered opinion of one who has you and the Swis as he loves himself and in reality more. For I have ceased to love myself.

Yours sincerely

Bengal, 18-8-40

M. R. GANDHI

## RAJAJI'S POSTSCRIPT

My dear Gandhi

I had the advantage of reading the leading article of September 22nd as manuscript at Poona through the courtesy of Sir Chamberlain. I was wondering why you wrote the article, but I wished I could stop its publication as add my remarks to it. Reading the article in print now I think I had better explain my position.

I do not feel that you exposed me to any mischievous. I was not worried over the attacks made in Bombay on the Poona resolution. I am not the least bit sorry for the Poona resolution. It happened what we felt was the right thing to do under the circumstances. The British Government did not agree and in consequence the proposal has failed. That however, does not make any difference as to the validity of the reasons that led to it. Almost the entire body of influential public opinion in India welcomed the Poona resolution. You, of course, considered it wrong because it involved participation in war, but it was for the defence of India. There were some who feared that the resolution might be accepted by the British Government and involve us in co-operation with Britain which was distasteful to them. There are some people for whom the desiring co-operation is natural. They feel it a disgrace to make a proposal which is turned down. There are again some who doubt the manner of choice in which alone they see hope for the future of our country and they would oppose anything that would retard the progress of the formation of a force barring these groups the vast body of enlightened opinion in the country enthusiastically approved of the proposal made at Poona, namely that if Britain acknowledged the right of India to the status of an independent nation and set up a truly National Government composed of leaders of the various groups among the present elected legislatures in the Central Assembly, the deadlock should stand removed. You hold the view that the Congress should at that time work for the abolition of war. The fulfilment of our national goal is inextricably connected, according to you, with that mission. You are, therefore, of opinion that it is a gravest error to participate in the present war effort under any conditions. I believe also that the world should reach peace and should wait as soon as possible. But the pathway to it lies, in my opinion, in education in the highest sense in constitutional co-operation and not in finding alternative weapons to defeat one another's ambitions and aims. Unlike you I do not feel glad that the British rejected our offer on the ground that it has acted as our partner.

I do not support the Bombay resolution because the Poona resolution was wrong. My support is based on the following grounds:

It is wrong for the British to declare that the Indian people were in a state of war against any other nation without asking them about it. War

does not mean only payment of some money and manufacturing munitions. It can easily lead up to all that is happening in London and should be dealt with on that footing. Four hundred millions of human beings cannot be thrown into such a confusion against their own will or without asking them. It is possible for us to imagine the justice of Britain's case against Germany without having to pass on it and extend the tragedy beyond the necessary limits. America refuses to enter the war though it may give judgment in favour of Britain. We have not entered the Sino-Japanese war in spite of the justice of China's cause.

The Poona proposal sought to make participation consistent with self-respect and dignity. But the proposal was rejected by the British Government. India is, therefore, entitled to refuse to participate in the war. But she is forced to contribute and participate on the basis that India is an imperial possession without any independent status or the right to choose between war and neutrality. The claim for Britain is that the help taken from India is voluntary. This claim can be justified, or at least the objection can be reduced to the minimum, if those who preach non-participation are not supported by government. It could then be claimed that such Indian co-operation that comes in spite of such appeals against participation is truly voluntary. This much should be conceded to exempt the efforts of driving the Indian people into the horrors of a modern war without their consent.

Madras, 23-9-40

C. Rajagopalachari

[Rajaji would not be Rajaji, if he took notice of ridicule. From his own standpoint his position is irretrievable. But it therefore does not cease to be a threat of the last twenty years' part of the Congress. If the Poona gesture had received the response it deserved, from being peace-minded the Congress would suddenly have become war-minded—a fact which even Rajaji would have failed to perceive. But all that is past. War is as relevant to my confession and Rajaji's postscript.

On the train to Lanka, 23-9-40 M. K. G.]

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# HARITAN

1193

Editor HARSHAD DESAI

VOL. VII No. 34

PUNA - SUNDAY OCTOBER 4, 1940

[ ONE ANNA

## HINDI HINDUS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Shantlal Gokhale writes a letter on the treatment of South India from which I quote the following:

"Most of us South Indian have not been able to follow the advice you thought fit to tender regarding my relations. We feel that the advice is so direct conflict with the teachings of Lord Krishna. We have also been advised by you to require something else if we are not able to get satisfaction. This advice again we are unable to follow for personal reasons.

You have several at the moment, and you have yourself mentioned some of them in your recent article on Madras which we all greatly appreciate. You also know that Madras is South though only 25 per cent of the population are Aryan per cent of the land. We are scattered all over the province, and our population is 1/4 of the villages is between two to ten per cent. We pay nearly the whole of the necessary revenue in the province we contribute 80 per cent of land revenue and nearly the whole of the customs revenue. If we follow your advice, we shall be not only treated but become lawless and lawless. There is also a danger in our insisting to other provinces, for it will create a public confusion of the failure of a community to protect itself mainly because an aggressive nation may thought fit to tyrannise over us and the protecting state of law and order were not made available for us. This would again be a confusion of the failure of democracy. On the other hand, what we feel is that if you had advised the people of South—particularly the Hindus—to save themselves in the use of arms, they would have been able to better protect themselves and would have been saved all the series of troubles that had been repeatedly imposed on the Hindus in recent months.

At the same time when I received this letter I saw in the papers that the Hindus were they deal openly while they were pursuing their normal business. As usual the murderers have not been traced. Is this a plan of terrorism to drive the Hindus out of South or is it something else? Something in South might be able to answer the question.

Shri Gokhale does not subscribe to non-violence. He thinks that we should, in company with the teachings of Lord Krishna. He thinks (he himself) very good reasons that the Hindus cannot act non-violently. For equally good reasons he thinks they cannot fight. But he would like me to advise them to defend themselves by arms. This is like asking a nation to

physicians to prescribe appropriate drugs. Can he be treated to prescribe the right drugs? And what will my advice be worth when my own hands are incapable of wielding arms? Shri Gokhale should go to a physician who knows the business and will, on due occasion, run to the rescue and always be ready to give the necessary treatment. I have said that for those who do not believe in non-violence armed defence is the only remedy. But if I am asked to advise how it can be done I can only say, "I do not know."

But Shri Gokhale is trifling with the cause when he leads up to me to guide South Indians in an impossible quest. If he sincerely believes in the solution he has proposed, he must himself take the necessary steps and lead the troubled Hindus of South along the path of armed defence. It is wrong for the leaders of South to look for outside help. They should come to grips. They should seriously think out a plan of action, violent or non-violent, and follow it up firmly and bravely.

I venture also to suggest to the responsible Ministers of South that their responsibility is to make if they cannot stop these senseless murders of innocent people, they will find them guilty. They will never persuade anybody that they are helpless to deal with the marauders. Such acts are impossible without the silent sympathy of the society in which the perpetrators of murder belong. South 28-4-40

## OCCASIONAL NOTES

### "The Most Important Event"

When Gandhiji issued on July 2 his "Appeal to Every Nation" no paper in the South India published it, except in brief. In about a fortnight, however, The Free Press got the full text and published it with Mr. Carl Hertz's appreciative commentary. But these South papers had much more room for the comments issued by the Working Committee on June 21 and called some of them "the Indian Congress as 'the most important moment of all' is that it had 'overruled an alleged leader, Mr. Gandhiji'." When they will now say about the Bombay resolution is a difficult to say. They may not regard it as a full reconsideration and may even describe it as "a series of missteps." Very much will depend upon our future conduct for we are now plunged in the policy and practice of non-violence not only in the struggle for South but also in so far as this may be possible of application in free India, and in groups a land in dominion in the world.

### The 'Revelations'

In the connection, a substance to those who have received their belief in pacifism is likely to be noted. Among the chief proponents of those ex-pacifists are Dr. C. E. M. Joad and (Lord) Bertrand Russell. They have admitted that "non-violence is no use now that Hitler is loose." Dr. Joad describes himself as a "pacifistic pacifist" and the attack of Nazism has shaken his belief.

"If the Nazis win, then I know that all the things I said to be important will not only be regarded, as they are regarded by me, but will certainly be destroyed. The Nazi regime has destroyed schools, books, universities, concert-halls, theatres and philosophies, and made war upon the most of men. Its gags and censorship its people's lips, telephones and open letters, it sets upon and overpowers its churches and report upon the most sacred conversations it plants its secret police and then creates its camps, restaurants, shops and even greater households to arrest its enemies and imprison those without trial, or that it is a pretty sure the obvious historic witnesses to any code of law."

The question is: how are these things to be met? By counter-violence? Most of the things are even now being actually done by those who want to outstrip the Nazis every way, and as the war advances it will be nothing short of a race in clever and successful brutality. Here is a report of the air raid on Nagasaki (Nagasaki Sanakichi):

"The Japanese had collected in one park at least a thousand motor buses, and their almost complete destruction represents a serious blow to enemy mobility and transport. These vehicles of bombing were employed in the raid which lasted two hours. The attack was concentrated on the whole park and is described as having been very severe. The heaviest types of high explosive were used, and smoke from the burning machines rose into the sky. The police at the bottom there which one of them described as being like a furnace and the most amazing blow he had ever seen."

In a recent broadcast on Air Commodore A. Glad Wright explained the war, in which the British have been able to maintain their superiority, with the remark that "the proportion of enemy aircraft casualties proved to have been brought down, in relation to our own casualties, worse from day to day, sometimes from 10 to 1, down to about 3 to 1, but the average is about 3 to 1." And a writer in *The Times* (London) makes out a case for "compulsory universal pre-military training for all boys between 16 and 20, like that of the French Youth. The scheme would be developed on a county basis, but "compulsion to all would be the war game which gives a boy the experiences and adventure for which he longs and the future soldier the appreciation of ground, distance, and cover that he needs." This is where the subversive is inevitably drawn in. But the ex-pacifist says: "Our first business is to win the war no matter what happens and pacifism will say war was the war." There is the weakness of the intellectual pacifist. The intellectual pacifist depends upon his intellect for his pacifist philosophy, and comes a cropper when faced with facts

reality. The intellectual pacifist is no better than the writer who is no pacifist but who said the other day: "Pacifism and disarmament are good in peace-time and not in war."

### Revels of the Ties

It is this intellectual pacifist that has led to the defection of Lord Russell and Co., and we, who have looked upon non-violence as our anchor, had lost hold of it for a moment and have grasped it again, have to beware of this intellectual pacifist. If our pacifism is merely intellectual, it will not serve the purpose. It will stand at the first touch of reality. When there was no war those who have now recoiled were among the finest such pacifists. When the war with all its horrors has come to their very doors, they have ceased to be pacifists forgetting that pacifism has its value unless it is tested in the fierce furnace of war raging around it. As Mr. John Todd has put it:

"Joad and Russell have made it very difficult for a popular pacifist movement ever to be brought again. But that is as it should be. We must show even, I think, much of the kind [it is now revealed as such] in editorial propaganda. People must ask themselves, man by man, whether they know war is wrong absolutely. If they start always with intellectual reservations and objections, the thing is useless. Pacifism is valid as like the language of God. Secondly, when we pretend to suppress we must do so with compassion, being clearly that there which we agree. But first we must have pacifism in our whole lives. We must live on creating and creating again and again remoulding the particular shape of life as they come to us."

That is where "the living faith in God", in which Gandhi places so much emphasis, comes in. Seeing non-violence as the only salvation with the eye of faith cannot come otherwise.

### Resisting without Arms

Mr. Carl Haeck in his commentary on Gandhi's appeal has put his finger on the right spot when he says that is his appeal Gandhi is:

"regarding the basic substance to history, that of all as more escape from the violence of war. What he calls for is resistance to violent evil with all the force of man's free and not bodily courage. But violence apart, Gandhi is here applying the strong and wide demand modern pacifism too often lacks. It is no easy path that he offers. For the body it is a developed and composed discipline and for the soul it is an inner love of and faith in God." "It, in spite of, "there was in truth no other way of resisting tyranny and all the acts of evil and of cruelty, the use of courage would surely embrace the last end of war. That is the picture held of so many brave men, but the answer of the subjugated is that there is indeed another way, one that is not depending too much on strength. Expressing with a faith that was the divine source of man, evil, courage and evil act are to be resisted both personally and collectively. Come what may, there can be no submission to evil, ruthlessness, tyranny and cruelty. No allegiance to the things created must be refused whatever in the violence he may see. Does he

collect weapons and death ! Tomorrow may be the soldier without thinking ! But the responsibility to overcome by a love that is so unselfishness, and the Christ is possessed by a deep concern for the threatened life of God in the triumph of wrong and for the comfort of the evil will that calm him.

But it means a new life, a transvaluation of all values.

This challenge of Gandhi is a new work, deep into the soul of Europe, will in acceptance transform all social existence. The lesson of life, international and social will begin to change. Humanity will be on the march to a new world and a new future. In this, a dream? All such dreams are very old and very up in the air, and should be aware 'you' to the challenge of the great idea that one work down centuries.

But those who will dance the dream must share the faith that inspires the dream.

### No Room for Passengers

The ranks of the pacifists in London have thinned down following the elections. No movement would sweep The Peace News, and the total membership is less than one-third. But those with living faith are undimmed. Mr. J. Matthews Murray who has assumed the leadership of the little weekly, says

"There is no room for passengers in our movement. Thirty thousand people stand in the determination to keep the best human value alive: are worth more than a million who have merely put their names to a peace declaration. The signing of a pledge 'I renounce war' is no longer a sufficient bond for a pacifist movement. Indeed in a period of total war it has an air of cowardice and evasiveness. At such a time one would as well say 'renounce poverty'. This would at least give us a clue to our real purpose: for none we cannot live a better life without a society in love with us. It follows that our business is to create a society in which we can live—a society of peace in the midst of a society at war. Renouncing must be preceded by developing some real and central motive for the complete love of the brotherhood of man. When we have lost a cold bond between ourselves we shall be better able to withstand the increasingly menacing pressure of the emergency around us.

### Independent in Conscience

When Gandhi wrote his 'Appeal to every Britisher', he contacted the Viceroy as surveyor the conscience in the proper quarters. For it represented his personal and humble contribution to British cause. His Majesty's Government communicated their reply through the Viceroy that the policy advocated by Gandhi could not be considered, "since in consonance with the whole Empire they are firmly resolved to prosecute the war to a victorious conclusion." Gandhi did not for a moment doubt their resolve, but he feared that Britain, to win the War would have to adopt 'with genuine cheerfulness the same work of destruction as the Germans, which would be an unqualified compromise.' This consideration evidently did not weigh with them, for once war is accepted the consideration of dignity does not matter there. But while Gandhi addressed his appeal on the highest ethical ground, he was not oblivious of the fact that the highest ethics necessarily mean the highest expediency. The events are fast passing. A decisive military defeat of Germany, after the collapse of France, means now one of

the questions "Will we have a national victory depends upon British success in blockading the whole of Europe, including Britain's former allies and neutral countries — a glorify, even if a possible, prospect. Captain B. H. Liddell-Hart, one of the foremost authorities on military science, urges a termination of hostilities on other but no less important grounds.

"As to peace, we must always remember that a long war leads to a bad peace. Britain has only won two wars decisively in a thousand years—against Napoleon and Kaiser—and, curiously, in the last case the 'right to a finish' had better looks. You may well say a defeat, as none do, but I will stress that victory has less to offer than an indecisive war which ends with an agreed peace. The idea of complete and overwhelming victory in the present fully on earth, such victory only lead to barbarism, moral as well as economic. The longest solution that we must first 'was the war before considering the peace is most dangerous. The object of war is to obtain a better peace, even if only from your own point of view. Hence it is essential to conduct war with constant regard to the peace you desire. As I emphasized in *The Scepter of Solomons*, if you concentrate exclusively on victory, with no thought of the after-effect, you may be too exhausted to profit by the peace while it is almost certain that the peace will be a bad one, satisfying the groups of another war. This is a lesson supported by thousands of experience.

Satyagrah 34-4-46

M D

### Interesting Parallel

Shri A. Chowdhury, who has come to non-violence after much travail sends the following interesting letter.

"Looking through some press articles about Trotsky after his recent murder I came across the following remarkable fact. When the Bolsheviks captured power after the October Revolution in 1917 the Soviet Government negotiated for peace with Germany. The German Government offered very severe terms. Trotsky thought that the moral effect of the surrender was so great that the German Government would find it impossible to move their armies against Russia. So, rather than submit to these terms, he declared that the Soviet Government considered war to be just as real and so would distribute their armies, and actually proceeded to do so. The Germans continued to advance and later on they concluded a peace treaty.

Do you not think that to be an unnecessary and partial reduction by the revolutionary leaders of the possibility of meeting foreign aggression without an army? The case of the Indian is obvious. They had never consciously accepted non-violence or prepared for it. Trotsky's action amounted to non-resistance, not active non-violence appeal.

There are lessons in the history of the Russian Revolution of national states or workers during the military terms in face of rifle fire in the hope of winning them over and transfer them to them. I hold to be an unqualified and unambiguous adoption of the non-violent technique, by the masses in the streets. But Trotsky's example shows that a responsible revolutionary movement, having nothing to do with non-violence, could, in the light of revolutionary experience, think the 'only' course was advanced by him to be a possible one, and actually experience with it.

Why should not we, with Indian just tradition of non-violent action, not only experience with it, but hope for certain success? I for myself have begun to believe that of all forms of non-violent action, mass action to bring aggression to the nearest end, and the first one likely to be completely successful.

Sankar, 28-4-46

M. K. G.

# Harijan

Oct 6

1949

## DISGRACEFUL IF TRUE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent wrote me a letter later which I reproduce after removing some chosen adjectives which he has used:

"On the eve of your meeting the Viceroy on the issue of non-Violence, I hope this letter would be of some use to you.

All present hundreds of Australian soldiers are moving about in the city of Bombay. Like you, I have no prejudice against any man, whatever nationality or community he may be belonging to. But after observing the behaviour of these soldiers for a week, I am led to the conclusion or surmise that they do not belong to the 'human' race. I have solid reasons for saying so. The Hindus call them 'devils' and their own soldiers 'heavies', 'giant', 'baron' and other such but the names I have mentioned tell a different tale.

Serious accusations are going on in Bombay by these 'soldiers'. They give a slap to the face of even the policemen. I would not have some concrete examples, which would give you an idea of the extent to which this soldier menace is prevalent in the city of Bombay.

1. One soldier caught hold of a Ganesha god and complained for its damage with him on the Indian side on the open road. Seven other soldiers surrounded the poor god with merry. It was an unprovoked insult.

2. Another hit a high school girl on her cheek and left her as a blind girl.

3. Four soldiers were seen dragging away a 'Nagari' woman at the meeting near the Prince of Wales Museum.

4. About twenty soldiers came out of the Army and Navy Buses with brandy bottles in their hands, fully drunk. One of them removed his pants and became naked on the open road.

5. Harassing the poor and widows driven has become an custom now in Bombay. A bunch of six to eight soldiers packed up in a bus at various in an everyday night throughout the city. They compel the drivers to take them round the whole city and pay nothing. I cannot imagine the torture of the poor women carrying their children.

6. They enter my house, eat, drink, sleep, and leave without paying anything.

7. A traffic policeman was given a slap by a soldier, because he tried to prevent his car from proceeding further.

1, 4, 5, 6 were seen with my own eyes. The seventh may have occurred by hearsay.

I hope you will let the Viceroy know with what 'stuff' they are fighting the war! I do not mean to say that all the soldiers are like this, but what a gang up in Bombay goes on to think.

I have several letters in confirmation of the general charge of unhuman behaviour of these 'soldiers'. One letter says that a philanthropic lady had invited these and Indian soldiers to tea. The Indians responded. Of over 250 Australians arrived about night responded. The poor lady, a

is said, was friends with good, and pleased to know why her Australian guests had not turned up. 'They have gone out, they are not ready' was the answer.

When I was in Bombay I had heard of the wild behaviour. I was inclined to discover the matter that came to me of these alleged misbehaviour. Some of them were at the station when I took the train for Mumbai. I mentioned to them the complaints that were brought to my notice. They promised to set things right. Evidently they had no influence over their companions. They did not see that they had not been in touch with one another before their misbehaviour.

So that so it may the message should be made plain with I did mention the matter to H. E. the Viceroy. He promised to investigate. He admitted that the thing was serious, if it was true. I suppose colour prejudice is as strong in Australia as in South Africa. The coloured man is dirt. There shall be no equality between the whites and the coloured races. Thus runs the South African constitution. The white man thinks that a nation containing thirty per cent of people and ruled by one hundred thousand white men can only be created as the Australian soldiers are expected to have regarded our path the wilderness, and even the Indian police. The war has made no difference in the behaviour of the white men.

Two questions emerge from the evidence, assuming them to have happened as reported. All the losses suffered by me cannot be inventions of hostile forces. What action have the responsible authorities taken of the allegations? The Viceroy is but one man. If every petty incident has to go up to him for redress, the system under which this has to happen is bad. There is grave responsibility among the administrators as far as justice to the people is concerned. It is plain seeing when the power of the bazaar is to be exhibited. Thus the Viceroy and the administrator cannot act as one man. The nearest inference from the phenomena is that the administrative service is the supreme authority and the Viceroy a mere figure-head. The most striking though painful illustration of the truth was furnished by the administrative authority condemning to death to poison the Gandhi-Brown pact. And it can be reasonably surmised by the administrative service, history would certainly have been written differently. But there was no living spirit behind the service. The question, therefore, is, in the present instance, what has the G. O. C. of the Australian contingent done with his men? Had he issued instructions to them as to their behaviour in the matter of a 'solid power-lawyer'? What did the Commissioner of Police do? What did the Collector do? And what did H. E. the Governor do?

The second question is equally important—what have the people done to protect girls from the barbarity to which they were exposed? What has the Mayor done to vindicate the honour of the women living within his jurisdiction? True, he has no executive authority. But he is not the mere chairman of the Corporation, the status

carried with a dignity and poise which should enable him to serve the audience concerned in the right direction. What has the Bombay Congress Committee done? What has the rest in the center done? If the facts are correctly represented, they constitute a serious blot on everyone concerned. If there was public opinion within at non-violence, no one white or brown would dare so touch a girl against her will.

The matter demands thorough investigation.  
Sends 29-9-40

### VICEROY-GANDHI CORRESPONDENCE

The correspondence that passed today between the Viceroy and Gandhiji on the Congress demand for freedom of speech has been related in the Press (Sends September 28).

#### Viceroy's Letter

Dear Mr. Gandhiji,

I think it will be convenient if I record very briefly in writing the origin of the talks we have had on the 27th and 28th September and their outcome.

As you will remember, you wrote to me on the 16th September to ask that I should grant you an interview and you explained in your letter that you were anxious to discuss the situation covered by the recent resolutions of the All India Congress Committee, not only in your capacity as guide of the Congress but as a personal friend. I was, I need not say, most ready to talk things over with you, and we have now had the advantage of two conversations.

In the course of these conversations the occasion has been exhaustively discussed, with particular reference to the contents of free speech as one of war. On this matter, while professing yourself most anxious to avoid in any way endorsement of His Majesty's Government in the prosecution of the war, you made it clear to me that you regarded it as essential that the Indian National Congress and other members of the public should be at a position to give full expression to their views on relation to the war effort, provided only that such expression was fully non-violent.

I indicated to you the nature of the special measures laid down by law in the United Kingdom for dealing with conscientious objectors— which I may broadly describe as an arrangement under which, while the conscientious objector is sheltered from the duty of fighting and is allowed even to profess his faith in public, he is not permitted to carry his opposition to the length of endeavouring to persuade others, whether soldiers or civilian workers, to abandon their allegiance or to desert from their effort.

You made it clear to me that you would not regard treatment of this nature as adequate in the conditions of India, and that you regarded it as essential that in India, where in your judgment strategies were wholly different from those existing in Great Britain, the Indian objector, either as an individual or as the representative of India in

the present war, should be permitted to give expression of his views.

I conveyed further from me [consequently that, while you would not yourself preach to workers engaged on war work at the actual front, as an individual alone to demand them from working on war equipment, you would regard it as essential that it should be open to Congressmen and non-Congressmen alike to deliver addresses and otherwise to call upon people throughout the country in relation to the situation of India's war effort in any way which would involve India's participation in bloodshed.

I listened with the utmost care and attention to your argument, and our examination of the situation has been full and close. I felt bound, however, in the outcome to make it clear to you that unless such as you suggest would certainly amount not only to the inhibition of India's war effort, but to the enhancement of Great Britain in the prosecution of the war which the Congress were that they are anxious to avoid, and that it would clearly not be possible in the interests of India herself, more particularly at this most critical juncture in the war, to acquiesce in the interference with the war effort which would be involved in freedom of speech so wide as that for which you had asked.

#### Gandhiji's Reply

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I have your letter of even date. It fairly sets forth the Congress position as I placed it before you. It is a matter of deep regret to me that the Government have not been able to appreciate the Congress position, except just to notify the bare requirements of the people, whether Congressmen or others, who felt a conscientious objection to helping a war in which they were never asked and which they regard, in fact as they are concerned, as one for avowed Imperialism, of which India is the greatest victim. Their objection is just as conscientious as mine as a war matter. I cannot allow genuine freedom for my conscience than for that of those I have named.

As I made it plain in the course of our talks, the Congress is at much opposed to military for Britain as any Brother can be. But their objection cannot be carried to the extent of their participation in the war. And now you and the Secretary of State for India have declared that the whole of India is voluntarily helping the war effort, it becomes necessary to make clear that the vast majority of the people of India are not involved in it. Their minds are disturbed between Nazism and the double standard that rules India. Had His Majesty's Government recognized the freedom enjoyed in the special condition of India, they would have justified the claim that they were receiving from India only such effort as they could voluntarily. The war party and the peace party would have been placed on an equal footing as far as each worked fully non-violently.

As to the last paragraph of your letter, I reply as usual you that it was never contemplated as

any, non-embarrassment to the point of self-satisfaction or, in other words, suppose all national activities which were designed to make India peace-minded and show that India's participation could not benefit anyone, not excluded Great Britain. Indeed I hold that, if India were left free to make her choice which freedom of speech implied, India would probably have gained the scales in favour of Britain and true liberty by the moral prestige which Britain would have then gained.

I want, therefore, repeat that the Congress does not want to retreat from embarrasment the British Government in their war effort. She is responsible for the Congress to make of the policy a dash by denying its need at this critical period in the history of mankind. If the Congress has no due, it should do so in the act of predicament to back it. It is unfortunate that we have not been able to arrive at an agreement on the single issue of freedom of speech. But I shall keep the hope that it will be possible for the Government to work out their policy in the spirit of the Congress position.

I should like to touch upon the other points I raised in our talks. One for fear of burdening the reply, I refrain. I shall hope to make a public statement as soon as I can.

In conclusion, let me thank you publicly for the great courtesy and patience with which you listened to my very long statement and argument. And though our ways seem to diverge for the moment, our personal friendship will as you have kindly said at the time of saying farewell, bear the signs of divergence.

As arranged I am handing our correspondence to the Press for publication.

### 'COME THOU IN A SHOWER OF COMPASSION'

The visit to Simla to make the three previous visits to these heights during the year since the outbreak of the war. These visits were at the Viceroy's invitation. The one is at Gandhi's request. On the previous occasions he came neither as M. K. Gandhi — 'a private individual can have no place in a country's leader' — nor as a plenipotentiary of the Congress. He came to represent as best he could the Congress position as he understood it. And indeed when he came at the end of June he had goods to reveal the Viceroy that though he was always willing to obey his commands His Excellency had to know that the Working Committee of the Working Committee had meant a complete political break between him and the Committee. This time he came as the accredited guide and spokesman of the Congress and also, as he made it clear in his letter of request as Lord Linlithgow's friend which the latter had always been good enough to permit him to call himself. In fact the Viceroy's prompt telegraphic reply to Gandhi's letter was nothing less than an act of friendship. For he well might have said 'no', and Gandhi would have understood it.

Again this time to make the previous visits at that Gandhi came with no hurry in his mind to get back and so when His Excellency asked for his programme he said he was at his disposal for so long as he liked, as his manner was his manner work. He had come as a beggar knocking at the Viceregal door and so he might not choose.

As the guide of the Congress he came armed with a very simple and unpretentious concrete case. He is Lord Linlithgow's friend, and as a friend of the British people, he had considerable things to talk about and he wanted to welcome himself.

For while he had written frankly and freely during the past few months, he had deliberately left more things unsaid than said. Often enough his faith had been at breaking point, he had missed the ring of sincerity in utterances from great places and he was more discouraged over happenings in the country.

He had subordinated himself to the Bombay meeting of the A. I. C. C., and yet I know that he had deliberately 'half revealed and half concealed' the agitated soul within. He said he would submit to the Viceroy his interpretation of the true total of the Government's attitude beginning with the Viceroy's proclamation, but he gave no talking of the interpretation. In just a few measured phrases he had given his opinion about Col. Amery's speech, but he had not laid bare his soul.

And he had said nothing in Haripur about the depressing news from all parts of the country that his correspondents had been giving him — about arrests, unaccountable murders of the Australian soldiers recently dumped into Bombay, and so on.

He had stood up that night. On the train to Delhi he went into silence in order to do his writing for Morgan, and finished these articles in the wretchedly jolting carriage. We had little talk on the way. In Delhi friends showed him a summary of Col. Amery's speech throwing out a ray of hope he is understanding. But who knows? It may be as deceptive as the Blackpool speech which preceded the outrageous proclamation that he made a day or two later. And the full text of the latter speech did indeed seem a revised edition — packed in a lower key perhaps — of that proclamation.

Who could say where we to be the outcome of the Simla visit? In the day that brought us up to Simla he finished part of the arrest of his sleep and we talked somewhat drowsily. I asked him once if he would not like to go off to sleep again. He said no. And the second up again looks out in an unexpected and truthfully sweet way. Almost abruptly he asked me "Mahadev, what is the meaning of *labhe jto*." I knew the words of that life-giving song of our Poet, and he knew that I had translated the Bengali into Gujarati parallel lines. I said, "The words mean a loss, a wrong." "Just repeat the two lines," he said. "I remember *Jeeva jaleba jto* and what does the Poet describe as

being lost." I gave him one thousand of the new lines. When the spring of '45 dawned up came chaos in a storm of compassion. When everything has hidden, come Thou to the Heavenly dew of song. And be known, as though sweetest and simplest had come to him. Then I opened the last stanza and gave my crude conclusion of it: "When stately passions rise within and bid me O Thou shepherd Father! come on an awakening flock of lambent." He is a noble friend I estimated Godday, and we have no idea how much we owe to him. I was in a temporary mood. I remained here, in spite of his frail health, the Post had come rushing from Sacramento to the Yosemite and where Godday lay waiting for the Marquis, and how within a few hours of the Post's suspicious entry on the scene the good news of the revision of the Poems's Decree came, but we sat down to pray before Godday broke his fast and how I requested the Post to sing that very song. It was a sacred memory Godday remembered the whole of the morning scene, but he did not remember the song. Since then he had heard the song from me more than once and the thought, and even some of the words had stayed with him as he recalled them when he was thinking of his difficult mission.

As on reaching Santa I have found Giuseppe for the reader have the Post's editorial version:

"When the heart is hard and packed up come upon me with a shower of mercy.

When anger is lost from life, come with a hand of song.

When loneliness work roots in life on all sides shading the last from heaven, come to this, my land of silence, with thy peace and rest.

When my hapless heart sits crumpled shut up in a corner, break open the door, my heart, and come with the certainty of a king.

When dawn breaks the road with delusion and dust, O thou holy one, thou faithful, come with thy love and thy chamber.

And with the memory of the song the fear that the knock may not be heard fled from my heart. For after all the knock was to be made at an human door. And as the Post has sung in another of his songs:

"If Thou opened me, I will tell my heart with thy silence and wisdom. I will keep still and wait like the night with starry void and its land born low with promise.

The morning will surely come, the darkness will vanish, and the voice pass down in golden avenues, breaking through the sky."

Santa, 28-9-40

H D

#### Postscript

Memoranda are the ways of God. After the above was typed and sent to the post, the following telegram was received from San And. Xavier Church:

"Caroline Guglielmi M. Being reserved Calcutta taught accompanied by Catholic sisters."

To which Godday immediately sent the following reply:

"You cannot be any of the missionaries and keep telling me that is because of the fact that I am."

Who knows what we have remembered the Post and the 1940 summer: owed to him, as we were coming up to Santa we were offering our prayers for his long life: though we did not know that he was in it.

H D

## Notes

### The Break

It is my firm conviction that Break's mission has failed to do the right thing when it was sent to do it. If India is wholly in favour of participation in the war, they could have easily disregarded any hostile propaganda. But the determination to find first expression of opinion, provided a man ran in the lane marked with violence, shames Break's claim that India's participation is voluntary. Had the Congress proposal been accepted, such aid as Britain would have given from India would have been an act of sustainable value. The non-violent party would have played an effective part for honourably peace when the proper time for it was as safe as it must be some day. I have been shown The Times comment on the break: I accept the compliment about my unreliability. But great as I believe it to be, I own that it has its limitations. There may be willingness on the other side. I regret to have to say I wholly missed it in the interview. The Victory was all courtesy, but he was unyielding, and looked in the correctness of his judgment, and as usual had no faith in that of newspaper India. The Breaker is showing extraordinary bravery on the battle-field in a marvellous manner. But he lacks bravery to take risks in the moral domain. I often wonder whether the latter has any place in Break's politics.

Severus 3-10-40

### To Satyashank

Satyashank will not be impatient with me and argue with me or with themselves and say: "When will you give the word? You have had your interview with the Victory. You have got what many of us had told you you would get." Your refusal me thus or thus mattered little. The attempt was worth making. I had told you that, even if I did not get what I wanted from the Victory, I would learn from Break added strength for myself. Who knows that we have added strength is not better than weak success. But my wisdom will be used by the manner in which I use the strength. Mahatma Satish has called the Working Committee for the Lich war. I hope I shall be ready then with my plan of action. But whatever it is, it will be good only if it comes with the moral will of all Congressmen, if not the whole nation. Then the visible action even of our men will be enough for the purpose intended. Meanwhile please remember there is to be no civil disobedience direct or indirect. Any breach of this will weaken the cause because it will create a poor general who is susceptible to the







# HARIJAN

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[ ONE ANNA

## TWO THOUGHT-PROVOKING LETTERS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend writes (raps)

"When you asked for the names of our aid and abettors in non-cooperation I wanted very much to send you as a list something which compelled me to believe. First because I felt there was lack of honesty in my personal conduct, and secondly because there was the element of love for the English in my heart. I express mine I send in the papers of the democratic struggle since I take and Britain, and I earnestly wish the British to be defeated in the war. I am compelled to confess this, for I could not deceive you."

The second letter is from South Africa. I take it to be verbatim from it.

I am puzzled as to what should be the attitude of India in the present situation. The 'white man' was to create nations as regard to 'coloured' people, and in spite of the war which provides countless examples of this, the 'white' man goes on to do it. Given 'white' on being spoken who amongst here does not say, 'white', as this is spite of the fact that the 'white' man has oppressed the British Company because to give independence to India. Such a man would not say that the African people to believe that there is no difference between the 'white' man, the 'black' and the 'brown' to be as we are coloured. If there were have rule in Brazil, Africa, we could not be more created than we are today. There is no doubt that the 'white' man was created but they pursue their own racial policy in spite of being white, whereas 'black' would be more freed. He is not sure any more why he is free. Is there not such as this? Perhaps we make a law, where we stand. Please tell us.

Thanks differently wanted the two letters bearing the same thought. It is difficult for those who suffer in British hands to shed either their doubt of us a discrimination to help them. But the present is a real testing time for those who stand alone and show light on our path.

First of all we must distinguish between the British people and their policy. We must have full liberty thoughtfully and with reason to examine the latter but we may not doubt them. To me it is human. All have their good as well as bad points. It is to human nature even if we are in the wrong to stand alone, often under criticism. But if we were bravely shown our faults, we would perhaps be willing to learn. We must believe that towards the British. Let us tell them where they are in the wrong, but do not let us wish

them any harm. We may demand a moral and better change in their conduct, but we may not pray for their downfall.

Such an attitude is indispensable to any nation which demands that, while we may neither speak evil of wrong-doers nor wish them ill, we must at the same time show them the error of their ways and non-cooperate with them in their wrongdoing. The Congress has been trying to follow this great principle for the last twenty years. I believe that we have benefited greatly therefrom. Moreover there is no reason why we should wish the British to be defeated in this war. The writer from South Africa rightly says that there is not much to choose between the British and the Nazis. That is as clear as daylight in South Africa, in particular, where coloured races are treated as definitely inferior in every way. What more than this could the Nazis say or do? The defeat of the British would mean the victory of the Nazis, which, again, we do not and must not desire. Therefore we should be impartial. We are desirous of our own independence. For there is no reason why we should want the destruction of Germany. We have to adhere as well as maintain our freedom through our own strength. We do not need British or any outside help for it. Those of us who have full faith in chosen believe that we can win it through non-violence and keep it thereby also.

There is, however, a serious struggle as to who believe in moment and maintaining our independence through force of arms. This position is a difficult one. As a matter of fact we have still to gain our freedom. If we win it through violence, we will not do so to help Britain in the war. But if we help the war effort, we truly cause more under their war than we are today. And if in spite of our help they lose, we would then come under the rule of another foreign power. So that, if Britain and India were jointly defeated, we would, as to speak, be passing from the third pen into the fire. Moreover India has no army towards any nation. Hitler and others have no doubts. They know full well that India is not a willing partner in the war, that we are a slave country, and that our votes do not count. It was really the Congress who saved this opinion because the Congress has adopted non-violence as its weapon. At the same time we have no quarrel with those who do not believe in non-violence. Each of us must go his own way. By doing so we shall know where India stands. If the Congress had not spoken out its mind, it would have con-

unintentionally put it in place, it is not hard to see why someone might get the wrong impression. There is a no-fly, no-drop rule here. The idea was to discuss the economic crisis. What that involved by way of policy changes, I cannot guess. But even so, they should try to let those leaves off all order and bias. There are no other signs of weakness. Nevertheless is an angry time. If they were to follow it that would be serious and they would be spending the better of almost the Congress demand is not too small only it sounds far beyond even India and Pakistan. This is it. Let us do nothing with this from the bottom line. It is hard to do the same again.

Source: 7-10-60; Transcribed from Original.

## CHEUNG, TSE, YU, AND CHENG

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Physical fitness, assessed as physical training records and duration, is a training in the use of the mind and the use of mental weapons. The Chinese philosophy no longer knows limits of body and mind, physical or mental, and the training of the mind is necessary for the training of the body, which is a matter of logic, which is my view on the subject from the point of view of Chinese.

Before I proceed to state my views it is necessary to mention a couple of things. First, the physical sciences are the only thing common to most of students wishing to be trained for a modern career. Old men, women, and even youth are not regarded as eligible. Now are there sufficient grounds for us to choose. And it is necessary to come to this conclusion, although these sciences

But the standard is even the common, for selecting means for a non-violent body. The chest closest to ours is the candidate's moral frame. And so such a body may have old men, women, and youth, the blind and the lame, and even lepers; and it would had time to win. The duty is to help anyone around. The duty is to do a share on him who has the will for it. One can conceive of a child of ten or twelve being a perfect stranger; indeed we even serve such in daily life. But for such a child to be recruited for a violent way is out of the question. In spite of this fact will be the world be content have the physical frame.

But to say that laymen and children are eligible for a non-violent army is not to say that a non-violent person need have no regard for physical fitness. Indeed, vigorous games and sports which can be done only by those with a trained physique, is, in themselves, not necessary to consider when dealing of physical training a non-violent person should receive.

Very few of the rules applying to a violent arm will apply to a non-violent body. A violent arm will not have as much for show but for definitely destructive purposes. A non-violent body will have no use for such weapons and will therefore lean its words on plethors and use more and more pecking back, and will think from the thought of using them as lethal weapons. The violent author will be treated as the son of violence to

best taught to them. The non-violent soldier will have no time for this purpose. He will get all his training through seeing the work saving those in danger at the risk of his own life, parading places which may be in fear of the sea and storms and in laying down his life, if necessary, in defending them from their purpose. Even the uniforms of the two will differ. The violent man will wear a coat of mail for his protection and his uniform will be such as can daunt people. The uniform of the non-violent man will be simple, or common, even with the dress of the poor, and bareheaded himself. His purpose will be not to keep him from heat and cold and rain. A violent soldier's protection will be his arms, no matter how much he uses God's name. He will not shrink from speaking without an assumption. The first and last word and buckle of the non-violent peace will be his never-ending link to God. And the mark of the two will be as plain as murder. The violent man will always be crying about his plans to end the destruction of his enemy and will pay to God to fulfil his purpose. The national anthem of the French people is worth considering in this connection. It prays to God to save the King, so does the enemy's French motto and to deliver him Millions of Englishmen and the anthem about such was once standing respectably. If God is the destruction of Murder, He is not likely to listen to such prayer but it cannot but affect the minds of those who say it, and in course of war it simply hardens their heart and enter to where best. The one weakness of wearing a violent war is to keep the soldier from seeing the enemy beyond himself.

In the dictionary of the non-violent there is no such word as an external enemy. But even for the supposed enemy he will have nothing but sympathy in his heart. He will believe that no man is eternally wicked, that there is no man but is gifted with the faculty to discriminate between right and wrong and that if that faculty were to be fully developed, it would surely mature into non-violence. He will therefore pray to God that His mercy give the supposed enemy a sense of right and bless him. He prays for himself will always be that the spring of compassion in him may ever be flowing, and that he may ever grow in moral strength so that he may face death fearlessly.

Thus even the needs of both will differ as the roles, their physical training will also differ as the same degree.

We all know more or less what military training is like. But we have hardly ever thought about non-violent training more like of a different kind. How have we ever come to discover whether in the past such training was given anywhere in the world? I am of opinion that it used to be given in the past and it even may be given in a haphazard way. The various exercises of Hindu Yoga are in this direction. The physical training given by means of these exercises would rather than physical health, spiritual

after, and the capacity to hear hard and cold. Sir Kavalaswamy is making scientific researches in the technique and benefits of these exercises. I have no knowledge of the program he has made nor do I know whether he is writing his experiences with shavas as his goal. My reference to Hatha Yoga is meant only with a view to showing that this ancient type of non-violent training will exist though I knew that there is room in it for improvement. I do not know either that the author of this exercise had any idea of non-violence. The students had at their back the desire for individual salvation. The object of the various shavas was to strengthen and purify the body in order to secure control of one's mind. The main technique, as, are the thinking of anyone to people of all religions, and therefore the rules that may be framed must be such as can be accepted by all believers or those. And since as we are thinking of a non-violent army, that is to say of training one being a *Shivashiva* Shiva, we can but build upon accepting the old as our foundation. Let us then think of the physical training required by a *Shivashiva*. If the *Shivashiva* is not healthy in mind and body he may perhaps fail in mastering complete *Shivashiva*. He should have the capacity to stand pure at a single open day and night, he may not fall off even if he has to bear cold and heat and rain, he may have the strength to go to places of pain, to reach to corners of his, and the courage to wander about alone in desolate jungles and houses of death, to walk barefoot, without a granular severe training, exercises and work, and will keep to his post of duty without flinching, he will have the incorruptibility and capacity to stand out a seemingly insuperable wave of coming he will have the longest and capacity to run with the name of God on his lips in the veins of men living on the two corners of buildings anchored in flames, he will have the foundation to plunge into a flood in order to rescue people being carried off by it or to jump down a well to save a drowning person.

The law can be extended of shavas. The main essence of it all is that we should cultivate the capacity to run in the veins of people in danger and distress and to suffer cheerfully any amount of hardship that may be inflicted upon us. He who accepts this fundamental principle will easily be able to frame rules of physical training for *Shivashiva*. I have a firm conviction that the very foundation of this training is faith in God. If that is shown, all the training one may have received is likely to fail at the critical moment.

Let no one postpone our movement by saying that the Congress has many people who are ashamed to take the name of God. I am simply trying to state the view in terms of the nature of *Shivashiva* as I have known and developed it. The only weapon of the *Shivashiva* is God, by whatever name one knows Him. Without Him the *Shivashiva* is devoid of strength before an opponent armed with monstrous weapons. Most

people go prostrate before physical might. But he who accepts God as his only *Shivashiva* will remain unshaken before the mightiest earthly power.

As faith in God is essential in a *Shivashiva*, even so is *Shivashiva*. Without *Shivashiva* the *Shivashiva* will have no power, no inner strength to stand armed against the whole world. *Shivashiva* may have been the restricted meaning of concentration of the vital energy brought about by sexual restraint, and not the comprehensive definition I have given of it. He who stands to live on pure diet and without any external stimulus, and still seems to have physical strength, has used to conserve his vital energy. It is the robust capital man can never possess. He who can preserve a real pure conserved strength out of it. He who uses it up recklessly as money, money, will ultimately be superior. His strength will fail him at the right moment. I have often written about the ways and means of conserving this energy. Let the reader turn to my writings and carry out the instructions. He who lives with the eye as the touch, can never conserve his vital energy, nor the man who lives after desires. Those who hope to conserve this energy without strict observance of the rules will no more succeed than those who hope to run without the current without being schooled. He who remains himself physically and can walk his thoughts will be more than he who, without profiting to observe *Shivashiva*, lives the life of a restrained hermit. For he who lives with the thought will ever remain unshaken and will not be life a moral weak and burden on the earth. Such a one can never be a full *Shivashiva*.

Nor can one who battles after wealth and fame.

This is the foundation of the physical training for a *Shivashiva*. The detailed structure of the course can easily be built in consonance with this foundation.

It should now be clear that in the physical training of a *Shivashiva* there is no room for lethal weapons like the sword or the spear. For the most terrible weapons that we have seen are in existence today, and never can be being invented every day. Of what use will a sword red him who has to cultivate the capacity to overcome all fear — real or imaginary? I have not yet heard of a man having died all first by learning swordplay. Masters and others who studied shavas did not do so because they knew the use of weapons, but because in spite of the knowledge of their use they died all first.

A slight misapprehension will show that he who has always depended on the sword will find it difficult to throw it away. But having deliberately discarded it he is likely to find his chances more limited than that of him who, not knowing as we, knows he will not fear it. But this does not mean that in order to be truly non-violent one must be without power and know the use of arms. By parity of reasoning, one might say that only a thief can be honest, only a drenched person can be healthy, and only a drunken person can be a

brahmachari. The fact is that we have formed the habit of thinking along traditional grooves and will not get out of them. And as we cannot take a detached view, we cannot draw the right conclusions and get caught in defensive wars.

If I have the time, I hope to present the reader with a model course of thinking.

Sindia, 29-9-40 (Translated from Gujarati)

## Harijan

Oct 13

1940

### HYDERABAD

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"What do you say to the rights of Hyderabad in the territories that have been taken away by the English under some pretext or other, e. g. Bazar, Ceded Districts, Kharask, etc.?"

The question demands an answer so far as they have been taken away by the English the right marches against the English. If I am asked as a member of empire, I can only say that the people of the respective parts should be asked to make their choice. That is the only course I know.

But I suggest that all such decisions are evidence. If India the geographical area gain independence, as it must some day, it means that every component part has its independence. If independence is won non-violently, all the component parts will be voluntarily interdependent working in perfect harmony under a representative central authority which will derive its sanction from the confidence accorded to it by the component parts. If independence is won by force of arms, then the weaker power will hold sway over all India. And this may be Hyderabad for aught I know. All the big and the poor States will be free voluntarily from the British yoke. They will seek light for their existence and succumb to the stronger who will be the Empire of India. That presupposes warlike nations lying prostrate at the feet of the combination of armed States. Many other things are, however, conceivable. The Indian part of the British army will probably have consciousness of strength and an independent existence. There may be Muslim arms, Sikh arms, Gurkha arms, Rajput arms and what not. They may fight among themselves or, having allied themselves to some imperialist power, may prevent a united front to the Powers. There may also be the danger upon India of the warring tribes from the Frontier to whom the spirit is the sovereignty itself.

The Congress, if it will has nothing of its non-violence left in it, will die in the struggle to establish universal peace in India. It is not impossible that all the warring elements will find it profitable in some way than one voluntarily to surrender themselves to the moral authority of a central power. This means universal pathos extended by a disciplined and politically astute leadership. It also means a decent and permanent front to command and inspire desired.

But this was my suggestion. The existing state of things does not warrant an optimistic outlook. But I am a man of faith. And to faith all things are possible. But supposing the worst happens and there is anarchy in the land, if there is God upon earth as He is in heaven, then you may depend upon it that I shall not lose to make any choice. I shall die in the trenches those which I am ready attempting to sell it with my very shaky hands. But if you ask me in advance whether I would fight anarchy in preference to foreign military rule, native British or any other, I would unhesitatingly plump for anarchy, say, the rule of the Moslems supported by Chakri because decadency to him as suggested by the border Muslim tribes in my estimation it will be more palatable than the rule of the British. But you must let me repeat that, while I can write thus academically, if the anarchy takes me, my choice will be death or the rule of the people by the people for the people. This means the rule of unadorned non-violence.

So you see my non-violence is made not of cotton wool but of a much much harder than steel and yet softer than cotton wool. You can compress it only with steel.

You will naturally then ask what place have the Princes in my scheme of things. Such a question should not arise if you had fully realized the implications of non-violence. For the Princes abiding the moral authority of a central body not sustained by arms will find an honorable place as servants of the people. No one will have any rights but what are inherent in a willing performance of one's duty. That H. E. H. the Nizam will then be the chosen servant of people. Only, then, his people will not be merely those confined willy nilly within his present borders but may be all India. You must not dismiss this as a utopian scheme. I claim to be a practical man. If the Congress proves true to its policy, what may seem today to be an airy nothing may tomorrow become an agreeable reality. In my scheme there is no waste of useless human talent or creative effort. Let me quote here my cable to H. G. Wells in reply to his on the Rights of Man.

"Received your cable. Have carefully read your five articles. You will permit me to say you are on the wrong track. I tell you that I can draw up a better charter of rights than you have drawn up. But what good will it be? Who will become its guardian? If you want propaganda or popular education, you have taken to the wrong road. I suggest the right way. Begin with a charter of Rights of Man, and I promise the rights will follow as spring follows winter. I write from experience. As a young man I began life by seeking to assert my rights, and I soon discovered I had none—got even over my wife. So I began by discovering and performing my duty by my wife, my children, friends, community and society, and I find today that I have greater rights, perhaps, than any living man I know. If that is the will of Allah, then I say I do not know anyone who possesses greater rights than I."

Gandhiji, 8-12-40

## Notes

### Thanks

I am grateful to the numerous readers of birthday greetings from India as well as various parts of the north. Many have this time also sent the wreaths of yarn some of which is of great fineness, strength and extension. Needless to say I shall make the utmost use of all these (no one) precious gifts for they betoken a labour of love for Daridracaritas. Some have sent monetary gifts either for Haripur or for the A. I. S. A. All these have been sent to the proper quarters.

Seragam, 8-10-46

### A Snake in the Bush?

I have read Sir Sikandar Hayat's reported speech on the correspondence between H. E. the Viceroy and myself. I was sorry for it. Where is the rub in the bush when everything is done openly after full discussion and with the warmest consideration for the party affected? He is a bad advocate who overstates his case, and I presume that Sir Sikandar will be proved as such. Sir Sikandar says that nine-tenths per cent of the Punjab is his participation in the war. No doubt he is a popularly elected member of the Punjab Assembly and he is the undisputed Foreman of the Punjab News, which is a big claim that he puts forth for the Punjab. Sir Sikandar's case will lose nothing by being run to trial. And the facts are that the Punjab has been one of the best recruiting grounds for the British rulers. This does not necessarily prove that the Punjab is the most patriotic of the provinces. In the vast country of ours there are many professions. Soldiering is one of them. These professionals will lend their services to whomever will pay them good wages and enough praise for their profession. Therefore in my opinion, Sir Sikandar can prove no more than that the Punjab has the pride of place as far as the recruiting ground for the British is concerned. But the Punjab soldier is as much recruited in the name as the Black soldiers raised by General Pownall were recruited in his policies or in his ambition. They served him because of the pay and the praise on the one side and the office they held on the other. But politically speaking, if Sir Sikandar can claim that nine-tenths per cent of the Punjab is his participation in the war, it can be claimed with much greater force perhaps that nine-tenths per cent of the seven provinces where the Congress has an overwhelming majority are against such participation. Only I do not want to advance any such argument. I suppose that those who want and those who do not want to participate in the war may follow their respective courses without being labelled as patriots. It may well be left to the historians of the future to pronounce judgments.

### Australian Soldiers

The Mayor of Bombay has sent me a letter complaining of my reference to him as if he had conducted his duty as the last emperor of Bombay. He tells me too that he acted as the proper master, possible and earned the correspondence

with the Government. But a responsible Mayor he could not truly be the Prince or emperor who ruled what he was doing. All this is applicable to the Mayor. I know him to be benevolent and anxious to render service without fuss. But it is strange that he has read a message into my writing which the context shows I could not have meant. I have put so far the same question that I have put to all the other parties concerned. Surely I must not be taken to have sent any reflection on any single one of them. For aught I know they might have taken effective steps without my warning. When a series of unpleasant cases in the local various causes I was bound to draw attention to them and show how, from a private cause to the Governor, the various units in a society would be required to act in conjunction of the character demanded by me. The larger might, if not handled effectively and in some give rise to a first class crisis ending in an exhibition of moral power of a most undesirable type.

I am happy therefore to note that almost all parties seem to have acted as they should have. A college girl, who was among the first to complain to me, tells me that, while there is no doubt about the general truth of the complaints, the misreport behaviour stopped after a few days. She tells me that I had stopped sharper before my wrong appeared in the Press. While, therefore I am not sorry for what I wrote, as I should have in the public interest, it gives me as much pleasure to note that the mischief was stopped in the bud as it had caused me pain to give publicity to it. I am no believer in a harsh harsh policy. Such measures, if they are not to be repeated, demand publicity and an effective and immediate remedy.

### Japan

Self-harmful is tried to cut his way through a thick forest of difficulties in Japan. He had thought that after a prisoners, in which he had contributed not a little and which had brought much credit to the State and freedom from embarrassment, he would have fair weather and smooth waters. But such was not to be the case. In Kaya Gyo Nish he has to face a Prime Minister who, according to Soeda, is thoroughly unreliable and unscrupulous. He has failed to give any satisfaction to the long-suffering cry of Japan. He has put back the hands of the clock of progress, and there is an agitation for his removal and the appointment of a Minister who would be responsive to public opinion. It is the day of the Japanese People to see to it that when it imposes a Minister on a Prime, it gives one who would be sympathetic to public demands. It is time to remove him when he is more unscrupulous than the Prime is whom there be a request to administer the State.

Seragam, 9-10-46

M. K. C.

### Mahatma Gandhi

By B. Radhakrishnan, (New Edition) Rs. 3-10-6  
Part 2: An Available at Haryana office-Punjab 4.

The Power of Heredity by Richard D. Gregory  
Rs. 1-7-6 postage. Available at Haryana office-Punjab 4.

## FASTING IN SATYAGRAHA

(J. M. K. Gandhi)

I note that in connection with the numerous satyagrahis the possibility of my fasting has been named as in the papers. Bhabu Malaviya has a soft corner for me. He is always deeply concerned about my health, my politics, and my morals. We have differences of opinion, but our love cheerfully smooths the errors. The day before I left Sevagram for Simla I received a letter from him, urging me to avoid as well as the reported fast.

I have to admit that there is a certain measure of truth in the report. I have told my friends of the Working Committee of my possessions that I may have to undertake one more fast during my life, and that this may even take place sooner than I had thought. But the fact is that so far as I can remember I have never undertaken a single one of my public fasts with any premeditation on my part. All my fasts have come to me as the spear of the warrior, gifts from God as I have called them. These penials have been invariably good. And in any event I have no regrets regarding them. I hope, therefore, that readers will exercise no anxiety on reading these lines. If God has a fast in store for me it will surely come and it will bring good to us alike. In all things He will be done.

Now what is the place of fasting in satyagraha? Nowadays quite a number of fasts are undertaken in the name of satyagraha. Many of the known fasts have been meaningless, many may be said to have been impure. Fasting is a fiery weapon. It has its own voice. No one, so far as I am aware, has a perfect knowledge of it. Unscientific expensiveness with it is bound to be harmful to the one who fasts, and it may even harm the cause espoused. No one who has not earned the right to do so should, therefore, use this weapon. A fast may only be undertaken by him who is associated with the people against whom he fasts. The latter must be directly concerned with the purpose for which the fast is being undertaken. Bhabu Malaviya's recent fast was such a one. He was closely connected with the people of Moch village, he had saved the Hungas of the place too. The wrong that was being done was done by the violence to the Hungas. When every means of obtaining justice had failed there was no option left for a man like Malaviya except to resort to fasting. He did and succeeded. Success or failure depends entirely on the will of God and is not relevant to the issue under discussion.

All my public fasts have been of this category. Out of all of them perhaps there is none to be learnt from the Rajkot one. It has been roundly condemned by many people. Obviously it was pure and necessary. The blunder came in when I asked the Viceroy to intervene. Had I not done so I am convinced that no result would have been achieved. Even as it was the result was a victory for the cause. Because God wanted to open my eyes, he took the broadest view of my weakness, so, to speak. The Rajkot fast is thus a useful study for

the satyagrahi. In regard to its necessity there is no doubt; nothing, that the principles for which which I have had down are exempted. The important thing to note about it is how a pure understanding can become marred owing to lack of watchfulness on the part of the doer. There can be no room for selfishness, anger, lack of faith, or impatience in a pure fast. It is no exaggeration to admit that all these defects crept into my Rajkot fast. My selfishness lay in the fact that inasmuch as its being given up depended on terms conditions being fulfilled by the late Thakur Sahib, I had in me the selfish desire for the satisfaction of the fruit of my labour. If there had been no sugar in me, I would not have looked to the Viceroy for assistance. My love should have deterred me from doing so. For if he was really as a son to me, why should I have complained about him so far ahead? I betrayed some of faith in that I thought the Thakur Sahib would not be misled by my love and I was impatient to break the fast. All these shortcomings were bound to make my fast impure. It would be irrelevant here to ponder over the many results of the Rajkot fast, and I therefore refrain from doing so. But we have learnt how infinitely watchful and powerful he who fasts has to be and how even a little carelessness can damage a good cause. It is now apparent that in addition to truth and non-violence a satyagrahi should have the confidence that God will grant him the necessary strength and that, if there is the slightest impurity in the fast, he will not hesitate to renounce it at once. Indian persons, then realize self-reliance—of purpose, perfect calm, and no super sense of necessity be there. But since it is impossible for a person to develop all these qualities all at once, no one who has not devoted himself to following the laws of ahimsa should undertake a satyagraha fast.

I should like readers to note that I have not here dealt with fasts undertaken for bodily or spiritual purification. Nature cure doctors should be consulted for the former. The practice of austerities was undertaken the latter. And for this type of fast my opinion is a veritable mine of lore. Fasts for spiritual purification have really been frequent in our day. If they are ever undertaken, they are either purely motives or merely for the sake of credence, and we cannot therefore derive the benefit from them that we should. Those who wish to do so for a satyagraha fast should certainly possess some personal experience of fasts for spiritual purification. Fasts for softening the body of impurities are also beneficial. In the end, of course, there is only one test of the whole ideal of fasting and that is purification. Sevagram, 8-13-40.

(Translated from *Hindian*)

## Autobiography

Gandhi, J. *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*. Part 10. 4. Page 10. An. 1075.

Gandhi's Satyagraha in South Africa. Pt. 1-3-4-5-6. Available at Morgan Office—Page 6.



produce an agreement which is to be correct impossible but that is undoubtedly, lies in the British determination to do the obviously right thing.

The necessity of the British reason for school to most Indians as a fine country was not my only ground. I drew the Viceroy's attention to certain irregularities in the prosecution of the war policy. There was agreement between us that there should be no compulsion as to war contributions. He has promised to examine all cases of hardship and all other difficulties. My purpose was to leave no ground for misunderstanding and to fight, if there was to be a fight only on well-defined issues and without bitterness. I went to enter upon the fight with the hope that as very fairness will compel the recognition that India deserves better treatment, not merely from the British but from all the nations of the earth.

Now it might be said that the Congress fight because it has failed to get power, I told Mr. Rowling in the plainest words possible that the Congress had no desire to resort to power as the expense of a single national election is such a power area for the whole nation. Therefore he will have no opposition from the Congress if he forms a Cabinet composed of representatives of different parties. The Congress would be content to be in opposition as far as the war effort is concerned and so long as the machinery of Government has to subvert imperialist rule. The immediate issue is not independence. The immediate issue is the right of expression, i.e. the right of self-expression which, broadly put, means free speech. Thus the Congress wants not merely for itself, but for all, the only minimum least complete observance of non-violence. I told that the conduct answers all the difficulties by whomsoever raised.

Srirangam, 5-10-49

### A RIGHTEOUS FAST

Shri Vijaya Hari has written an account for Harijan of a fine recently undertaken by Bhagat Palanath on behalf of water-broth Harijans in a village in Bihar District. The following is a summary of it.

Moht is a village composed of 300 houses of Harijans (see Harijans) and 200 of Caste Hindus and others. Most of the village is owned by Shri Chhagya Ram who recently gave permission to the Harijans to construct a well for themselves on a piece of common ground. The Harijans in the locality are hard put to it for their drinking water supply. A water carrier usually pours water into their vessels from a respectful distance and is reticent by that attitude the Harijans give him rather a quarter of a half a pint of grain. The well was begun to be made nearly four months ago but owing to the strong opposition of Caste Hindus and Mussalman to construction had to be abandoned. The Harijans could get no aid in spite of efforts at persuasion by Panchayat leaders and the Harijans Sanku Singh.

On 2nd September last Bhagat Palanath went to the village and tried his utmost to get the obnoxious custom to lessen or cease. But even his appeals on humanitarian grounds fell on deaf ears. He therefore resolved to fast, if necessary to death. He was turned out forcibly from the village on the fourth day of the fast, but continued it in a neighbouring village where he was received with affection. Shri Vijaya Hari, who saw Palanath on the 15th day of the fast, says that his fast was broken with joy and there was no order of harassment visible. The fast was expelled by a few religious conversions. Palanath visited those in sympathy with him to try to win over the Harijans and others with love so that they might feel that they were as blood brothers. He advised no one who was angry to go to Moht. Those who went there should carry no weapons, not even a stick, and it would be better for only those above 50 years of age to go. No harsh words were to be used. In this way alone, he felt, they would help him and also help the cause of communal unity which was so essential in these troubled times. He was confident that God would see him through the trial.

And indeed his wonderful fast did save him and the hours of the obstructions were ended. Permission for the well work to be continued has been obtained. Palanath was named in a dhoti and broke the fast in Moht. One of the Mussalman brokers who had helped to cheat him gave him the ornate pass with which he broke it. The incident is a proof of how non-violence can conquer anger. Palanath has appealed to the villagers to lift strictly the existing ban on Harijans in regard to drinking water. Let us hope his appeal will go home.

It is interesting to know that Palanath was a Fairwari, a name of a village in Rohark District. Like most officials of the type he used to take bribes and he came under the influence of the late Swami Shradhananda when he took a vow to collect from doing so in future and actually renounced his post. On renouncing he sold all his property and thereby restored to every man his due. The sum total was Rs. 4,500, and to the man whom he had actually beaten when he was a Fairwari he offered a public apology. Bhagat was a boy's school in one of the villages in his district while his daughter is conducting a girl's school in another place.

Srirangam, 5-10-49

A K

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# HARIJAN

**Abstract**

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NOTES - SUNDAY OCTOBER 29, 1945

ГДЕ ДАВА

## AN ACCEPTABLE SACRIFICE

In a few chosen places Gauding has explained why he has selected Eliza Wrentham as the first woman: It is impossible to improve on that thousand-dollar check. But a way not to be unappreciative to add a few more facts about her boy life, in which all the twenty-five hours of the day have been given to service of prophetic service which alone, in his opinion, can take her to self-realization. It is also the maker of her service "a service accessible, well-known to God".

Within three years of his joining the Satyagraha Ashram at Sabaram, he was elected by the leadership to be at the head of the only branch of the Ashram at Wardha which he had secured. Vinoba's services were lost by Gandhi, and when he went there he chose as his co-workers people who were pledged to a more observation of the vows. In 1925 he chose himself head and went into the Vinoba Flag Satyagraha movement, and distinguished himself as a model prisoner. After a visit to Nagpur Shri Rameshacharya wrote about Shri Vinoba:

"Look at Vinoba, wasn't he an idiot, whose wrong spirit has created the height of misunderstanding, philosophy and religion, and yet whose humility is so genuine and successful that no official who does not know him can discover his pretenses. He knows his own mind according to the 'Gita'; the gods has put him on, and no one knows the physical nature he clearly knows. But we as the masses who heard about the treatment accorded to him gave way to an unbridled doubt."

In the same case of Young India 17 years ago I wrote a long article about him from which I reproduce the following:

"You say day after day and day with him without knowing him, and even when you know him you only begin to know him. You must with a reserve which you cannot easily break. He does not talk much, merely does he say anything about himself. And yet if you could get to the bottom of his profound depths, you are sure to achieve, "Nowhere have I found such greatness." I do not think there is anyone as the G. P. Just today who can be compared to Vachas with his steady monotony, his profound religious and philosophical learning, his marvellous power of patience and self-discipline and a rare lucidity which probably is a product of all the rest. We have of the great determination of the child Divya to realize God, the simple fact, including before all else, of the boy Paulini, and of the rare personality of the last Natchiketha, made us to the God of Death as he is called on, and

We wonder what these special problems are. There have been like 100 new teachers and more will come and it's difficult to imagine any one of them doing the things that did.

In 1967 when Mr. Anderson was at the Atlanta International Conference describing to his 700 men in the lecture hall, "He is one of the few poets in the language. They do not come. His others are inspired by the Indians but in time it, not in nature but in growth." He showed the first eight months of a young man self-discipline — growing right here in the United States during our young people. "We are doing a good job here. The last children would be more."

Study of his life he devoted, that a life of sacrifice, offered as material for a life of service. The Father wanted him to be a barrister at law, and he did it, which he managed to send him on February. He went to learn French, therefore, to study, to study, to study in his mind. But on leaving home, apparently his appeal for his immediate conversion to the law, the Father, and it was long afterwards, Father's Child, that the Father heard that he had died. He devoted all his time to a study of the law, a study, to the law and the discipline. Through God's will that he had gone to the Father in good and not in sorrow, this is what the Father said on a call. "Only I can know what I have put in the Father. It was an early collection of mine in bringing me to a violent end in the service of the Father. But I have heard one of that audience. It is not who anticipated the violence of anger and other passion in me. I have been preparing every day of my life in the Father. Every year I have been making one of the Father's children one of the Father's children."

In one of his articles in *Malabarhar Idharan*, a Marathi weekly owned by the late Varde, he has explained Ganesh's 'Bhandar', and incidentally his own, splendour of life.

"We sleep, we walk, we work, we live and we die. All these are passive processes. Do we have sleep, or does the sleep do us?" The first sentence we cannot do, and do as soon as we cannot want. From this and countless others—the "infinites" is independent. The there is no independence in the case of our actions, for we will it, therefore, action, it is all passive. Is that the work to us? The Russian States wanted to teach independent action—all action is the active mind, not in the process, he wanted to do so that before he death be earned liberty, and therefore he left home and all, and told the people of the world to meet in his in the hemisphere in the grade of their youth. The spirit and the Middle of America on his childhood and youth, his England, and not an example to Maharashtra."

And look at his *Sanatana*! I have read a lot of Sanskrit, he says, but I have not read the *Sanatana*. The speech of the gods, which in the name of Sanskrit, is his freedom—*Sanatana*—and his intellectual delight and luxury. I have Sanskrit not to read *Sanatana*, but to learn the Gita, Upanishads, Panchatantra, the things that make for freedom of the soul, and not for poetry and literature. Philosophy and mathematics are my subjects, not literature."

That was what I wrote 17 years ago, and the answer has been less a demonstration of the way in which he has translated his principles into practice, proved all his philosophy and mathematics into the real of the constructive programme which he has believed to be the eternal symbol of non-violence. He has trained under him students who are masters of the science and art of khadi-making; he has trained workers who have been content with a miserable pittance to bury themselves in villages working the constructive programme; and he has given, as Gandhi has said, an ideal service to the lepers. Proficiency in all sciences is the Gita's demand of yoga, and everything that Varsha has done proves that he is one who has mastered that yoga. An ideal spinner, both on the wheel and the mule and with both the left and the right hands, he is an ideal village worker. Though highly intellectual, the villagers feel completely at home with him and are unsurprised by his simple preferred eloquence full of telling homely parables and discourses. He has produced a *Manushya* translation of the Gita in partial verse which reproduces the meaning more of the original in an amazing degree, and over a hundred thousand copies of it have been sold in Maharashtra. While carrying on in the village of Porwar the experiment of the standard spinning wage, he found time to devote five hours each day as the wady of the *Yama* in the original, and when yesterday Gandhi asked him to report *At Parba* before the *Manushya* he did so with a presentation and enthusiasm which the *Manushya* and were familiar.

It is to such a one that the honour has come of being the first martyr in a campaign that Gandhi will never let make the most unutilised from the point of view of non-violence. To be chosen for the honour is a great thing, to have been chosen without having ever desired it is greater still.

Sewgram, 10-10-40

M. D.

#### Andrew Memorial Fund

( Received at the Kemper Office )

|                                    |       |
|------------------------------------|-------|
| Shri Shastri, Kanchikuram          | Rs. 1 |
| " Mulhardev Wimal, Raichur         | 5     |
| Anandaram, Beldary                 | 15    |
| Shri V. P. Lunagi, Poona           | 100   |
| Through Shri Narayana Shank, Anbil | 10    |
| Shri M. S. Desai, Gadhwa           | 5     |
| " Udayshankar Hattikote, Beldary   | 10    |
| Anandaram, Raichur                 | 10    |

Total Rs. 146

#### THE LIBERTY WE WANT

*Dear Kamef* (Our Struggle) is the title taken, of after Hitler's "*Mein Kampf*" (My Struggle) of a book by Sir Richard Arden, M. P., a born belonging to a distinguished English family that has fought on the side of the people the battle for their liberty. In the *Progress Special* the author pleads for "a complete change in our hearts", if England is not to be turned back from the road to ruin. "If we have to fight for twenty years, we can fight, we can pay—we can face the sacrifice," say some of the war-mongers. But Sir Richard Arden asks: "Who is going to pay? What are the sacrifices going to be? What guarantee have we that they will be worth while? Is there another way? And now *The Times* of India which expressed its surprise the other day at Gandhi's statement that the British people did not know what they were fighting for, Sir Richard Arden asks:

"For what are we asked to make these sacrifices? What is the moral situation which is to drive our people on to bear these sacrifices? We are fighting against something which is belittled enough in all conscience, and that will carry us a long way. To suppose that they are people will suffer much. But is this enough? What, after all, are we fighting and sacrificing for? If we could be quite certain that all this suffering would bring us something which would be worth while, and if there was no other alternative but to endure it, then there is no doubt that as a people we could face it. But nobody has yet given us any sort of assurance that all this suffering is going to lead to anything better than we have today."

He suggests a new and a better way, a 'new morality' by which business can be saved from the hideous cancer, and he appeals to every Briton to throw in "the whole of your strength, the whole of your mind, the whole of your courage" to work along the new way he has tried to show.

His new way consists in throwing overboard completely capitalism, in throwing away the hypocritical claim that "we are fighting from the honour of our hearts in order to restore freedom and restore Poland, when we have done nothing to restore freedom or to restore Macedonia, Albania, Spain, China, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania or Albania," in disarming and accepting and enforcing the principle of common ownership by means of an international organisation working out the manufacturing costs of different commodities and directing various Governments when commodities to concentrate on, what to export, and what to import; in banding all armies, navies, and air forces owned by individual countries as having an international armed force, in a new Cabinet with a changed heart and determined to carry out the new plan, and having achieved self-perfection (I am using a word familiar to us) to appeal to the Germans to stop the War.

I will not go into the details of the plan, not at any rate in this article. Two details I will mention. The author declares

"We cannot persuade the people that we are fighting to free Europe, unless we set out at once to free India. They all believe we are fighting to preserve the Colonial possessions and then when we set out at once to transfer these possessions to the only people who have any right to them. They will believe we are fighting to hold them in military subjection unless we set out at once to create a system in which no one can hold anyone in military subjection. They will believe we are fighting to impoverish the workers of all Europe for the benefit of our financiers and industrialists unless we set out at once to create a system in which no industrialists or financiers can impoverish any workers."

Let us back our words and ideas by deeds and then will surely have effect, says the author. How, he asks, did Hitler succeed when he set out to conquer Germany and make her master of Europe? Because he had vision, he had will and the courage to translate his thoughts into deed. It may have been a task destined to drive madmen. But, "can we not find, for good, the same courage in the face of difficulties which he found for evil? If not what are the chances of defeating him?"

For India he suggests the appointment

"a Secretary of State and a Viceroy two men who are known to be determined that British economic and political control in India shall end at the earliest possible moment. Community problems in India no doubt present difficulties which are very novel to those who do not desire to abandon our control. But on the basis of men determined that they should be solved and backed by a Government equally determined, they would be overcome. The fact must be faced that the new Viceroy would have to encounter the fierce opposition of all those Indians who enjoy the highest regards of the present rulers, just as we should in home. This opposition would have to be overcome."

How is the "new morality" to begin, who is to demand, who is to start the process of self-purification? "What we need now is the adoption," says the author, "in our public and political life, of those elementary ethical principles on which we have long paid lip-service in our churches. Our change of heart must be translated into action at once. If we cannot persuade all men at once to accept our new morality at least we shall make sure that the destiny of our nation and of mankind is in the hands of those who do accept it and not in the hands of those who do not." And then he goes on to suggest a number of concrete measures to be adopted—two I have already mentioned—by the new Government, and an appeal to be made by it to the German people. Two small paragraphs from this suggested appeal I shall allow myself to quote:

"All eyes in the ruthless possession of separate nations are turned to destiny. We ask you to lead your people to us to watch us destroy our own axes. We ask that our people shall come over to watch you destroy yours."

And

"If we lose you, what shall we gain? You will fight again and your youngest children, those as

when all your governments are dead, and you are dying now, will not let us, when you are gone?" We shall fight you in the forests, we shall escape children, so when we do not expect you to taking yours?"

But a Government with a change of heart has yet to come into being. To do so, Sir Richard suggests an rebellion, an culturally aggressive propaganda. What part will you play, the author asks every Roman.

"Will you take your part in the struggle to create the will for the only peace and the new world? Will you then persuade the most people to understand the position in which we find ourselves? . . . If you mean to take the dangerous course, then take courage. Repeat the words of those who will tell you that you are driving the nation from its last effort."

That last sentence is Sir Richard Arnold's appeal in words meaning. There is no question of dropping the nation from its war effort, no question of embarrassing Government, or any the phrase we are using here—for there is no violence there. Assured as to the same liberty to work for a new order as that you are exercising in order to reach the nation to its doom.

Noted in this light the Bombay conference and Gandhi's reaction to the Viceroy were but a corollary to his appeal to every Roman, which has a close parallel in Sir Richard's appeal (made, by the way in point of time, slightly earlier than Gandhi's appeal, for his book was published in February 1940).

When we come to think of it, it is not only a right we claim, it is a sacred duty we have to perform. For if we do not speak out, if we do not protest against the ruthless process, we are being guilty of abetting the crime and the outrage that the present order and the war that is being fought to believe it up continues.

Sir Richard Arnold describes in a chapter on 'Liberty' how the Conservative Party that happens to rule Britain is "choking away our own liberties", how by various potent means—the Law Courts, the Police, and the Army—they are depriving men of their liberties here as fast as the necessities of those who are interested in maintaining the present order are being used to curtail the liberties of those who are opposed to that order.

This, some of our manufacturers here will say, makes it clear why in India we cannot expect to enjoy more liberty than people in England. It does not follow so easily. The Conservative Party is shared there by a majority of their own people, and speaks and acts in the name of the people. Here the Government is in close sympathy with no right but that of force to speak on behalf of our people. There may be some reason there for the 'choking away' into the people's liberties. Here there is none whatever. Day in and day out the process is being maintained and proclaimed to the world that India is with Britain in this War with a determination of which the only danger is a future war. Are we to go on believing when we are told by one interested in maintaining



## CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have had three days' discussion with the Working Committee. During it I unfolded my plan of civil disobedience as far as I was able to envisage it. Although I have sole charge of the campaign I could not think of asking the first step without consultation with the members of the Working Committee. In non-violent action one has to carry the co-workers with one through the mind and the heart. There is no other way to enforce discipline or obedience to instructions. I never asked that it was not plain sailing for me. There was sufficient danger from two members. I tried hard to carry conviction to them but I failed. They will, however, yield obedience as far as it is possible for them for the sake of discipline. The difference of opinion solely concerned the quantity of civil disobedience and the restrictions with which it was hedged.

I discuss the part of the discussion to show that my plan will tell them of the importance of those whom the discussion impressed. I would simply say to them, "Wait patiently and see what happens. Carry out instructions to the best of your ability. Do nothing to thwart the plan. If your consciences rebel against it you will serve the cause by sending and educating the people along your own lines. That would be straight talk and unswerving in that the people will learn to appraise the value of different methods. You will cause confusion by prying from the Congress platform anything contrary to the official programme, especially when the whole organisation becomes like an army. It means little whether one person often civil disobedience or many. The aim here is to render such support as they may be called upon to do."

The plan is simple this. Direct action will be commenced by Shri Vinoba Bhave and for the time being confined to him only. And since it is to be confined to individual civil disobedience and that one of him only, it will be so conducted by him as to exclude others directly or indirectly. But since it is concerned with freedom of speech the public will be involved to an extent. It is open to them either to back up him or not.

But much will depend upon what the Congress must wish to do. In spite of all attempts to confine civil disobedience to individuals and for the moment to one only, they can perpetuate a crime by making it a crime to listen to him or read any thing written by him. But I think and believe that they do not want to irritate our mouths, though they hold themselves as readiness to cope with every mouth that may face them.

I have discussed with Shri Vinoba various plans so as to avoid all unnecessary friction or risk. The aim is to make all action as strictly non-violent as is humanly possible. One man's violence, veiled or open, cannot go beyond a certain limit, but within that limit it would be effective. One man's non-violent action would be disrupted and ridiculed by the one believer in it. In truth, while the effect

of a dozen violent attacks up to be reduced to mathematical terms, that of non-violent action defies all calculation and has been known to satisfy many that have been hounded. Now for I shall be able to present an example of undisturbed non-violence remains to be seen.

Who is Vinoba Bhave and why has he been selected? He is an undergraduate having left college after my return to India in 1916. He is a Sanskrit scholar. He joined the Ashram almost as an intercaste. He was among the first members. In order to better qualify himself he took one year's leave to prosecute further studies in Sanskrit. And presently at the same hour at which he had left the Ashram a year before he walked into a village again. I had imagined that he was due to arrive that day. He has taken part in every moral activity of the Ashram from converting to cooking. Though he has a marvellous memory and is a student by nature, he has devoted the largest part of his time to spinning in which he has specialised as very few here. He believes in universal spinning being the central strategy which will remove the poverty in the villages and put life into their deadness. Being a born teacher he has been of the utmost assistance to Ashadram in her development of the scheme of education through handicrafts. Shri Vinoba has produced a text-book taking spinning as the handicraft. It is original in conception. He has made workers make that spinning is the handicraft *par excellence* which leads itself to being effectively used for basic education. He has revolutionised milk-mixing and drawn out its hitherto unknown possibilities. For perfect spinning probably he has no rival in all India.

He has studied every case of untouchability from his heart. He believes in communal unity with the same passion that I have. In order to know the best mind of India he gave one year to the study of the Quran in the original. He therefore knows Arabic. He found this study necessary for cultivating a living contact with the Muslims living in his neighbourhood.

He has an army of disciples and workers who would run to any sacrifice at his bidding. He is responsible for producing a round man who has dedicated himself to the service of lepers. Though as most strange to moderate the worker has by regular devotion mastered the method of treatment of lepers and is now running several clinics for their cure. Handicrafts owe their care to his labours. He has now published a handbook in Marathi for the treatment of lepers. Vinoba was for years Director of the Mahila Ashram at Wardha. His departure in the case of Dandekarayan took him first to a village near Wardha, and now he has gone still further and lives in Parmar, five miles from Wardha, from where he has established contact with villages through the disciples he has trained.

He believes in the necessity of the political independence of India. He is an accurate student of history. But he believes that real independence of

the village is impossible without the constructive programme of which Khadi is the centre. He believes that the charkha is the most suitable outward symbol of non-violence which has become an integral part of his life. He has taken an active part in the previous non-violence campaigns. He has never been in the limelight on the political platform. With many co-workers he believes that silent constructive work with civil disobedience in the background is far more effective than the already heavily crowded political platform. And he thoroughly believes that non-violent resistance is impossible without a basic belief in and practice of constructive work.

Vinoba is an out and out war resister. But he respects equally well his own the conscience of those who, whilst not being out and out war resisters, have put strong conscientious objection to participation in the present war. Though Vinoba represents both the types I may want to select another who will represent only one type, namely conscientious objection to participation in the present war.

It was necessary to introduce Vinoba at length to the public in order to justify my choice. This will perhaps be the last civil disobedience struggle which I shall have conducted. Naturally I would want it to be as flawless as it can be. Moreover the Congress has declared that it will avoid all available embarrasments to the Government continuously with its own existence. For that reason too I had to strive to produce the highest quality irrespective of quantity.

But Vinoba must fail, as I must, if we do not represent the Congress, for alone the whole nation. And we shall certainly not represent either if they do not give us full-hearted co-operation which is essential preservation of the constructive programme. It is not total co-operation that is required. It is co-operation in work that is needed. The signs of such co-operation will be phenomenal progress in spreading, complete disappearance of untouchability, and increased friendliness between communities, and an increasing sense of justice in every walk of life. Unless such human peace and equality pervade society surely there is no non-violent atmosphere. Above all, there should be no civil disobedience law which is enacted by us. This is a temporary obligation binding on every Congressman. If it is disregarded, there is no co-operation. The representative, even otherwise belonging to Vinoba and me is thus challenged. And I can say with confidence that, if the full-hearted co-operation I want is forthcoming, not only will the issue of freedom of speech be decided in our favour but we shall have gone very near independence. Let those who will, take me at my word. They will have lost nothing and will find that they had contributed greatly to the movement of freedom through peaceful and non-violent means.

Let me repeat the issue. On the surface it is incredibly narrow — the rule to retch against war as war for participation in that present war. But are matters of substance for those who hold

either new faith and substantial rights. These issues can do no harm to the British if their programme due to all interests and purposes India is an independent country as it all true. If India is very much a dependency on Britain as it is at present, whatever the British get from India can never be regarded as voluntary, it must be regarded as imposed. This trade of life and death cannot be won by imposed taxes, however large. They may win if they have the moral backing of an India truly regarded as free. Non-violent Congress means with all to Britain. Nor can it help her through arms since it seeks to gain her own freedom not through arms but through undisturbed non-violence. And the Congress wishes if, in the critical moment, it suppresses itself for fear of consequences or otherwise by ceasing to preach non-violence through non-violent means. So when we probe the issue deep enough we discover that it is a matter of life and death for us. If we vindicate that right, all is well with us. If we do not, all is lost. We cannot then win freedom through non-violence means.

I know that India has not our mind. There is a part of India that is wounded and will learn the art of war through helping the British. The Congress has no doubt, therefore, to surround independent factors or benefits and prevent people from doing what they like. We want to tell the people of India that, if their will was strong through non-violent means they may not co-operate voluntarily with Britain in the prosecution of the war.

The right of preaching against participation in war is being denied to us and we have to fight against the denial. Therefore while that right will be exercised only by those whom I may select for the purpose, all the other activities of the Congress will continue as before unless the Government interfere with them.

A question has been asked why, if I attach as much importance to quality I do not offer civil resistance myself. I have already said that unlike at its previous occasions I do not wish to do so for the very good reason that my imprisonment is likely to cause greater embarrasment to the authorities than anything else the Congress can do. I want also to remain outside so as to cope with any contingency that may arise. My going to jail may be interpreted as a general invitation to all Congressmen to follow suit. They will not easily distinguish between me and myself. Lastly I do not know how things will shape. I myself do not know the next step. I do not know the Government plan. I am a man of faith. My reliance is solely on God. One step is enough for me. The next He will make clear to me when the time for a come. And who knows that I shall not be an instrument for bringing about peace not only between Britain and India but also between the warring nations of the Earth. This last wish will not be taken for vanity by those who believe that my faith is not a sham, but a reality greater than the fact that I am passing that hour. See, page, 12-13-40

## WAR RESISTANCE

### Political Conscience

In the very first issue of *Wages*, the year I referred to two cases of "political parties" which had come up before the Appellate Tribunal for conscientious objectors. Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, the chairman of the tribunal, contended that the law could not give protection to any but those who belonged to the category of the "honest, conscientious pacifist, that is to say, the man who objects to war as a thing evil in itself. That was the intention of the statute, not to protect every form of conscientious objection." Mr. James Brockway, who appeared for the objectors, relied on the statements of the Prime Minister and Labour Minister in the House of Commons on the implications of the statute. The term "conscientious objector" was not defined in the statute, but the Prime Minister had said that the Act was meant to exclude "only slackers", and the Labour Minister had said that "Conscientious objection is not defined in the Act, and local tribunals have to use their own judgment in deciding whether an applicant, on whatever ground it is based, is or is not of a conscientious nature." In reply to a question: "Can the Minister say that he agrees that the House, in giving the right to conscientious objectors, meant to do so on all these grounds—ethical and political?" the Minister replied "That is all the idea." Mr. James Brockway was obviously on very strong ground when he relied on these statements, and succeeded. "The pacifist's supreme loyalty is to his conception of God as of the universe. The socialist's supreme loyalty is to the workers of all lands with whom he feels a unity, equivalent in the unity which a patriot feels with his nation. To a political objector it would be morally wrong to kill his fellow-workers in the interests of the government that it is a matter of conscience to him no less than to the pacifist."

The question which then had only an academic importance has now a live importance, inasmuch as the Government, if they will honestly face the issue, have to dispassionately consider the case of the Congress. The Labour Minister, as I have shown above, said that the law in England protected both the objectors—the ethical and the political. In India the case for the political objector is infinitely stronger. The British political objector has objection to the war policy of his own Government, a Government which, legally speaking, he has been responsible for having brought into being. The political objector here is opposed to the present war in that it has been imposed on the country by a Government which owes no responsibility to it. In fact the very political objector is rather unresponsive to the objectors here for it is in so much a matter of conscience to have no part in killing as to have no part in killing which is thrust upon one against one's will. It is even possible that the maturity of the conscientious objectors in the latter case may be very much greater than in the former. As a matter of fact all objectors in India

are concentrated together with the "ethical" ones have a double objection.

### Dr. Dadoo

News has come from South Africa of the imprisonment, under the Emergency Regulations, of Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, for publishing a statement calculated to create a section of the public—non-European—to resist or oppose the Government on a measure related to the state of emergency as a result of the war, the measure being the increasing of members of the public for the Army. This is the statement issued by Dr. Dadoo.

### An Appeal to All Non-European People of South Africa

"You are being asked to support the war for Freedom, Justice, and Democracy. Do you enjoy the fruits of Freedom, Justice and Democracy?"

What you do enjoy is—Free and Full Tax laws, segregation, white labour policy, low wages, high rates, poverty, unemployment and constant colour bars.

European workers receive 1/5 per day. White natives receive 1/- per day (See *Albany*). What? No! You are expected to give your life for 1/- a day.

We answered the call in 1914-1918. What was the reward? Hunger, starvation and unemployment. The case we must demand. The right to live as human beings, the right to work in skilled trades, recognition of African trade unions, the abolition of the white labour policy, the abolition of all discriminatory legislation, full rights of citizenship. Don't support this war, where the rich get richer and the poor get killed.

The belief that a war is a justifiable response to the war but is a demand for certain elementary rights of democracy, before the non-European community can respond to the call. Even with regard to the war, it merely points out certain glaring injustices to the non-European community.

The imprisonment of Dr. Dadoo is a triple wrong. First, because his leader was an unconditional opponent to the war. Secondly because it is in no way enlarged the province of the Emergency Regulations of which the object was "to prevent appearance as a particular measure of the Government and not the Government's war policy as a whole." Thirdly it is one more case of giving injustice to the Indians inasmuch as the European community rejects the freedom, thanks to the secretary party led by General Hertzog, of opposing the war policy as a whole.

As a matter of fact, as Mr. Wilson, Counsel for the defence, pointed out the Europeans there do something much worse. He said "If Europeans are allowed to go about the country preaching rebellion and talking of forcing white troops, it surely cannot be held that it is an offence for non-Europeans to voice their desire for equal rights, the abolition of poll tax, the right to vote and to own property."

But evidently the law in South Africa respects the European and is an injustice to the non-European. Indeed if the objection is made it is alleged to amount to aggression towards of hostility against the European.

### This 'Democratic' Empire

Dr Dadoo merely mentioned some of the wrongs under which the non-European in South Africa were labouring. As it was the Bishop of Johannesburg who was unopposedly supporting Dr Dadoo when within a few days after the across square Dr Dadoo he used in the course of a sermon.

"Let us think of this area as a nation, our own country. Do we in this country believe in the inherent value of the individual? Are our moral and economic arrangements designed to give each individual a real opportunity of self-government? ... Our policy is based on four fear of economic competition, fear of racial interference. We talk of brotherhood. But if we are truthful, we are liable to say that. Neither for his health, nor for his food, nor for the care and nurture of his children do we make adequate provision."

### Very like Nazism

And, the same issue of Indian Opinion as published the Bishop's sermon publishes from *The Sunday Times* (South Africa) the report of a case in which a European policeman and a South African constable were let off with a fine of £50 and £25 respectively (12 months being the period in which to pay the fine) for having caused the death of a husband "by having him with a spade and such over the face and head and to have kicked him or struck him with the spoke of a wheel as a result of which he sustained broken ribs. It was also alleged that they tied his hands above his head at 7.30 in the evening and fastened them to a tree, and that every 15 minutes they threw water over him until 2 o'clock the following morning. They were also accused of burning him because they allowed him to remain alone in a den when he was either so drunk that he was unable to feel the burns or too powerless to move. Crown evidence stated that the following day Rina was found to run 3 miles alongside the police house during which time he fainted three times and coughed up blood. He was brought to hospital on June 3 at Groenfontein in a hopeless condition and died on June 4 of wounds."

The officer, let it be remembered was sentenced by policemen whose function it is to guard the person and property of the citizens, and was therefore greater than the same officer if a had been committed by anyone else. But £50, to be paid within 12 months, is the price that a white policeman has had to pay for brutally causing the death of another human being. But in a "democratic Empire" for which those belonging to the Empire are called upon to fight a dark-skinned husband is no human being, and his murder costs the murderer nothing more than the death of a £50 worth dog, caused by someone would have cost him. The case is on a par with that of the I.C.S. magistrate Alexander of Durban who imposed a sentence of whipping on a full of 14 for showing objectionable slogans at a meeting and who carried off the sentence personally in the court with his own hands, depriving the accused of all redress by a court of appeal.

Seagrams 18-20-40

M D

### Unreliability in Kanch

News comes from a worker in the Hyderabad Marathi South that the Maharaja Sahib of Kanch has recently awarded a sentence of a fine, relating to Marjuna. The writer says that sentence was never used, so far as he knows, and counts when the majesties of Kanch find a prisoner for keeping buffaloes. The newspaper appealed and His Highness thought it undesirable to keep such a sentence on the statute book. The fine was remitted.

The sentence says that no prisoner may keep a cow or a buffalo, nor sacrifice buffaloes without permission. No prisoner may on occasions of marriage or mourning or any festival or festival use glass for drinking or take out a funeral procession through public streets.

The prisoner cannot be arrested without a warrant under this sentence. But a warrant may be issued. It is a punishable offence not to comply. A fine up to Rs 50 may be imposed. Any magistrate is entitled to try such cases.

It is a question whether to congratulate the Maharaja for the removal of the ancient prohibitions against Marjuna or to demand why he kept over the statute for so long. It is said that such prohibitions are common to most States of Hyderabad. If so it is to be hoped that the States concerned will follow the example of Kanch. May I also suggest that the statute books of the States should be purged of all indefensible restrictions against Marjuna?

Seagrams 18-20-40

A. K.

### WORKING COMMITTEE'S STATEMENT

The Working Committee issued the following statement at Wardha on the 12th inst.

The Working Committee met at the instance of Mahatma Gandhi and listened to the account of his talks with the Viceroy and the idea of campaigns as far as he has been able to encourage it. The Working Committee approve of what he has done, and repeat the instructions given to Congressmen and Congress Committees by the A. I. C. C. at its last meeting in Bombay, that they should give him the highest possible co-operation in all that he may require or expect them to do.

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Reg. No. B. 1002

# HARIJAN

1193

EDITED BY BHASKAR DAS

Vol. VIII, No. 2

POONA - SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1940

[ONE ANNA]

## To the Reader

(By M. K. Gandhi)

You must have seen through my press notice that the publication of *Harijan* and the other two weeklies had been suspended. In it, I had expressed the hope that the suspension might be only for a week. But I see that the hope had no real foundation. I shall miss my weekly talks with you, as I expect you too will miss them. The value of these talks consisted in their being a faithful record of my deepest thoughts. Such expression is impossible in a cramped atmosphere. As I have no desire to offer civil disobedience, I cannot write freely. As the author of satyagraha I cannot, consistently with my profession, suppress the vital part of myself for the sake of being able to write on permissible subjects such as the constructive programme. It would be like dealing with the trunk without the head. The whole of the constructive programme is to me an expression of non-violence. I would be denying myself if I could not preach non-violence. For that would be the meaning of submission to the latest oppressor. The suspension must, therefore, continue while the printing lasts. It constitutes a satyagrahi's respectful protest against the gag. Is not satyagraha giving an all when an inch is asked for by the wrong-doer, is it not giving the cloak also when only the coat is demanded? It may be asked why this reversal of the ordinary process? The ordinary process is based on violence. If my life were regulated by violence in the last resort, I would refuse to give an inch lest an all might be asked for. I would be a fool if I did otherwise. But if my life is regulated by non-violence, I should be prepared to and actually give an all when an inch is asked for. By so doing I produce on the usurper a strange and even pleasurable sensation. He would also be confounded and would not know what to do with me. So much for the 'easy'. I, having made up my mind to surrender every non-essential, gain greater strength than ever before to do for the defence and preservation of what I hold to be essential. I was therefore wrongly accused by my critics of having advised cowardly surrender to Nazism by Englishmen when I suggested that they should lay down external arms, let the Nazis overrun Britain if they dare, but develop internal strength to refuse to sell themselves to the Nazis. Full surrender of non-essentials is a condition precedent to acquisition of internal strength to defend the essential by dying.

But I am not writing this to convert the English to my view. I am writing this to suggest to you that my surrender to the framers of the gagging ordinance is an object-lesson to you, the Reader, as satyagrahi. If you will quietly work out in your own life the implications of the lesson, you will then not need the weekly aid from the written word in *Harijan*. Even without your weekly *Harijan* you will know how I shall myself work out the full implications of giving an all when an inch is wanted. A correspondent pleads with me that on no account should I suspend *Harijan*, for he says his non-violence is sustained by the weekly food he gets therefrom. If he has really done so, then this self-imposed restraint should reach him more than a rapid continuation of weekly *Harijan*.

One word as to the practical question. You are a subscriber to one of the weeklies. I do not know when, if ever, they will be resumed. You are engaged to

the return of the unused balance of your subscription. On receipt of a post card from you to the Manager Harijan, Poona for a refund, a money order for it will be sent to you. Those who do not ask for a refund will have their paper sent to them if it is returned. If it is not, the unused balance will be spent in covering any loss that may be caused in winding up. And then the balance, if any, will be sent to the Harijan Sevak Sangh for use in the service of Harijans. If Harijan is not resumed within six months, it will be deemed to have been finally wound up. Meanwhile good-bye.

Savagram, 21-10-46

## WHY SUSPENSION

Guiding issued the following statement to the press on 21st October:-

On the 20th inst the Editor of Harijan received the following notice from the District Magistrate's office, Poona:-

"I am directed by Government to advise you that on account of incidents leading up to satyagraha by Vinoba Bhave and on report of his speeches in any subsequent developments should be published without previous reference to the Chief Press Adverser, Delhi.

I would like to bring to your notice that this is in your own interest to avoid prosecution under rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules."

Thereupon I ceased all correspondence with H. E. the Viceroys Correspondence is still going on. But it is necessary for me to take a decision today for, if I did not, there may be waste of public money. In view of the reply hitherto received I have no course left open but to suspend publication of Harijan, Harijandhanda and Manjushuk. I cannot function freely if I have to send to the Press Adverser at New Delhi every line I write about satyagraha. It is true that the notice is only advisory, and that therefore I am not bound to act up to it. But the consequences of disregard of advice is also stated in the notice. I have no desire to risk a prosecution against the Editors. The three weeklies have been confined to the matters of track and therefore of all parties concerned. But I cannot serve that interest if the editorial has to be done under threat of prosecution. Liberty of the Press is a dear privilege, apart from the advisability or otherwise of civil disobedience. The Government have shown their intention clearly by the prosecution of Shri Vinoba Bhave. I have no complaint to make against the prosecution. It was an inevitable result of the Defence of India Rules. But the liberty of the Press stands on a different footing. I am unable to reconcile myself to the notice which, although in the nature of advice is in reality an order whose infringement will carry its own consequence.

I am sorry to have to discontinue the numerous readers of the three weeklies. Next week I shall be able to let the public know whether it is to be merely a suspension or an indefinite stopping of the three weeklies. I shall still hope that it will be merely a suspension and that my fear will prove to be groundless. But should it prove otherwise, I may inform the public that satyagraha is independent of press advertisement. If it is a test,

it carries with it its own momentum, and I believe the present satyagraha to be very real. It will go on. I will not be provoked into any hasty action. I am still not ready with the next move. But as I have said in my previous statement, every act of civil disobedience is complete in itself. The press notice shows how efficient it has been. Every act of repression adds strength to the satyagraha. Satyagraha throws its repression till at last the repression is worn off and the object of satyagraha is gained. Whether, therefore I take the next step or not and when I take it is a matter of no consequence to the public, let those who sympathise with it follow implicitly the instructions I have issued I believe, and my belief has been tested repeatedly, that a thought deliberately thought and controlled is a power greater than speech or writing and any day greater than action which is hunched and controlled. We are the better every day against incredible weight even when sleep pursues. Thought power overcomes such greater obstacles and easily carries greater weight. But let me give a practical hint to the non-believer in the power of thought hunched and controlled. Let everyone become his own walking newspaper and carry the good news from month to month. This does not mean what boys used to do in the past, viz. tramping about of bits of news. The idea here is of my telling my neighbour what I have authentically heard. Then no Government can overtake or suppress. It is the cheapest newspaper yet devised, and it defies the wit of Government, however clever it may be. Let these walking newspapers be one of the news they give. They should not subscribe to any single group. They should make use of the source of information, and they will find that the public get all the information that they need without spending their morning newspapers which they should have, will contain garbled, un-audited information and therefore not worth the trouble of reading. For it may be that even the public statements such as I am now issuing may also be stopped. It is the confusion of life under an autocratic Government, whether foreign or indigenous.

## OLD ISSUES

Issue of Vol. I to VIII of Harijan, with certain exceptions, can be had from or for 2 Annas per copy (including postage).

MANAGER

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